

HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE

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FRENCH RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

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DIVISION II. ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN FRANCE.

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A. Historical Description of the Development of the Architectural Style.

"That we may become fellow-workers with the truth".

John. III. 8.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Survey.

The history of Christian architecture in Europe exhibits three dates, which are unique of their kind.

1. The origin of the Gothic style in France after 1150.

2. The authentic rise of the Renaissance in Italy soon after 1400.

3. The introduction of the Renaissance into France, the native land of the Gothic, just before 1500.

The first mentioned event was completed, when the Northern peoples had so far developed themselves, after an endeavor for seven hundred years to create an architectural expression for their religious ideal and the spirit peculiar to them, and which was ready in the Gothic style, that originated in "Franco-Gallia", to transplant this into the entire Christian West, wherever peoples of Germanic derivation had settled in considerable numbers.

The occurrence mentioned in the second place marks the no less impressive moment, when after a thousand years of struggle against the results of the moral decadence of the Roman empire and against the separation of the unassimilated northern elements in Italy, Tuscany decided to return to Roman architectural forms and to choose these as a mode of expression for their still greatly changed spiritual and material needs. It was the first time in the history of the world, that men returned to a form of culture, that had as good as disappeared for a thousand years, again awakened it, so that it may be said to have been reborn under new conditions. Such an event, unique in its way, well deserves to be termed a rebirth or a renaissance.

The third occurrence, at least equally important as the two mentioned above, refers to the moment, when after the new Italian style had become a stranger in its native land for three generations and had attained full maturity, it now entered upon

its peaceful triumphal march through Europe in a direction, opposed to that pursued by Gothic three hundred years earlier. In this return visit, there is however a moment or an occurrence, that excels the other in importance; it is that of the introduction of the Renaissance into the native land and home of the Gothic itself, into France.

Concerning the impossibility of finding a better designation for this unique phenomenon of such a range in the history of the world, it is to be regarded as a kind of profanation, or at least a lack of objective understanding, when in recent times French writers in particular apply this name only to the momentary revival of any art period, merely in the sense of the English word "revival", or instead of the word "awakening". Not a profanation, however fundamentally wrong, when these authors designate the origin of the Gothic style in France as the "Renaissance of the 13th century"; for this was the first birth of northern art and not a revival, an event of sufficient magnitude and individuality, that it must not be referred to any precedent.

For all those able to comprehend the high importance of Gothic architecture and of its noble forms in their entire extent, and not merely from a limited, technical and rationalistic point of view, as Viollet-le-Duc did, there lies for them in the introduction of Italian architecture into France something, like a strongly effective utterance of the Divine leader of the world, whose full importance and consequences well deserve investigation. To study the fate of the "French Renaissance", produced by the combination of the French Gothic and of the Italian Renaissance, and of its different phases or styles, is the purpose of the present volume.

2. Limits and Aim of the Investigation.

Every history of architecture, that takes as its aim to give the complete portrayal of an architectural style, and not according to frequently deceptive illustrations, which we often necessarily derive merely from the still existing monuments, but in accordance with the actual course of development, must explore and consider four fields, that may be said to be separated today, for a just decision concerning the absolute or merely relative worth of this style in comparison with those architec-

architectural styles, which bloomed earlier or at the same time in adjacent countries.

1. The architectural monuments still remaining.
2. The architectural monuments that have disappeared.
3. The epoch-making, yet unexecuted projects.
4. The historical statements concerning the monuments and their builders.

Only in this way can we hope to attain to a really faithful description of that architectural style as a whole, to comprehend the connection of its principal elements, to explain the occurrence of eccentricities, and to more closely enter upon the mode of development of that epoch of civilization, the world of thought, in which its ideals soared, and which it aspired to realize.

It should be assumed, that the practical utility of a history of the architectural style produced in such a manner would be much greater, since it may then be hoped to succeed, more by reason of the vital principles, which are innate in, and aid in the development of every architectural style, -- figuratively expressed and considered as a kind of organic and ideal existence. But the vital principles of the architectural style are exactly those, which would always have an invigorating and blessed effect on the study of architecture, if they were only better known.

Unfortunately, one may assert that it is already sufficient to state the four given sources or domains, in order to show that this ideal and only true method of writing the history of an architectural style is an impossibility in its full extent, with a sole exception, and this is merely for the reason, that of all drawings composing the second and third of the domains, scarcely anything of the periods of culture preceding the Renaissance now exists, and never can be discovered in suitable form and sufficient abundance.

It is self-evident that in the present volume, not all of the most important architectural works of the Renaissance in France can be mentioned, even merely by name. Just as little may it be expected to give complete monographs upon some described monuments or on the masters mentioned. Neither can a uniform treatment of the existing materials be attempted, because the lim-

limits of the present work and further the present state of historical research on the art monuments of France would not permit of this. Frequently for the buildings mentioned, neither the name of the master concerned nor the date of erection can be given. For a few, even the rare cases, it is attempted to give a more complete description of certain buildings or of prominent masters, written as a kind of monograph. The latter occurs either for the reason of creating thereby as secure a basis as possible for determining the important general data, or because by this means many things can be placed in a better light, that may serve as examples and proofs of the character of the style, of the masters and their art.

If I succeed in stating at least the main tendencies and their essential types in their development, and of clearly describing the aims to which these tendencies were directed, of placing in the proper light the vital endeavors, and the character of the various phases of French architecture during the period from 1500 to 1750, of providing for others a clear and safe basis, and to point out many suitable sources for others, who desire to undertake thorough studies in this domain, -- then shall I have to be contented with these results, as the only ones permissible to me under the conditions to be satisfied.

I have found the standard for my judgement of the worth of the style to be treated herein, of its monuments and of its masters, essentially in my inmost admiration and love for the French Gothic and the Italian Renaissance, as well as in the embodiment of the ideal, which is innate in both these architectural styles. And since these are exactly those two styles of architecture from whose combination has sprung substantially the architecture of the French Renaissance, and likewise also the present architecture of France, so shall I scarcely be exposed to the suspicion, that I am not in a position to be just to the most peculiar nature of French architecture.

It may now be permitted to me to mention a few points, that must naturally cause me some difficulties in the composition of the present volume.

3. Difficulties.

1. In the first place was the determination of that era in the architecture of France, which one may consider as the end

of the Renaissance period there. This question will be treated later in special Articles, and its solution has caused more toil, than a great part of the remaining labor.

2. No less was it a fact, that in opposition to the prevailing and frequently contradictory earlier views regarding the duration of the Renaissance, views concerning its beginning and its actual native land have appeared in quite recent times, that cannot remain unopposed.

3. The two preceding facts, as well as the tendency always becoming more general in France, to apply the designation of "Renaissance" to art periods, whose character in nowise corresponds to the nature of this world phenomenon, -- in brief, the erroneous conception based thereon and derived from many other bases, led to the necessity of determining more accurately, what should be understood by Renaissance.

4. As a special difficulty, it may further be said, that the extent of the period, which I designate on the ground of scientific investigations as belonging to the architecture of the Renaissance, is not about the same as that frequently assumed by thorough investigators, but indeed stands in entire opposition to that usual in France, both among artists as well as among laymen. The basis of the latter opinions is to be sought in the almost total lack of thorough French studies on the development of all French architecture since the extinction of Gothic.

5. For the lacking general researches on French architecture since the beginning of the 16th century, I could find also no satisfactory substitute in the meritorious work of Lübke, the *Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich* (Stuttgart, 1868; second edition in 1885). Although he continues the Renaissance until the end of the period of Louis XIII, and thus goes farther than the French usually do, still he stops halfway to the views to which I have been led, in the midst of the second period of the development of the French Renaissance.

6. Although the problem proposed to me did not exactly require it, I regarded it as a defect in my labors, that I was not in a position to reexamine the sources themselves, that were used by Leon Palustre. Consequently I should not allow myself to make use of his great work, "La Renaissance en France" (Paris, since 1864), which I had wished, and which one should expect,

-- from the fame enjoyed in many circles by this investigator. the reason for this lies in the fact, that with few exceptions, I was unable to decide how often and where he had found the facts, and how frequently, following the vivacity of his feelings, he had gone beyond the mark.

I lament this the more, since for a series of years, during which our personal intercourse had always been of a friendly character, I could testify myself to the rectitude and vigor of his desire to find out the truth.

There are two tendencies in his endeavors, which especially require caution. The first is his decision on the share of the Italian element in the French Renaissance, that he was inclined to very greatly reduce, because this had not manifested itself exactly in the way, that was formerly naively and erroneously believed in general. A special Article will be devoted to this question. The second tendency Palustre shares with many younger so-called "modern critics". It consists in a too hasty interpretation of later documents, upon which I have also a word to say here. But let me first be permitted to express my vivid sorrow at the unexpected death of Leon Palustre a few months since. It is now to be feared, that his great work will remain unfinished. I think with deep gratitude of the friendly willingness with which he had permitted me to reproduce as many of the illustrations from his work, as appeared desirable to me. I have limited myself to six, representing buildings of which photographs are not for sale.

7. A further difficulty, that presented itself to me, consisted in the already mentioned overhasty interpretation of the documents, become the fashion in recent times, in the mistrust, which I cherish in relation to the flood of hasty conclusions, that have been deduced by modern criticism from the existing documents or from those still unpublished. In my History of St. Peter's in Rome, I have myself made a sufficiently critical use of the latter, to be well protected in this respect from all suspicion. What is chiefly to be feared in this domain is the interpretation of the documents by investigators, otherwise well-meaning, who either lack the necessary technical architectural training, or who do not have the necessary time, that must be devoted to the solution of such questions. My personal exo-

experiences have taught me, that for the accurate determination of the true meaning of a bill, of a document relating to the building, or of an original drawing etc., ten-fold the time is frequently employed, that such investigators appear to think, or is at their disposal. So long as one does not have entire certainty of having before him all the documents relating to a subject, such documents may lead to such greatly lamentable errors, as almost always appear as the result of more careful examination of the sources, or may be so regarded. It is usually neglected to test on the spot, whether the documents harmonize with the condition and analysis of the monument.

Finally, more recent historical researches in particular only inspect but too frequently the scarcely pardonable defects, that it regards the lack of a name or of a statement in documents, whose incompleteness is fixed, as already a negative fact, as proof that a hitherto traditional statement has been scientifically disproved, thus forming a point of view attained by the "modern criticism". However heartily I greet on the one hand the investigation and use of such and similar sources, just as strongly must I protest against their use as just indicated, which is not in harmony with the dignity of science.

I had already long feared, and especially since Deville's time, that the care emphasized as necessary in the use of the documents was not always taken, that consequently many conclusions had been too hastily assumed in the history of French monuments, and particularly that often mere contractors, discovered by modern criticism, were placed before us as the actual designer of the building. Moreover it appears to me, that in the present state of investigation of the sources, it is now often attempted to consider many of the newly introduced views as completed acquisitions. Since I could in the fewest cases consider the examination of the documents themselves, I was unfortunately not enabled to place equal weight on this very important side of the history of architectural monuments, as in my previous works.

Yet I am inclined to console myself to some degree in this, since I have seen into the byeways where one falls, when he seeks to transplant the method of "great novelty" also into the domain of architectural history. I have repeatedly found, that

views accepted as true thirty or forty years since are more nearly correct, than are many, which it is sought to urge upon us under this name.

Chapter I. Duration and Nature of the French Renaissance.

a. Contradiction of the Conceptions.

4. Diversity of Conceptions.

The difference existing between the nature of the architecture of the Renaissance as an Italian national style and that of the nature of the Renaissance as a world style, leads to the necessity, at the beginning of this study of the architecture of the French Renaissance, for seeking and establishing for the architectural style of the Renaissance in general, a correct and sufficiently exact definition. This might apparently be held to be useless, since this style was introduced so much later into France than in Italy, so that the explanatory conception given for the Italian Renaissance in the preceding volume of this Handbook might appear sufficient for all cases. In spite of that, I was compelled to such a definition, since the conceptions in this matter prevailing in France are frequently in direct contradiction with each other, and because they are in great part inadequate, to actually comprise that, which must be regarded as relating to the architecture of the French Renaissance.

If one wishes to decide according to Italian conditions, then must he designate the entire architecture of the Renaissance as that architectural style, which begins with Brunellesco, and in which the works of Borromini and his successors have equal importance for the Renaissance, as do the flamboyant or late Gothic style for the Gothic. On the basis of this opinion, I might permit the architecture of the French Renaissance to the end of the architectural style named after Louis XV, and in the course of my studies, I have ever become more strongly confirmed in this view.

Men are of a different opinion in France itself; the Renaissance is designated on the one hand as the style of Henry II, on the other as the architectural style extending until Henry II, and so forth. In view of this diversity it would not be superfluous, to repeat in the following the conceptions of several prominent French architects and savants, and to plainly prove by these, that the limitation assumed above can be regarded as

correct and sufficient. It likewise corresponds to the discussions in the history of Henri Martin and in the works of other authors, which designate many things in the intellectual realm during the period of Louis XIII and during the 17th century in general as done entirely in the spirit of the Renaissance, and even a certain renewed acceptance of the same in certain questions was described. My conception of the nature and duration of the French Renaissance was subsequently found by me in the study by Caesar Daly mentioned below,² wherein he also refers to the numerous contradictions concerning the matter in question, and he reaches the same conclusions, at which I had arrived independently of Daly and before any knowledge of that study.

Note 2. Theorie de l'Architecture de l'Avenir a propos de la Renaissance Francaise. Rev. Gen. d'Arch. 1869. P. 10.

5. Conceptions of French Authors.

If we now pass to the introduction of the views of various French authors, then at first sight of the domain considered, we shall meet with those inclined to fix the beginning of the Renaissance in France earlier than usual, even in many cases to represent it as something, that either terminated the Gothic, or that even as the fatherless child of a Gothic mother has entered the world alone.

Batissier³ remarks with great brevity in reference to the architectural style, which prevailed in the 13th century, that this period has been named "Renaissance", and that it historically closes the middle ages.

Note 3. Batissier, L. Elements d'Archaeologie Nationale etc. Paris. 1843. p. 13.

In Martin's History of France⁴ it is stated:-- "When after the storms of the civil war, men began anew to practice art, then appeared an entirely new style. A heavy and massive architecture, whose strength and prominence were not conjoined with purity of taste and seldom attained true dignity, characterizes the first period of the age of decay and transition, which succeeded three glorious ages; the Romanesque period, that of the pointed arch, which may justly be termed French, and that of the Renaissance".

Note 4. Martin, H. Histoire de France. Vol. 10. p. 474.

For Lucien Magne,⁵ the Renaissance of architecture in France

begins about the middle of the 15th century, for example with buildings like that of Jacques Coeur at Bourges. One here meets with efforts, which are not exactly those of the preceding period, for a certain symmetry. He adds that in painting, the beginning was yet earlier; under Charles VII in glass staining, in which Magne is particularly skilled, one meets with the endeavor to find a personal likeness.

Note 5. According to a verbal discourse on May 20, 1893.

My honored friend Louis Courajod has taught for a series of years the theory, that the Renaissance originated in the 15th century in Flanders, Northern France and Burgundy, proceeding from the study of nature and realism. But it should not be forgotten here, that he was especially thinking of sculpture. We hold the realism in those countries to be absolutely incapable to create anything different from the conclusion of Gothic art. Northern realism, the deeply meditative invention, the most wonderful restoration of character, would likewise be unable during 2000 years, in that country and with the models offered there by nature, to bring forth the Renaissance, and even giving itself up to it, to create anything different from a "Gothic" art.

A second view considered the Renaissance as properly the transition style from Gothic to the high Renaissance, which is designated in France the style of Henry II; Anthyme-Saint-Paul⁶ calls the style of Francis I preeminently the Renaissance.

Note 6. Planat, P. Encyclopedie de l'Arch. et de la Konst.

During the thirties (1830-1840), says Caesar Daly,⁷ by the term Renaissance, artists and studios generally understood the period of Francis I, yet without connecting therewith any philosophical signification.

Note 7. Rev. Gen. de l'Architecture. 1869. p. 10.

According to Rivoalen,⁸ "the French Renaissance was complete and perfected after the dropping Gothic forms and combinations".

Note 8. Planat. p. 588.

For a third group, the Renaissance seems to consist of the first two phases of the first period of development, i.e. of the early Renaissance and the high Renaissance. In speaking of the English Renaissance, Rivoalen⁹ designates the French Renaissance in the following manner.

Note 9. Planat. p. 349.

"Transition style or first Renaissance, i.e. ornamentation in Italian style on Gothic construction, which appears at the time of the Italian campaigns, to die out with Francis I, and to give place to the perfected Renaissance of Lescot, of Bullant and of Jean Goujon".

A fourth conception extends the French Renaissance pretty much over the entire 16th century; it understands thereby what will later in this volume be termed the "first period of development". Leonce Reynaud¹⁰ distinguishes between the following architectural styles.

Note 10. Traite de l'Architecture. Paris. 1850-1858. 1875.

Style of the Renaissance in Italy in the 14th and 15th c-s.

Style of the Renaissance in Italy in the 16th century.

Style of the Renaissance in France in the 16th century.

Style of the 17th century.

Style of the 18th century.

Modern style.

Henri Jemonnier, author of the book mentioned below on the origins of the French art of the 17th century,¹¹ said to me:- "The Renaissance in France is the 16th century. No one would count Henry IV with the Renaissance, just as little in the arts as in literature. Germain Pilon closed it, and Prieur no longer belongs to it."¹²

Note 11. L'Art Francais au Temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin. Paris. 1893.

Note 12. Verbal lecture on June 1, 1893.

For my honored colleague Anatole de Montaiglon, the architecture of the Renaissance begins with Charles VIII, extends to Charles IX, and in the provinces almost to Henry III. A new architecture commences with Henry IV.¹³ In sculpture and painting the Renaissance begins with Charles VII.

Note 13. Verbal lecture on May 24. 1893.

According to Leon Palustre, the French Renaissance commences with Charles VIII and extends to the beginning of Henry IV, until the introduction of brickwork with bonded quoins. Yet an earlier example is the tomb in Mans (1473), and we find them in the paintings of Jean Fouquet. He says that the word "Renaissance" is incorrect; it was a transformation, as I have explained elsewhere.

Note 14. Verbal lecture on May 24, 1893. Also see introduction to his Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892.

Viollet-le-Duc employs the word Renaissance in both senses. For example, he writes:- "The architecture from the 12 th century to the Renaissance," ¹⁵ or :- "From the period of Roman decadence until the Renaissance of the 16 th century", or :- "The Renaissance of the 16 th century", and again; "since the Renaissance, France has vainly endeavored to make itself Italian, German, etc."; he likewise appears to limit it as a historical style to the 16 th century in France. He writes in a different sense:- "Of the present (indeed his own Gothic) and future Renaissance of French architecture - -".

Note 15. Dictionnaire Raisonnee de l'Architecture Francaise etc. Paris. 1858-1868. Preface. pages XIV, V. -- Further the Article Chapiteau. -- Lastly the Preface. pages XII and X.

We now permit some passages to follow, which afford further conclusions concerning the views prevailing in France, and more upon the nature and spirit of the French Renaissance, than on its duration.

According to Adeline,¹⁶ by Renaissance is designated the movement, which in the arts occupied the 15 th and 16 th centuries. As for what concerns the architectural style of the Renaissance, he characterizes it as the return to the ancient columnar orders.

Note 17. Adeline, J. Lexique des Termes d'Art. Paris. 1884.

For the Dictionnaire de l'Academie (7 th edition, 1878), the Renaissance extends from the taking of Constantinople till the middle of the 16 th century. In the Article on "Architecture", no Renaissance style is designated. Littré writes in his Dictionnaire:--
¹⁷

Note 17 a. Littré. Dict. de la Langue Francaise. Paris. 1863-72.

"As a style, the Renaissance recalls to friends of the beautiful the rise of a new art and a free play of imagination. For the learned, the word signifies the renewal of the study of antiquity; for those learned in the laws, the time when light began to shine into the chaos of our ancient customary laws - -".

Duchesne¹⁸ remarks, that one should be careful to not confuse the Renaissance style with the Rococo style, as frequently happens!

Note 18. Dict. de la Conversation et de la Lecture. Edited by W. Duckett. 2nd edition. Paris. 1851-1858.

The most unexpected understanding is indeed found in Du Clez-
iou ".¹⁹ According to him, everything good and noble in France
comes from the "Gaulish genius", from the "Gaulish laughter",
even also the first "Renaissance" of the Antonines. After the
subjugation of the country by the terrible horde of the Franks,
he compares S. Germain^{des Pres} with the red doorway of Notre
Dame, and he writes of the latter:- "Gaul again appears". Thin-
king thus, he is certainly justified in already considering the
Gothic style as the great French Renaissance of the 13th cent-
ury; yet he writes of Rabelais:- "Here is the Gaul, the true
Gaul"- - "and with him the Renaissance, the true one this time.
What inspiration in all that Renaissance! What superb art is t
this French art of the 16th century? And let no one hereafter
tell us that it is Italian, and boast again to us in this of R
Rome, always Rome".

*Note 19. Cleuziou, H. du. Etude sur l'Histoire de l'Art en
France. Paris. 1881-1883.*

6. Daly's Understanding.

Before we express our own views on the different modes of un-
derstanding it, again permit the introduction of a few passages
from the previously mentioned study of Caesar Daly.

"What does one generally understand by the expression: the a
architecture of the Renaissance?

There are three ways of comprehending the nature and duration
of the Renaissance.

1. It is the antiquespírito, which replaced the Gothic spir-
it in the arts. This conception contradicts the nature of the
thing; it was a derivation, not a substitution.

2. It is the style, which prevailed during the reign of Fran-
cis I. This theory only corresponds to an indeterminate esthe-
tic feeling; it leaves without name and without foundation the
historical forms, that followed the style of Francis I. The l
lack of scientific accuracy in the terminology, which designat-
es the transformations of architecture, indicates the lack of
a philosophical understanding of the history of art.

3. The Renaissance style corresponds to the reigns of the V
Valois; with the Bourbons begins a new style. This theory is

based on an incomplete conception of the necessary organic conditions of an architectural style; a difference in taste creates no difference in style.

Of the remaining rare authors, who have written on architecture since the 15 th century, some do not seem to have even surmised, that it would be useful to indicate the limits of the Renaissance style. Others, among which are found really learned men, are of opinion, that the Renaissance terminated with the accession of Louis XIII, and that with that monarch, French architecture adopted a new style.

What reply should be made to those, for whom the Renaissance is merely the style of the reign of Francis I, to the question, what style follows the Renaissance? They state according to the succession; the styles of Henry II, Charles IX, Henry III, Henry IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Then follows the Rococo style, and after this, they return to a designation from the princes or the form of government; styles of Louis XVI and of the Empire. But it is fair to remember, that for Rococo many employ the expression, style of the Regency and then of Louis XV.

It is not to be denied, that for daily and professional use, it must be hard to find a more convenient or more practical designation for the successive phases of the development of an architectural style. And since the profession, like the business world troubles itself little about what it does not use, also continues in this generally convenient system of appellation, by its common acceptance likewise evidences, that in these different phases men even now find the satisfaction of all their requirements, and thereby that in one of the different phases of development of the culture of the Renaissance is yet found, the particular one corresponds to a special tone of one of the phases of the architectural style of the Renaissance.

But there is indeed yet another ground for the choice of this system of appellation, which has perhaps not yet become prominent, and which may further give the victory to the other. It begins just with the infiltration of the Italian element into French architecture, and designates the various phases of this fertilization. When men gave the names of their own kings to the architectural styles produced by the unbroken series of in-

international marriages, this compromise with the foreign elements was given a naturalization flattering to the national feeling; men believed that thereby they made the foreign element more nearly their own.

Daly writes, that in France neither historians, theorists, nor the authors of dictionaries have yet treated from a scientific point of view the question, of what does the nature of an architectural style consist. The extracts given by us will prove, that he was only too correct in this!

b. Estimation of French Conceptions.

7. Causes of Objections.

The great confusion and the important contradictions in a part of the preceding explanations of ideas therefore occur, because that on the one hand men especially concentrate the facts of the Renaissance on that moment, when it appears and enters as a grand event producing novelties, so that it is concentrated on its origin and beginning. But on the other hand, men are inclined to limit the event in a certain sense to the period of strife, to the time in which the Renaissance has to reckon with many elements of the preceding culture, where it must unite with them in order to find general acceptance. One is thereby disposed to distinguish this first period from that in which its principles have secured the mastery and now pass through their natural phases of development.

In the domain of architecture, the confusion indicated depends on the fact, that many Frenchmen make a distinction between the architecture of that first controverted period, who designate it as "Renaissance", and the general architectural style produced by the Renaissance, which after that first period continued to develop, and of which that first period merely forms the first stage in development.

8. Recapitulation and Deductions.

Shall one designate by the word "Renaissance" an entire architectural style or merely the moment of the dawning of this style, joined with the consideration, that it is not the birth of an entirely new style, but the reawakening or the reanimation of elements partly in existence for thousands of years?

If one decides for the first conception, then must one extend the appellation "Renaissance" over the entire duration of the

style, over all its periods and phases of development, thus at least from the time of Brunellesco till the end of the Rococo style or of the style of Louis XV. On the contrary, if one decides for the second understanding, then one merely stands for the designation of the first phase of the development of a style, which considered as a whole, one may designate as "Modern" or even as a "nameless architectural style".

With the latter basal idea, the French appear to wish to say, that the Renaissance lasted only while the French genius was creative in a national spirit, i.e. Gothic, and independently took part in the development. One must add, that such a conception is from a certain point of view not without justification, it being assumed that one admits the designation of "Renaissance" to be based on a conventional assumption. But however important for the vital character of the style was also the participation of the Gothic spirit, yet the new architectural style created by this participation did not cease after the apparent end of the Gothic influence, to be native to France and to organically develop further there, just as little as the national spirit has ceased to be the chief agent in this development and to take part therein.

Although the newly created style of architecture accordingly continued to exist and to further develop after the same principles, which partly lie at the ground of the development of the Gothic style, shall it then be designated either as modern architecture or as the architectural style of the 17 th century? We there stand before something entirely capricious and unripe, indeed before something illogical. A comparison with the Gothic style shows this most clearly.

If one desires to limit the architectural style created by the French Renaissance to the 16 th century alone, then as a result must also that architecture in France be merely designated as "Gothic", which falls in the period from 1150 to 1250; the two succeeding periods of development of this style must then likewise be awarded the same "nameless" fate. For during the years from 1150 to 1250, most of the types and combinations of the Gothic style were essentially created, while it merely received a different interpretation in the succeeding second period; just as if its motives were merely set in a different

light. Likewise the third period, the late Gothic, only gave a different harmony to the entire style of architecture.

But the frequently indicated subdivision of French architecture, after the extinction of the Gothic, into Renaissance and into Modern Architecture is not satisfactory in other respects, and it gives opportunity for incorrect conclusions, especially on the following grounds:-

1. The architectural style thus designated as "Modern" already existed much earlier in Italy, where it originated in the same period, that is termed the golden age of the Renaissance; therefore this "Modern" architecture would then belong in Italy to the Renaissance, but not so in France.

2. Before the introduction of iron into building, the "Modern" has employed no style, that could not be designated as belonging to one of the periods of development of the Renaissance.

Therefore such a definition of the French Renaissance, which is based, so to speak, only on the intensity of the participation of the national spirit, is unsatisfactory and unscientific, when more carefully considered, not corresponding to the teachings of history and esthetics.

One might raise the question, whether the national participation during the later periods of development was actually as slight as seems to be assumed? Did it not rather assume a different form? Did it not act in other spheres, which permitted its opposition to the Italian element to appear less harsh and therefore less clearly apparent? Exactly because the result of the first period of development of the French Renaissance, -- thus the same period that the French alone usually designate as such, -- consisted in this, that France had originated with tolerable completeness the form expression of the Italian Renaissance, and had learned to apply it, then it resulted from this state of affairs, that a conventional contradiction in the acceptance of the art substantially no longer existed, that therefore France apprehended differently from before the Renaissance or the Neo-Latin art, and could place itself abreast of it. It was possible for the French with younger powers to enter the arena, to take part in the exposition of the second and perhaps more cosmopolitan form of the Renaissance, not only to realize it at home, but thanks to the power of its monarchic unified s

state, to carry it to some aims, that it had not been able to attain in Italy. France had come into the position of appearing in opposition to a part of Europe as the representative of the new period of development. France actually appeared in this character of leader for Western Europe so much the more, or at least for a part thereof, the more the subjective vivacity, the intellect and the caprice of the Gauls harmonized at just this time with the subjective freedom, that formed the character of the contemporary phase of the Renaissance in particular, the last of the two periods of development. The style of Louis XV permitted France to express itself with animation and naturally in the newly arisen style of art, in accordance with the national temperament. One may indeed say, that when the Renaissance had attained in its consistent development to this conception of art, it had then first become possible for the French, -- or more correctly, the then living French, -- to embody their national character in the new art, and to make this new period of architectural development entirely a national art. Its expansive force outwards was thereafter much greater.

After the most important explanations of the French ideas of the architecture of the Renaissance in France have been made in the preceding, then in order to obtain a better understanding of the nature of this architectural style, should the stand-points be now discussed, on which these different conceptions are based.

9. Views of Courajod.

According to Courajod, the true source of the Renaissance is to be found in the intense development of realism in Flemish art, as it was developed in Northern France and in Burgundy during the 15th century; for without this realism strengthened by the study of nature, it would have been impossible for the understanding of the antique, and the treatment of its forms to be living and artistically creative. A great truth undeniably forms the basis of this opinion, but it is not yet expressed in proper form, and moreover an entirely erroneous conclusion is deduced therefrom. The correct part of this view rather consists in this, that without the existence of Gothic art in its entirety, no Renaissance would probably have been possible, i.e., no reanimation of a great part of Greco-Roman ideas and

art forms, no application of its principles to the new needs of civilization. Since the fall of Rome, perhaps of Athens as well, among all art periods, that of the Gothic was the first and only one, that throughout from the ground to the loftiest cross-flower, possessed true life, the only art at least in architecture, which attained a completely developed and concentrated esthetic conception and development.

The infusion of Gothic architecture and of the connected study of the Northern native nature in Italy was the fructifying spark, which was to bring new life into the comprehension of antique forms. Their adoption and prompt transformation by the masters of the Florentine Cathedral, by Arnolfo di Lapo to Orcagna, Giovanni di Lapo Ghini and Brunellesco, formed the earliest living alliance between antique and Gothic, already belonging to the spirit of the Renaissance. The Florentine Cathedral, its campanile, and the Cathedral in Milan are buildings sprung from an antique mode of thought, clothed in Gothic garments. The style preparatory to the Renaissance on the Florentine Cathedral alone made Brunellesco possible later, made Florence manifestly the father city of the Renaissance itself, where it is not to be forgotten, that Rome played the part of mother city.

This is the true form in which Gothic and Northern realism participated in the creation of the Renaissance, already in the 13th century. While the art of Van Eyck, that of Claus Sluyter and of other allied masters represent the utmost powers, the most intensive development of Northern Gothic realism or the noblest climax of its spiritual harmony, it would never have been able of itself from the realism produced by the study of nature alone, with Gothic art principles and with the models offered by Bruges, Dijon or Nuremberg, to produce the Renaissance by an organic and natural national development, or by any subjective evolution whatever of this, since it had already said everything, that this art could say without the aid of a foreign spirit. This foreign spirit was the Neo-Italian or modern spirit of Europe in the form yet living today, that certainly comprised likewise a number of Northern elements, which the migrations of the nations, and later the Gothic had sown there.

10. Views of Magne.

In views like those of Lucien Magne (Art 5), it is asked, whe-

whether the modifications that he observed on certain buildings, as on the House of Jacques Coeur at Bourges, merely arise from a certain weariness of the late Gothic masters, a longing for something different, or whether they are influences of the objective, i.e. of antique esthetics, even though entirely clothed in Gothic. If the last be true, then may they be considered as Renaissance ideas in a latent condition. This would not be allowable in the first case; for as already shown in the preceding Article (9), the longing for something novel could not bring forth a new art from Gothic alone, but at the utmost only prepare a place for it.

11. Other Views.

The opinion that the Renaissance terminates the middle ages is probably the most astonishing of all. It can only have originated in the fact, that since Gothic construction and composition continued in the styles of Louis XII and of Francis I, the occurrence of antique details indicates the end of the Gothic. Then if the Renaissance were properly regarded as an appearance of death and not of birth, -- a view that entirely contradicts the meaning of the word, we should then merely have the opinions of those, who regard the so-called style of Francis I as the Renaissance. They think only of the true process of transition from the Gothic style to that in which the antique forms not only affixed to a Gothic composition, but form parts of a composition more in the antique spirit, as the case in the French high Renaissance of Henry II and in the court of the Louvre.

Those, who see the true Renaissance in the style of Henry II, evidently think that the characteristic of the Renaissance style is the use of reanimated antique forms and the complete exclusion of the Gothic skin.

Most Frenchmen, who permit the Renaissance to extend to Henry III or IV, do so for the reason, that this space of time actually comprises the entire development of a style in three periods:-- the origin, climax, and the decadence. Those inclined to this opinion must also regard this space of time also as the close of the development of a style, since the national participation in architecture thenceforth assumes another spirit, one that is less apparent. The appearance of brickwork under Henry IV

with systematically treated and banded ashlar quoins indeed presents an endeavor after "fashion" or perhaps even a psychological phenomenon, but neither one entirely novel, nor one obstructing or terminating the style, as many seem to assume. This common brickwork forms only one side of the style during one or two of its phases; its other side is developed as the continuance of the architecture of the 16th century.

12. Views on the Relation to the Antique.

We finally come to the opinion, that the Renaissance may be identified as the acceptance of the antique again in our life and the consequences of this. Palustre²⁰ alludes to this in the following manner:- "During a space of more than two centuries it was the fashion among us to consider as a period of weakness and barbarism the more than two thousand years, that separates the fall of Greco-Roman art after the migration of the nations from its progressive restoration under Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. To not lose the reputation of a man of taste, one must boldly maintain, that civilized, artistic and literary France first dates from the Italian campaigns, that the Renaissance was the beam of light, which banished the darkness in which our ancestors had dwelt since Chlodowig".

Note 20. Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892. p. 135.

The opinions set forth in the preceding are now followed by the views of those, who do not recognize the strong influence of the antique on the Renaissance, which it actually possessed, and who are not willing to acknowledge, that at a certain time, the principles and the taste of Gothic were supplanted by those of the antique.

Caesar Daly belongs here. He professes this belief, for:--

1. The world has never seen the phenomenon of another such rebirth.

2. The entire diversity of the means, by which the two art epochs have been developed, makes this impossible.

3. The assertion that antique art, that had been buried for centuries beneath the culture produced by itself, alone founded the esthetic splendor of a new civilization, based on new principles and worked out by new races, is equivalent to the denial of the connection of art with civilization, and it denies to an art its basal character, which must consist in giving expression

to the feelings and ideas of its time.

Daly states his own opinion on this in the following words. "If the Renaissance was also no substitution of the antique for the Gothic spirit, then was the Renaissance nourished by the antique in its cradle, and the modern spirit has thereby accepted a great loan from antiquity".

Eugene Müntz ²¹ writes, that the true nature of the Renaissance in the absolute sense did not consist in the imitation of antiquity; but one must admit therewith the efforts of the artists of the time of Charlemagne, or the Romanesque period, as well as those of Louis David, Ingres, Canova and of Thorwaldsen.

Note 21. Hist. de l'Art pendant la Renaissance. Paris. 1888-1894. Vol. 3. p. 3.

The last champions of the Renaissance, writes Müntz, ²² the Sangallos, Vignola, Serlio, Palladio, adhered to the already utilized (antique) buildings; but they analyzed them with still greater severity than their predecessors, and only more by antiquity - - . He then mentions the example of Falconetto, who traveled to Rome after a dispute at Verona, merely to test something on an antique building, and he then writes further:- "With what zeal does not one race excel the other in its work; Palladio corrects Serlio, Desgodetz corrects Palladio and Serlio, the 19th century corrects the 16th, and thus one attains to a mathematically accurate, that replaces a more or less independent interpretation. Here breaks forth the difference between the gift of imitation and the power of assimilation. Copying is the slavish repetition of a foreign work; to assimilate this is to transform it and make it one's own.

Note 22. Müntz. Vol. 3. p. 108.

Instead of appearing as an enemy or a hindrance, the antique was regarded as a worthy helper, utilized for humanizing and disciplining; the halo of youth, that it owed to having been long forgotten and to the works of Italian architects, soon raised it from a helper and ally to be a master and lord; but as soon as it spoke as a master, the Renaissance was at an end".²³

Note 23. Planat. p. 317.

In the latest Paris "Grande Encyclopedie", H. Saladin wrote in 1888:- "One may connect a part of the buildings in the reigns of Henry IV and of Louis XIII with the second period of the

Renaissance. But after the beginning of the 17th century, architecture more and more lost its own originality, let itself be inspired more and more by the antique, and approaching this, in order under Louis XIV to attain to magnitude and a certain unity at the cost of grace and variety".

c. Definition of the Idea of the Renaissance.

13. Earliest Use of the Word "Renaissance".

I have neither succeeded by means of literary research, nor by inquiry among the most competent contemporaries, in seeking when and where the term "Renaissance" was first employed. Those passages in which I found the word earliest are contained in De Caumont's Essay mentioned below; ²⁴ this adds to the second period of the "tertiary Gothic" in brackets, "period of the Renaissance". (See Appendix at end of this volume).

Note 24. Essai sur l'Architecture religieuse du Moyen Age. Vol. 1 of Societe des Antiquaires de Normandie. Part 2. Caen. 1824. p. 654.

Quatremere de Quincy continually speaks ²⁵ (also on Brunellesco) of the restoration of good taste; but in one place he writes, that Alberti must take a first place in the history of those men, who have especially contributed in architecture to the "Renaissance" of the arts and the revival of good taste.

Note 25. Histoire de la Vie des plus celebres Architectes du XI e jusque la fin du XVIII e Siecle. Paris. 1830.

Many believe that the earliest use of the expression "Renaissance" should be referred to Vasari, and this is also partially correct in Italian. That by the word "Rinascita", i.e. rebirth, is understood not merely a single act of resurrection in consequence of a new principle, but likewise refers to all the efforts thereby produced, is based on the fact, that he speaks of the progress of the rebirth (see original for text). Hence he does not wish to designate thereby a mere transition course, but the art arising from the rebirth and progressive, which had already reached a certain completeness at his time, in his opinion. He therefore also terms as Renaissance the art arising from and after the important event of the rebirth. (Also see Art. 24).

An idea connected with the resurrection and rebirth of art also already clearly occurs in the words of Lorenzo's Ghiberti

in his second Commentary,²⁶ indeed already applied to Giotto, "the discoverer of such a great theory, which was buried during about 600 years". And how did he effect this rising from the grave? By what the others did not attain, by bringing in natural art again, connected with "refinement" and inseparable from moderation, i.e. the harmony of proportions. But these are just the principles, which when applied in the South, in Italy or Greece, produced antique art.

Note 26. Vasari. Edition of Lemonnier. Florence. 1846. I.p.18.

14. The Renaissance as an Alliance.

To understand the nature of the Renaissance as a kind of alliance, as Ghiberti already does, is also done by a series of recent writers.

Burckhardt's designation of the architecture of the Renaissance as a derived style is based upon the same thought of an alliance between the antique source and the modern spirit.

Philarete Chasles²⁷ writes:- "The art works of the ancients produced new ones, and modern Rome became the proud rival of the Greek cities - - . The Italian artists created astonishing works, which still serve our most famous masters as models --. The period designated as "Renaissance" is finally and chiefly characterized as the fusion, which was completed between the modern Christian spirit and the reawakened spirit of antiquity. -- It was itself merely a period of transition".

Note 27. Encyclopédie du XIX Siècle. 3rd edition. Paris. 1872. Vol. 30.

Müntz likewise considers the Renaissance in accordance with its internal nature as an alliance, an agreement, indeed between tradition and initiative or invention, in other words, between the antique and realism.²⁸

Note 28. Müntz. Vol. 3. p. 3.

Of the first years of the 16th century, Paul Mantz wrote:- "This historic moment is peculiarly interesting; it is the magical and fruitful hour, in which something of the Italian spirit mingles with the French spirit". He terms the first years of this century Franco-Italian.²⁹

Note 29. See his Studies on Mantegna in Gazette des Beaux Arts. 1886. August.

15. The Antique or new Element.

However diverse may be the views of the nature of the art of the Renaissance in France, on thing is certain, that the same element which joined the late Gothic and modified that style of architecture, for which it becomes necessary to find a new name, is taken from antique Roman architecture on the basis of Italian interpretation, that these elements always became more numerous, that men toiled more and more to unite them in the original spirit into larger groups and buildings, and finally certain kinds of buildings are designed entirely in the antique spirit.

If in the time of Charlemagne and then in Pisa and Southern France, the endeavor to again treat the antique forms somewhat better than before, did not lead to a Renaissance, then is this no proof for its eternal weakness, or that not it, but the Flemish realism produced the Renaissance.

On the contrary, all this shows that with the first pulse-beat of the Renaissance and its first breath, what it inhaled anew was antique. Not the Gothic, that lived in it, is the new, -- it was already there, -- it is the addition of the antique, which is the new element, as may be seen by a comparison of Figs 1³⁰ and 2.³¹

Note 30. Reproduced from Rev. Gen. d'Arch. Vol. 44. Pl. 34.

Note 31. From Saupageot's Palais etc. Vol. 4. Pl. 9.

On the other hand, the fact that it is indisputably the occurrence of the antique, its permeation of the late Gothic, and its ever increasing part in the architecture of the 16th century, that forms the new element, which calls for the designation of "Renaissance"; further, contrary to the fact, that a possibly complete treatment of the problem in the spirit of antique architecture in Italy was of itself the visible aim of the Renaissance, -- it seems entirely inconceivable in opposition to these two facts, that one desires to have the architectural style produced under such conditions and before the aim is attained, which first appeared before the eyes, instead of making this properly the bloom and fruit of the entire Renaissance movement, as a historically authentic result thereof.

16. Views on the effect of the Antique.

Concerning the relation of the Renaissance to a more intensive and more severe occurrence of antique forms in the classic spirit, we stand before three different opinions, all of which

permit the Renaissance to end with an appearance of classical architecture. In a remarkable way however, each of these views permits this to occur before a different period of the classic.

1. The high Renaissance of Henry II.

2. The classic period, that in accordance with the views of many should begin with the Bourbons at about 1600.

The pure classic between 1730 and 1750. We here refer to Fig. 3,³² whose author was a Frenchman, who already endeavored to take up classic forms about 1535.

Note 32. Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. B. 2. ref.

The last definition, which proves to be the same that Burckhardt established in his "Cicerone" for the Italian Renaissance, appears to me to correspond especially to the actual circumstances, both from the historical stand-point of architecture, as well as from the other intellectual developments, so that it may be adopted without hesitation for description of the architectural style of the Renaissance in France, without thereby intending to assert, that it there reached its end, and that the present architecture of France no longer belongs to this style.

From the point of view of such an alliance, we will now investigate the character of French architecture since the cessation of the Gothic, in order to be able to fix the duration of the Renaissance.

17. Continuance of the Renaissance in France until the present Time.

It was necessary in the preceding pages to place in the strongest light the different opinions of the French themselves upon this period of their own architecture, in order to secure the best possible understanding of the nature of the style concerned, so is it no less necessary to also consider from a European stand-point the appearance of an architectural style, that originated outside France and prevailed throughout the entire West, and especially to compare its development with that in its native land of Italy.

Concerning the duration of the Renaissance in Italy and the periods into which it may be divided, Burckhardt expresses himself as follows. He distinguishes two periods of the proper Renaissance: the first from 1420 to 1500, the time of seeking, the early Renaissance; the second may scarcely reach to the year

1540; it is the golden period of modern architecture, the high Renaissance. After 1540 already commenced the first signs of the Barocco ³³ style; yet ~~the~~ high Renaissance still continued beside it from 1540 to 1580, although more under the influence of a calculating and combining understanding. ³⁴ Burckhardt strikingly says, that Barocco art speaks the same language as the Renaissance, but a brutalized dialect thereof. ³⁵ Burckhardt extends the Barocco and the true Rococo, scarcely to be considered in Italy, to the resulting reawakening of pure Classicism between the years 1730 and 1750. ³⁶ Hence, as well as from the opinion of Burckhardt, that what is termed Renaissance is the origin of modern architecture and decoration, it is clear that he considered all phenomena of architecture in Italy from 1420 to 1730 as the various phases of a single style. This has likewise for many years been my own deepest conviction.

Note 33. Burckhardt's Der Cicerone. 5 th edition by Bode. Leipzig. 1884. p. 84.

Note 34. Der Cicerone. p. 253.

Note 35. Der Cicerone. p. 277.

Note 36. Der Cicerone. p. 355.

Let us now examine now it is with the different phases of the style in French architecture, corresponding to those mentioned in Italy, and how long in French architecture this alliance lasted between antique architecture and a definitely expressed native tendency of genius.

It may well be said, that as on the one hand Italian and also in part antique forms were adopted, but that on the other hand these were animated by a native vivid perception, or at least were vividly interpreted, this appearance may perhaps form the characteristic nature of French Renaissance in the 16 th century, thus during the same periods, which most Frenchmen now designate as the time of their Renaissance. Therefore if the explanation of what composes the period and duration of the French Renaissance be based upon amount and intensity of animated inspiration and of free invention, with which the French treated the forms borrowed from Italy, then is their idea of the duration of the Renaissance justified, or at least it should seem at first justified. We say, apparently justified; for more closely considered, one likewise beholds from the time of Louis XIII

to the death of Louis XIV a certain national understanding in the entire interpretation of forms, which are substantially in nowise different from those, which had already been naturalized in 1540 - 1570 and are designated as the style of Henry II; in other words, the forms of the high Renaissance. (Figs. 4, 37 5 38).

Note 37. Sauvageot. Vol. 3.

Note 38. Marot, Jean. Ouvre de. I-30.

One cannot therefore say, that the existence or absence of a national participation in French architecture alone makes the difference between the architectural styles of the 16 th and 17 th centuries in France; for in both these centuries did this interest exist; merely the national genius changed.

18. Period of Louis XIII and Louis XIV.

Has this spirit of the 17 th century anywhere changed anything in the number of the elements, that must be considered as composing the Renaissance style in the time of Pope Julius II and Clement VII in Italy, as well as in the time of Henry II in France? Not at all. The appearance of the fashion of brickwork under Henry IV and Louis XIII may perhaps be cited as proof of the contrary. But this tendency there forms but the half of the architectural style concerned and of its current; it is also no such decided novelty as many believe; the other half of that architectural style was logically developed further. Only in the spirit of the entire interpretation which the decorative enhancement of the architectural framework, composed of the columnar orders, received, did any modification occur. The principles of composition of the plan, as well as of the elevation, are always the same, especially those, which were finally fixed by Bramante between 1500 and 1514, even if this truth be not adequately recognized and disseminated today.

Reason, that judgement on which the French have since laid such great weight, thought, or calculation directed toward strict obedience to principles and severe adherence to formulas, enters in place of the joyful and gay pleasure and imagination of the Gallo-French temperament in the 16 th century. In the dignity and stiff majesty may indeed be seen the effect of the Spanish influence then so strong in France, appearing with its frigid dignity, grandioseness and ceremony, which apparently could not be fully vivified by the Huguenot-Dutch influence con-

connected with one side of the national temperament.

If the real architectural framework was quite severe in case of the masters concerned, they then permitted a much freer art to prevail in the internal stucco and fresco decoration, just like that of Pietro Berettini da Cortona, on which depended the freer style of decoration in the period of Louis XIV.

Of the attitude of the era of Richelieu towards the antique, Henri Martin ³⁹ writes:-- "It was an intensive revival of the Renaissance, much more radical than the period of the 16 th century, and a far more systematic extinction of the middle ages".

Note 39. Marot. Also see Art. 4.

Müntz writes:-- ⁴⁰ "The last workers in the Renaissance, the Sangallos, Vignola, Serlio, Palladio, adhered to the buildings already studied; ⁴¹ but they analyzed them with still greater severity than their predecessors, and they only swore by antiquity --?" If these masters, as here occurs, with full justice be still counted in the Italian Renaissance, the simplest logic then requires, that the style of Louis XIV which is apparently only the French edition of the same art, should likewise be accounted with the French Renaissance.

19. Period of Louis XV.

During the Regency and the first half of the reign of Louis XV was felt a strong need of freedom from the cold and stiff regularity of Louis XIV and men soon yielded to the free and gayly coquettish caprices of Gallic genius. All this was completed, as in the preceding period, within the continuing framework of the columnar orders and their complements, and extended especially to the decorative part of the architectural style, indeed occurring with so prominent a development of the national temperament, so that by this participation of the national genius, the style of Louis XV became one of the most brilliant expressions of the peculiarly French art tendency.

Just as the late Gothic flamboyant style moved within the real structural members of the two preceding periods and was satisfied further with the curvature of certain crowning members, Borromini and the Rococo proceeded likewise, though far more rapidly, extending the curved lines also to certain lines of the plan, as well as in the definite capricious forms similar to those in nature, even to all lines of the composition. ---

The free and capricious spirit of the Rococo style, the combination of the common elements, that exists from the beginning of the Renaissance, between the preceding periods of time, brings such homogeneousness of the appearances of this style, that one is always challenged anew to a comparison with the uniform development of the Gothic style, which found its close in the late Gothic.

Thus it appears always clearer to us, that the Rococo likewise forms an intellectual close, being indeed the close of an architectural style, whose conventional beginning cannot be placed later than at the beginning of the Renaissance itself. If one wishes to put down as one style, that lasting from Henry IV till 1750, and which is different from that prevailing in France from 1500 to 1600, then must one similarly not consider the architecture of the second and third phases of the Gothic style (1250 - 1500) as belonging to the Gothic style of architecture, as soon as one has designated by this name that from 1150 to 1250.

20. Period from 1750 to 1862.

Yet the Rococo forms no final close of the Renaissance architecture, as on the contrary was the case with the flamboyant for the Gothic style of architecture. No true break in style follows the Rococo; but the style of Louis XVI begins the same development anew, when it recurs to the style of Julius II. And again in Italy, the 16 th century had already had its Rococo, which might from its nature be termed capricious, bizarre, fantastic, or capricious-fantastic.

On the one hand, the development of the architectural style beginning with the Renaissance thus conventionally appears to extend to the end of the Rococo. But on the other, both the earlier existence of this bizarre or first Rococo style, as well as the appearance of the style of Louis XVI and the Empire succeeding the Rococo appears to determine, that the character and the law of development of architecture from 1500 to 1750 is in part different from that of the development of Gothic architecture. It likewise seems decided, that the architectural treatment after the Rococo comprises both in spirit and forms all constituent elements of the Renaissance, and it thereby also belongs to the style of Renaissance architecture.

Meanwhile the architectural period of Louis XVII again react-

reacting against the preceding one, returns to the severe tendency, indeed in a way, that may be designated as a kind of resurrection of the architectural style of Bramante and of Raphael's loggias, though in a somewhat softer treatment, and it only afterwards continued truly in the style of the Renaissance. Rivoalen ⁴² therefore justly speaks of the Neo-Renaissance under Louis XVI.

Note 42. Plana p. 582.*

We may further not unconditionally share the views of those, who assume that in French art, a formal separation was caused by the revolution from its past and in its traditions. It rather appears that the connection of the style of the Empire with the style of Louis XVI was always closer and more logical, and after the objective, cold and classical severity of the former, there appear with the period of Romanticism various tendencies, that exhibit freedom, imagination, and frequently caprice, that always characterizes the third period of the development of the style, and which have attained their climax in the Paris Opera House of Charles Garnier.

The Empire style was succeeded by, and there developed again in part, -- according to the usual French mode of expression, -- not architectural styles, but "schools":-- the Classical, the Neo-Gothic and those of general Eclecticism and of Realism. ⁴³ This abundance of diverse tendencies perhaps indicates a period of fermentation, corresponding to that under Henry IV, out of which might possibly be expanded the fourth period of the development of the Renaissance.

21. Establishment of the Conception "Renaissance".

As results from the preceding, the French usually designate as "Renaissance" those periods of their architecture, which immediately begin to develop with the penetration of antique elements into Gothic forms toward the end of the 15th century. They permit these to endure so long as a perceptible quantity of free national genius makes possible a living perception of antique forms, and permit their application to the problems of the contemporaneous period. Yet there with a mixed people composed of at least three great races, as the French are, in the domain of intellect and of temperament, of which alone we speak here, the idea of what is "national" must vary so greatly, more

diverse (even today as well), than seems to be generally assumed, one may frequently observe, especially during the subjective wave of artistic development in which we find ourselves, that many believe that the French national spirit is based chiefly upon the Gothic. In consequence thereof it has been believed, that a living national perception of antique forms only occurred during the 16 th century, and limited to the latter the duration of the Renaissance.

Such an understanding is very easily understood in case of a people so highly gifted artistically as the French, and indeed so much the more as the vivacious, original, and in part the very subjective comprehension, the animation of their mercurial spirit, as Philibert de l'Orme says, form not only one of the most prominent sides of the national character of the French, -- but certainly also is to be considered as an element in the service of one of those special missions, that are distributed among the various races.

But to me this limitation appears incorrect, both from the French, as well as from the European point of view, and likewise is not in harmony with the conception of what the Renaissance is and should be accepted for, with the conception to which we advise adherence with every energy. This limitation is finally just as erroneous in the domain of general history, as in those of architecture and of esthetics.

The architecture of the Renaissance is likewise the only one actually existing in France today. The noblest and most famous works, -- like Brune's Ministry of Agriculture, Daumet's restoration of Chantilly, Duc's hall of pas-perdus in the Palace of Justice, Labrousse's reading hall in the National Library, and the Paris Opera-House of Charles Garnier, -- they all have their places in the living genealogy of the Renaissance in France.

22. The Author's Definition of the Renaissance.

If one desires to find a definition of the Renaissance, which shall apply to both its original occurrence in Italy as well as to its appearance in the other countries of the old and new world, at the same time comprising the chief works, like those appearing while the constituent elements of the Renaissance endured, we believe that this definition must be given as follows:-- the Renaissance is the use of the architectural forms of classic

antiquity and their principles in a new spirit, with their application to the solution of the problems of the later "sometimes modern" times succeeding the period of the Gothic; a spiritual as well as intellectual alliance of antique culture with that of a later period coming after the Gothic.

Considered in the broadest manner, the architecture of the Renaissance is the reconciliation of the genius and the principles of the antique Greco-Roman architecture with that of the Gallo-germanic peoples, as this found its highest and costliest living expression in the Gothic style.

It consists of the sum of all merely conceivable solutions, which have been produced in the various steps, halts or stages, through which this architectural union has passed in all European countries.

From this it comes that the Renaissance is the reconciliation and the living bond between the two architectural styles, which are the highest conceivable embodiment of the greatest architectural contrasts:- of the horizontal and the vertical principles, of the subjective and objective modes of invention, of a striving from the details to the whole, and of a development from a general entirety to the details, of that working from within outwards, and from the exterior to the interior.

As the Gothic is the highest expression of the vertical carried to a climax, which everywhere rises from the earth as an architectural force, and in its composition proceeds from the scale of man and of the smallest architectural unity by addition or multiplication; just so does Greco-Roman architecture represent the highest principle of architecture placed on the earth or transmitted from elsewhere. While it everywhere strove for a horizontal elevation and termination, it emphasizes the character of living, but of settled repose, and of the eternal duration of the objective truth. Always proceeding from the unity of the whole, and taking this as scale, its subdivision into members is based upon the ground ideas of subtraction and of division.

Such a conception and explanation of the idea of the "architecture of the Renaissance" not only corresponds to historic truth, but it is also consistent with the belief, that the world is progressing to the good. It alone permits the recogniti-

recognition with this belief, that the Renaissance, -- the ecclesiastical as well as the secular, -- is the greatest event in the world's history since the origin of Christendom, indeed likewise architecturally an event of similar signification. For this was it necessary, that it might express the complete ideal of the modern world, might absorb all goodness and eternal truth of the preceding architectural styles, and be in a position to profit by them. It could do this by a definition alone, as here attempted.

We cannot possibly satisfy ourselves with these definitions, which assume that a historical movement of such significance to the world's history has produced only the opposite from that which everything in it strove for:-- the reintroduction into art of objective perfection and its harmony with subjective individual freedom, for which all truly classical art periods labored. Men judged it according to its endeavors and for its aims and not merely by what it did not yet attain. The classic periods are the best ages of the Renaissance. They were its aim from the very first; to exclude them from the Renaissance is indeed illogical.

Just as little is the opinion justified, that this architecture is necessarily a less Christian style, than the preceding. Such a view is perhaps apparently justified, but it always rests on a confusion of what a style frequently becomes in unworthy hands, with what it was capable of and was called to do, corresponding to its innermost nature.

23. Difference between Renaissance, Revival and Awakening.

The thorough and vast difference between the Renaissance and all somewhat similar endeavors for a purer or more intensive employment of antique fragments or elements, such as we see in the time of Charlemagne, in Pisa in the 11 th century, or in Tuscany in the 12 th century, consists in this, that in the era of the latter no complete, thorough, esthetic breach had occurred with the Roman forms. Ever more unskillfully, more rudely and misunderstood, were they used by the Latin, as well as by the German barbarians in Italy, chiefly also, as they were employed in the various Romanesque schools of the West to express thoughts or forms of their own ideas, -- for ideas, that the Northern peoples, who had settled down in the provinces of the

former Roman empire, filled with an inward impulse, always labored to more fully express.

But with the Gothic finally arose a new, a noble art, which in all phases, the esthetic as well as the structural stood in opposition to the antique, greater than could be otherwise conceived. And since after 350 years, such an art had exhausted the entire treasure of its ideals, when men found it necessary to form a new alliance with antique art, believed dead for a thousand years, this was an event, such as the antique world had never yet seen, and which deserved to bear the fine name of "Renaissance", and to the architecture due to this alliance is for all time due the name of Renaissance architecture in particular.

24. Graphical Representation of the Development of French Architecture since 1500.

Vasari calls the attention of artists to the fact, that the art rose from a small beginning to the highest splendor, and it fell from such an exalted place into the lowest ruin; he says that peculiar to the arts are birth, growth, decay and death, just like the human body.⁴⁴ In consequence thereof, he continues, may be easily recognized the progress of its rebirth and the perfection itself, to which it had again risen in his day. The expression "progress of its rebirth" also already contains in its entire form the verbal word "Renaissance".

Note 44. Proemio delle vite. No. 18a Edition of Lemonnier. I. 214.

If we attempt a graphical representation of architecture in France in accordance with the intensity of the antique spirit, and of the abundance of antique elements, that sometimes occur in the different phases of the style, the drawing is produced, which we give on the adjacent Plate. The antique tendency indicated by red, from the campaigns of Charles VIII into Italy until the beginning of the erection of the new Paris Opera House, (1862), forms three waves of exactly equal length, which alternate with opposing tendencies, when a freer spirit prevails, a spirit that may be considered as a continuation of the native Gothic, supported and strongly influenced by the spirit of freedom and frequently by the acprice of the school of Michelangelo and of Borromini on the one hand, and by the spirit of the Hug-

Huguenots and the Dutch on the other.

On the side of the tendency indicated by red, we have given a graphical representation of the duration of the lives and activity of Italian architects, which exerted the greatest influence on the development of the Italian, and later of the French Renaissance, indeed of those, whose works belong to the legitimate or objective direction of the style. On the side of the tendency denoted by blue, we have done the same for the Italian masters, which show the predominating subjective art.

The former tendency culminated in Bramante, into whose "four manners" all Italian architecture before him empties itself, and from which all after him proceeds. The second tendency culminates in Michelangelo. By the waves in the "cartouches" of certain masters, we wish to recall that they had different "shades", where we are unable to give these waves in exact accordance with their chronological duration. By the depth of the "cartouches", we wish to call attention to the importance of the master; neither can a mathematical scale be assumed for these.

Of the two narrow side strips accompanying the main current on both sides, the red one represents the direct study of the sources from the antique monuments, and the green indicates the source of the direct study of nature, chiefly in the sense of the Gothic and Flemish naturalistic tendency.

We shall refer to the adjacent Plate in various places in the following.

Chapter 2. The French Renaissance a French-Italian Compromise.

a. French Need of a Renaissance.

25. Need of a Renaissance.

In the life of the individual, like that of the peoples, there successively follow periods, -- probably in regular alternation, -- in which the need of external stimulation is found, and those in which men no less feel a need, to show the fruits of the combination of this stimulation and their own understanding, and to disseminate them among men. This acceptance on the one hand and the modified reproduction of that received on the other hand, this spiritual or moral aspiration of the individual, like the historic aspiration process of entire peoples, forms one of the ground laws of all creation.

Just as little as that a man can continually only exhale, without constantly inhaling fresh air, just so little can any people, -- certainly not a mixed race like the French, -- continually produce, at least not on the same intellectual domain. During the entire Gothic period, Northern France was the unbroken chief source of architectural development, of the true Gothic tendency in the West. With the end of the Gothic style of architecture, in which the Gallo-Germanic North had given expression to everything artistic, and in great part indeed to everything intellectual, that it was then able to invent for itself, France reached a period, when it was compelled to inhale fresh air from the outside. This fundamental truth for architecture, which at present many are unwilling to recognize as "modern" enough, was fully valued by Viollet-le-Duc. "The national architecture", as he writes, ⁴⁵ "the church like the monastic, vanished lustreless in obscurity. Secular architecture with feudalism, but with a clear light, the Renaissance, which added nothing to church architecture and merely hastened its fall, brought to secular architecture a new element, alive enough to restore its youth"

Note 45. Dict. Rais. de l'Arch. Franc. Vol. 1. p. 325.

In this need for something not Gothic, in the conviction that a yet other conception of life and the arts must be given, lay the true cause, that made necessary the Renaissance based on a new ground principle. And since this new ground principle exi-

existed neither in this country nor in any other one in Europe still employing Gothic, men must either enter a period of sleep and lose all activity, or they must adopt from outside this new ground principle, from the South, from Italy, Spain or from Provencal France. Neither of the countries last named were alone prepared therefor, so that Italy alone remained as the base of the light!

26. Decay of Culture in Languedoc.

If the first attempt for a Germano-Gallo-Roman culture in the West in Provence in Southern France had not been destroyed by the war with the Albigenses, and in poetry at least, partly transplanted into Tuscany, Provence and Languedoc would perhaps have been capable of modifying the invading Northern Gothic in the same way as Arnolfo and his school in Florence, thereby receiving from the noble antique monuments of Southern France a stimulation, like the Tuscans from those of Rome. In such a case, the Renaissance would certainly have originated on French territory instead of in Tuscany. In spite of their early disappearance as a political power, the Goths then as it will appear, exerted a too little considered influence on the popular temperament, and left this behind them, like the Lombards in Italy.

The necessity for extending the hand to Italy is likewise recognized by Anthyme-Saint-Paul, for he says:- ⁴³ "A movement toward the tendency of Italian ideas could not be protracted indefinitely, even independently from the campaigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, without which it would finally be possible to explain everything. When here, contrary to the usual abandonment, the war put in motion art, because the luxurious clergy, friends of ostentation and free from all prejudices, participated therein".

Note 46. Planat. p. 359. Renaissance Francaise.

It is indeed in contradiction to this, when the same author writes in another place:- ⁴⁷ "The school of Dijon with the exception of Michel Colombe does not change the fact, that the French earlier looked towards the North, then to the South". This contradiction must therefore be based on this, that Anthyme-Saint-Paul is inclined toward Gourajod's opinion (Arts. 5, 9), according to which that is already termed Renaissance, which is thoroughly Gothic, i.e. was here Northern-realistic and

forms the very latest climax of this art, that without permeation by the Neo-antique would have remained the same Gothic for thousands of years, since it was the expression of the national indigenous art of the North.

Note 47. Planat p. 359.

b. National Participation.

27. National Elements.

Under such conditions, it is truly correct to say:- the most striking characteristic and most easily recognized until the most recent period is that of nationality, if everything added to that previously existing, the Gothic, is brought from Italy or is picked up there. "Our architects", continues Anthyme, "are not for a moment to be accused of plagiarism, nor for an instant did they permit Italian architects to act instead of their own". Perhaps not. And yet the ground principle of the treatment of form and transposition, -- when this does not concern, so to speak, purely Italian works created by Italians, as for example the Tomb of Louis XII, -- springs from the Milanese, and if its use produces other phenomena as in Italy, this occurs because problems and tastes were also very different.

28. Antique Monuments in France.

The fact alone, that the Roman monuments of Southern France as a result of the cessation of Provencal culture, seem to have exerted scarcely any influence upon the great stream of the French Renaissance, fully shows how great about 1500 was the difference between the Gothic and the antique spirit, how it was necessary in order to cause admission of the latter into the culture domain of the Gothic style of architecture, that it should **first** be adapted to Northern taste, indeed in the Milanese form, in which Gothic finials appear scattered over the antique like gold dust or sugar.

In view of such facts and conditions, I have hesitated to decide that the Renaissance originated in France, or merely to lament the invasion of Italian influence, because of this apparently indigenous appearance of a native-national art development; i.e. to not only decide against one of the greatest events in the world's history, against a settled historical fact, but also against the principle of the regular alternation of opposed principles, which like inhalation and expiration, lie at the

basis of all organic, intellectual and religious life.

29. Gothic as a Northern Participation.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, it appears quite easy, -- at least in the domain of the French Renaissance architecture, -- to distinguish between the native-national and the Italian-Antique elements. The national participation in the architectural style of the Renaissance is Gothic in spirit and form; it already existed; it is the old, which continues to live; it is the mother. The new is that, which was not there, the Italian, the foreign; this is the father!

The Gothic was the first truly Northern art; the new was the antique, which entered a second time upon the stage of the world's history. It was born again; to it belonged -- for a time -- the designation of "Renaissance".

The nations commonly believe the error, that they exist only for themselves and to develop the national element for themselves. But one may readily go too far in the last opinion. Every nation indeed has a mission to influence other nations now and then; but according to a higher principle in the world, it must experience a reanimation by foreign influence and a new development of its own elements, indeed in a peaceful way, or if this be not accepted, by way of might, even by that of conquest.

Not with weapons in hand, like Caesar formerly, but invited by the French themselves, the Italian Renaissance now comes to France and generally unites, -- at least in the beginning, -- with the late Gothic in a peaceful compromise.

c. Compromise.

30. Elements of compromise.

According to its origin, architecture in France after 1500 was a Franco-Italian and an Italiano-French art; it is an alliance of Italian and French elements.⁴⁸ The different periods and phases of the development of this compromise style have produced a series of architectural styles, which are chiefly named after the contemporary kings, as for example; style of Francis I, of Henry II etc. They spring essentially from two chief sources.

Note 48. Henri Martin says very truly in his Histoire de France (4 th edition, Paris. 1855-1860): -- "The Louvre, completed

on the plan of Pierre Lescot, would have been the masterpiece of the Franco-Italian school" --; and in another passage: - "Catherine, who was reproached with surrendering France to her Italian minister, on the contrary had Italian monuments erected by French artists".

1. From the varied proportions of the mixture and from the peculiarities of the Italian and the French elements in combination.

2. From the organic development of the national spirit in Italy and France, from which proceeded the esthetic feeling and the temperament, and which sometimes employed these elements in France.

This compromise between Italian and French arrangements lies in the nature of the matter. It affords an obvious proof rather against a view, which is very acceptable in recent times in France, and which consists in summarily excluding the direct influence of an Italian from participation in the design of a building, when this exhibits any French arrangements.

Proceeding from a correct desire to assign to the national masters of the French Renaissance the part belonging to them in due proportion, and as a partly national reaction against certain incarnate absurd traditions, Palustre has given way to developing into a system the exclusion of Italian participation from the French Renaissance. His theories and their frequent acceptance have permitted us to lay more weight on this question, than we should perhaps have otherwise done, and to set the relations of the national to the Italian in the clearest possible light.

31. Palustre's Theory.

Palustre has somewhere expressed the thought, that if Italian architects were invited into France, this only had the purpose, that they were to erect buildings there, which should be similar to those existing in their native land of Italy. Since such buildings, strictly taken, very seldom occur in France, Palustre and the modern school remain under the impression, that a direct Italian influence occurred in very rare cases, and they even exclude it, where it nevertheless existed. Therefore when he asserts that buildings, which show a perceptible portion of French arrangements and Gothic details, cannot have originated

from the designs or with the aid of Italian architects, one is at the first glance inclined to hold this view as unassailable. Yet more carefully considered, its entire untenability no less clearly appears.

32. Refutation of this Theory.

As a splendid refutation of the theory of Palustre and others, we refer to the numerous sketches of Leonardo da Vinci for his model of a dome over the intersection of the Cathedral at Milan,⁴⁹ which is entirely a compromise of antique and Gothic forms, like those that form the style of Louis XII and Francis I. We further direct attention to the opinion of Bramante on the models for covering the crossing of Milan Cathedral,⁵⁰ wherein he not only regards a Gothic-like structure as self-evident, but shows himself better acquainted with some principles of composition of Gothic interiors, than are some modern Gothicists. We refer further to Bramante's windows on a part of the Grand Hospital at Milan.

Note 49. Given in Geymüller. Leonardo da Vinci as architect. In Richete's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. London. 1883.

Note 50. Printed in Geymüller. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom etc. Paris and Vienna. 1875. p. 116 e.s.

Also as further proofs of the incorrectness of the opinions of Palustre and others, assuming that there can only be a question of Italian interference, where the building erected in France is similar to those seen erected in Italy, there may serve the work of Andrea Sansovino in Portugal and the design of Leonardo da Vinci, both of which show in what degree the Italians understood how to change their proposals to accord with the taste of their employer. After Vasari has enumerated different works in the domains of architecture and sculpture by Andrea Sansovino in Portugal, he continues:- "Andrea, while he was with that king, also busied himself with some extravagant and difficult architectural works according to the custom of that country and superintended them, to please the king, of which works I once saw a book of his in Monte Sansovino - -".⁵¹ Among the sketches of Leonardo da Vinci is found the ground plan of a Chateau on the road to Amboise (Fig. 16), that in the general plan, in the arrangement of round towers at the angles and beside the gateway, placed on the main axis, is very closely allied to

the French arrangement at Chateau Le Verger (Fig. 17). From the words "stia" and "stieno", which occur in the notes of Leonardo, it is evident that this is a design. Since the chief dimensions of the court are in round numbers 80 and 120 braccias, and these are given in Italian measures, it may be assumed, that Leonardo himself was the author of the design. We thereby see now even the greatest Italian master in France was compelled in various points to adhere to the arrangements usual there, while he proposed the Italian location for the stairways and did not place them as winding stairways in the towers, which at that time almost everywhere project into the courts at their inner angles. Since the plan by Leonardo of the principal chateau is entirely symmetrical, it is hard to say whether the court with the stables, as in Chateau Le Verger and other French chateaus, was to lie in front or in rear; the succeeding plan, likewise in part surrounded by moats, must indeed form a garden enclosed by porticos. Notable is the great basin, that by means of seats on three sides is at least arranged for a kind of naumachia for nautical sports. 52

Note 51. Vasari. Vita di Andrea Sansovino. IV. p. 514.

Note 52. From Geymüller. Leonardo da Vinci as Architect in Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. Vol. 2. Pl. 81. The notes of Leonardo are written from right to left as usual.

(See original text for Italian notes).

Lastly as further evidence that in every invasion of a new architectural style into a foreign land compromises are necessary, the well known works of the famous Aristotle Fioravante in Moscow may be recalled; the only difference between these and a work in the style of Louis XII or of Francis I consists in this, that there the native element in the mixture was Byzantine-Perisian. In Switzerland, in Germany, in England etc., one meets with the same principle of compromise; it lies in the nature of things.

Chapter 3. Diversity in Italian Influences on the French Renaissance.

33. General Survey.

Everywhere has been the endeavor to win due recognition for the part, that the Northern temperament has taken in the development of the Western European architecture since the migrations of the nations. Overcome by the contest for this just thing, several distinguished French investigators and writers have threatened the part played in French architecture by Italian, but have been unable to avoid the danger of their inclination toward so unjust an estimation of this Italian participation, as the case with their opponents for the last two centuries, concerning the part of the native element.

According to an assertion attributed to Viollet-le-Duc, exaggeration is necessary in such questions. Yet since such a declaration can scarcely be assented to, an attempt will be made hereafter to decide what may be regarded as correct and true. It will especially be necessary to show, that the Italian influence frequently existed in a form different from that assumed for it, but that it was a much greater one, than is frequently believed in recent times, should be accepted, especially among persons not artists.

In order to show the measure in which this change of the national Gothic architecture occurred, fifteen different ways are here given, in which the form expression of Italian architecture gradually penetrated into France, without thereby wishing to assert that the enumeration of such ways is here exhausted. For such readers as are not able themselves to create as artists, and who may therefore be much inclined to esteem any one of the sources mentioned to be unimportant, it may be stated, that a hasty sketch or illustration frequently influences the entire life of an architect, by opening to him a new creative domain, and by an ideal fertilization, becoming the source of his best works.

The fifteen methods indicated are as follows:--

1. Italian original drawings.
2. Italian, Netherlandish and French copper engravings.
3. Italian bronze plaques.
4. Italian relief models of buildings.

5. Marble fountains sent from Italy to France.
6. Intarsias sent from Italy to France.
7. Tombs sent from Italy to France.
8. Casts sent from Italy to France.
9. Influence of Italian paintings.
10. Influence of Italian illustrated books and translations.
11. Italian instruction or Italian lectures on Vitruvius.
12. Influence of Frenchmen, who had been in Italy.
 - a. Laymen.
 - b. Artists.
13. Influence of certain Italian monuments.
14. Influence of certain Italian masters.
15. Influence and works of Italians in France.
 - a. Colony of Amboise and school of the Loire.
 - b. School of Fontainebleau.
 - c. Italians working at other places.
34. Italian original Drawings.

Some examples of the influence of Italian original drawings may be mentioned.

a. Of the drawing by the elder Du Cerceau reproduced in Fig. 6, ⁵³ at least two earlier Italian examples are known to me, one of which is among the drawings of the son of Lorenzo Ghiberti in the Magliabecchiana at Florence.

Note 53. From the volume of the former Collection Lesoufache designated by me as portifoli J, now in the Ecole des Beaux Arts. -- Described in Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Paris. 1887. p121.

b. The drawing of Du Cerceau given by me as Fig. 69 in the work mentioned below, is copied from an Italian drawing, or which at least two examples are likewise known to me, one being in the Uffizi at Florence, designated as No. 163 r in a series ascribed to Cronaca. ⁵⁴

Note 54. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau.

c. Fig. 70 in the same book is likewise copied from an Italian drawing, which occurs in a series by Fra Giocondo; the same is the drawing of Du Cerceau for an ideal city (Fig. 29), drawn after an Italian drawing, an example of which occurs in the same series by Giocondo. (Fig. 30).

d. Many oddities in the compositions of the elder Du Cerceau are indeed based on Italian models; thus for example, a

drawing by Rosso depicting an elephant with wonderful equipment, which shows lilies and the crowned "F", or the drawing of a flight of steps with lions at the ends of each step, similar to those that Du Cerceau was accustomed to draw. (Collections of the Louvre; drawings no. 1598 and 1576).

e. In Champfleury by Geoffroy Tory among the letters, whose forms depend upon that of the human body, are found an I and a K after the drawing by Jehan Perreal; ⁵⁵ it is evident at the first glance, that he followed Italian models for the "proportions" of the human body.

35. Copperplate Engravings.

The influence exercised by Italian copperplate engravings on the compositions of Jacques I. Du Cerceau have been sufficiently established elsewhere by me. ⁵⁶ The Vues d'Optique by Du Cerceau are not engraved after Michele Cuccchi of Lucca, as usually assumed, but are from the engravings or drawings of an earlier Italian.

Note 56. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Chap. 4. Figs. 10, 11, 12.

Other proofs of the influence of Italian copper engravings are the following, among others.

a. I called the attention of Thiollier to the connection exhibited by two hermes of the rock-work grotto of the Chateau of La Bastie d'Urfe with the engravings of Agostino Veneto. That gentleman not only recognized this connection, but he also showed that three decorations of the Chateau La Bastie, which he has reproduced in his work on the subject ⁵⁷ on plates 29 and 57, are to be referred to three other engravings of Agostino; he published the latter for comparison. This grotesque motive is in the style of Raphael and his school, for mural decorations, being figures standing beneath leafy canopies, with vases, animals, masks etc., and the hermes of Diana of Ephesus.

Note 57. Bulletin de la Diana. Vol. 4. No. 4. Montbrison. 1890.

b. The step before the altar in the chapel of Chateau La Bastie d'Urfe is inlaid with majolica plaques, which according to the views of Lebreton and Thiollier, are to be referred to motives from the school of Raphael or of G. da Udine, as well as those of the Castle of Anet, brought from Rouen. Thiollier expresses himself in this respect as follows:-- "One point appears to be settled, that for those sculptures of the grotto and

for the great painted figures of the floor of the altar step, Claude d'Urfe, or whoever arranged this part of the building, directly utilized engravings by Agostino Veneto. ⁵⁹

Note 58. Compare the mosaic copies of both engravings in Soultrait and Thiollier. Chateau de la Bastie d'Urfe etc.

Work published under auspices of Society of Diana. St. Etienne.

Note 59. See the same work.

c. That a majolica painting with the date 1542, now in the Chateau at Chantilly, is executed from an Italian composition, which is already found among the drawings of Fra Giocondo, the author has already stated elsewhere. ⁶⁰

Note 60. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Fig. 70 and p. 176.

Not only by Italian, but also by the Netherlandish engravings, was a knowledge of antiquity and Italian works disseminated in France. We recall the series of "Fragments Antiques", which J. A. Du Cerceau, as he states himself, had engraved after Leonard Thiry (Leonardo Theodorico or Leon Daven) and published in 1550 in Orleans. Further consider the "Petites Vues" likewise coming from Du Cerceau, which were engraved after the 47 engravings of Vredeman Vriese and appeared in Antwerp.

Engravings of antique or Italian works were scattered over all Europe in great numbers by the commercial houses of Antonio Lafreri, of Van Aelst, and of Salamanca. The engravings produced by French architects will be mentioned in Art. 50.

36. Bronze Plaques.

On the door in the court of the House Ducre Latarn at Valence, reproduced in Fig. 9, ⁶² may be observed a scene at the left end, which occurs on an Italian plaque, now possessed by the author, and which Molinier ascribes to Fra Antonio da Brescia, representing a sleeper, two children and a satyr, accompanied by the word "virtus". (Fig. 8). ⁶¹

Note 61. See Molinier, E. Les Bronzes, les Plaquettes. Paris. 1886. Vol. 1. 122.

Note 62. From a photograph by Mieusement.

Gourajod, Molinier and others have mentioned the occurrence of representations after Italian plaques on various French monuments.

37. Wooden Models.

J. A. Du Cerceau not only studied drawings, which we no longer

longer know, but also wooden models, after which buildings were not executed, and that have since disappeared. This is proved by his drawing of a wooden model by Bramante for S. Peter's Church in Rome, which is now to be found in Munich.⁶³ If it is doubted that this drawing was by Du Cerceau, the accompanying French notes of the draftsman incontestably prove, that it comes from a French architect, and that chiefly concerns us here.

Note 63. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 15-23.

Whatever influence may have been exerted by a never erected Italian composition, a more striking example could scarcely be given, than the influence exerted by the different designs for towers on the Church of S. Peter in Rome, upon the gateway towers of several French chateaus, -- like Ecouen, Anet, the Louvre etc.; the grouping of such gateway towers in the following Figs. 314 to 317 will show this in a striking manner.

The engraving of Du Cerceau, known under the name of "La Grande Chartreuse",⁶⁴ meanwhile permits the assumption of many subjective changes, that models or drawings for the completed facade of the Certosa at Pavia were known to him, since he does not give the unexecuted semicircular gable in the engraving, as it may be seen in a drawing by Cristoforo Scolari (in Archivio Municipale at Milan).

Note 64. Geymüller. Same work. Fig. 28.

38. Italian Marble Fountains.

Among the art works, that have contributed to make known Italian forms in France, are first of all to be mentioned the marble fountains. Montaiglon⁶⁵ cites those of the Chateau at Gaillon, a gift of the republic of Venice,⁶⁶ likewise those of the Chateau of Nantouillet, which cardinal du Prat ordered after 1530 in Genoa, i.e. really in Carrara,⁶⁷ and finally the fragments of a fountain, that now serves in a chapel as a holy water basin, and which was formerly erected in the court of the Chateau at Oiron.

Note 65. "The fountains of this kind were then frequently Italian", says A. De Montaiglon in "La Famille des Justes en Italie et en France". Paris. 1877. p. 39.

Note 66. Deville, A. Comptes de Depenses de la construction du Chateau de Gaillon etc. Paris. 1850. LXIII, LXVI, p. 317, 356, 363; -- also Barbé de Jouy. Musée National du Louvre. Descrip-

Description des Sculptures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance et des Temps modernes. Paris. 1873. No. 17.

Note 67. Anciennes Archives de l'Art Français. Paris. 1854. Vol. 3. p. 184 et seq.

39. Intarsias.

That certain works in wood were sometimes ordered in Italy is proved by the panel-work of the chapel in the Chateau La Bastie d'Urfe, made in Verona, and which will be mentioned later.

For the Chateau at Gaillon, embroideries on velvet were executed in 1509 in Milan after the drawings of the painter Pierre Boute (Bonte or Bonté). ³⁸

Note 68. Deville. p. 342.

40. Tombs ordered in Italy.

That tombs, to be set up afterwards, were ordered in Italy, two examples may be given.

When Louis XII desired to erect a monument for his grandfather Louis d'Orleans and Valentina of Milan, that should depart from the usual forms and be worthy of such ancestors, he had recourse to Milanese and Florentine artists, who executed the work in Genoa. This monument, a fragment from the Celestins at Paris, now in S. Denis, no longer shows any Gothic elements.

Antonio Rossellino made a tomb, ⁶⁹ which was sent to Lyons.

Note 69. Vasari. Life of A Rossellino. Vol. 3. p. 94.

41. Casts from Italy.

Palustre speaks of the influence of the Cleopatra or Ariadne of the Vatican upon Germain Pilon, as a result of the casts from statues in the Vatican brought to Paris in 1543 by Primaticcio. ⁷⁰

Note 70. Barbet de Jouy. Etudes sur les Fontes du Primatice. Paris. 1859. -- Also Gaz. de Beaux Arts. 1894. p. 275.

That casts of architectural details were sometimes sent from Italy to France is shown by the original note below, ⁷¹ which also shows in regard to orthography and style, that even Frenchmen of quite modest position and of slight literary culture went to Italy. This note occurs on a drawing in the Cabinet of Copper Engravings at Paris, and it shows that as a rule, Palladio likewise belonged in this class; it further shows that Louis XIII had a cast made from a capital of the Pantheon in Rome and brought it to Paris.

Note 71. Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, Topographie de Rome. Vol. V b, 89; - "This is the palm to which is reduced the Corinthian order in the Pantheon, called La Rotunde, very accurately measured with geometrical instruments and scaffolds. It can be reduced by the module like Palladio. And likewise it may be measured and reduced by our French foot, that is called the king's foot, because the drawings have been corrected, and this is worthy of being preserved. This was measured when king Louis XIII had a cast made from the capital, and which is here at Paris. And scaffolds were used for this, and it was measured with the Roman palm." (See further Note 103).

⁴² The important influence exerted by sculptures and paintings brought from Italy is evident from the following examples.

In an alabaster relief in the Church of S. Jean at Troyes, that represents the Last Supper, the figure of Apollo in the niche is represented from Raphael's School of Athens.

The same Apollo, as well as that of the Belvedere in Rome (before its restoration), and a Venus pulling out a thorn, after Raphael, together with various small representations after plaques or engravings from the school of Mantegna, are to be found on the left hand doorway in the facade of the Church of S. Michael at Dijon.

Vasari speaks in his book mentioned below,⁷² of many paintings sent to Paris by Florentine dealers.

Note 72. Life of Bachiaccas. Vol. 4. p. 450, 455.

As of the frequent occurrence of recollections of Italian models in quite unexpected places in ornamentation, reference may be made to the console represented in Fig. 15, drawn from one of the transverse arches of the Grosse Horloge at Rouen. At the first glance may be recognized in the equestrian figures, in their seat, and in the movement of the horses etc., characteristic peculiarities, that are to be referred to models of Leonardo da Vinci.

The author has occasionally met with other examples of the influence exerted by Leonardo da Vinci upon decorative art. Thus two oval compositions in Chateau Ainay-le-Duc,⁷³ that represent a lion hunt and a cavalry battle. There further occur in the frescos of the Gallery of Henry II in Chateau Oiron (in the second and third bays) scenes from the Trojan war, which recall r

reminiscences of Leonardo's Battle of Anghiari or others of his equestrian figures. ⁷⁴

Note 73. Sauvageot. Vol. 4. Pl. 1.

Note 74. See drawing by H. Lametire. Salon of 1887. No. 4769.

A cavalry battle under the influence of Leonardo or of Bramante may be seen on an enameled mug from Limoges, ⁷⁵ and that the six cavalry battles engraved by Du Cerceau are executed after Bramante's compositions has been proved by the author in his already frequently mentioned work on the architects of the family Du Cerceau.

Note 75. In S. Kensington Museum. Represented in Lübke's Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich. 2nd edition. Stuttgart. 1884. p. 413.

43. Books and other Publications.

Among the masters in position to disseminate Leonardo's forms, either by suggestions in their own works or by the possession of drawings of Leonardo, may be mentioned Andrea Solario in Gaillon, who painted the chapel there, and Rustici in Fontainebleau. (Accounts from Oct. 1, 1531, to Dec. 31, 1532). ⁷⁶

Note 76. See Montaiglon, A and G. Milanese. La Famille des Juste en Italie et en France. Paris. 1877. p. 17, 35.

Martin, the earliest French translator of Vitruvius, cites in his dedication of the Caesariano (under the name of Gallo in 1521); of the drawings made by Jean Goujon for Martin's translation, at least ten are directly inspired by those of Caesariano. Martin also cites the book of Alberti, the work of Fra Giocondo, "Of Architects", and that of Serlio. ⁷⁷

Note 77. In the edition of Vitruvius by Philandrier, dedicated to Francis I and printed in Strasburg in 1550, the illustrations are likewise mostly weak imitations of those of Caesariano; the same in the Strasburg Vitruvius of 1543.

Italian books were frequently published in France, especially in Lyons. ⁷⁸

Note 78. For example, Simeoni, G. Illustratione degli Epitafi e Medaglie antiche. Lyons. 1558.

The French translation of Serlio's Primo Libro d'Architettura. Paris. 1545.

Likewise that of Book 2 and his Extraordinario Libro d'Architettura. Lyons. 1551.

"The Dream of Polyphilus"⁷⁹ exerted a great influence on the arts of the Renaissance", says Audiat.⁸⁰ The beautiful French edition of this work is both an example of Italian influence and also of French freedom.

Note 79. First edition at Venice in 1499; 2nd edition in 1545. -- First French translation in 1546, the second (with some alterations) in 1561.

Note 80. See Audiat, E. Bernard Palissy. Study of his life and works. New edition. Paris. 1868. p. 128.

Benjamin Fillon brings passages from the "Dream of Polyphilus" into connection with the decorative system of Palissy's works, and Audiat reprints these passages and says, that they clearly prove that Palissy was inspired by the description of Francesco Colonna; his "Dream" is also occasionally called by Palissy his "delectable garden".⁸² It may be recalled here that Palissy is to be regarded as the inventor of "rustic vases".

Note 81. Audiat. p. 129, 130. -- These passages occur on p. 26, 30 and 71 of the French edition of Polyphilus of 1561.

Note 82. Palissy, B. Le Recepte veritable. In the edition of his works by A. France (Paris. 1880), p. 12; "I know that certain ignorant enemies of virtue and slanderers will say, that the design of this garden is merely a dream, and will perhaps wish to compare it with the "Dream of Polyphilus".

44. Lectures on Vitruvius.

Fra Giocondo lectured on Vitruvius in France to a certain S Seigneur Philibert,⁸³ whose secretary he was for a long time, and it is well known that the famous Budaeus felicitated himself on having such a master as Fra Giocondo to explain Vitruvius.

Note 83. Baschet, A. Les Archives de la Serenissime Republique de Venise. Souvenirs d'une Mission. Paris and Venice. 1870. (Dispatches of Francesco Morosini from Nov. 18, 1504 to the Council of Ten).

45. Travels and Studies in Italy.

With the end of the liking for Gothic, the need in France for a different conception of life and art became ever stronger, and by means of the Italian campaigns was developed the clear consciousness, that Italy offered this new conception. Herein have we already found the first condition for the accep-

acceptance of the Renaissance in France. The influence exerted both upon laymen and nobles as well as on architects and other artists, was of unusually great importance, but seems to have been actually forgotten by many writers.

46. Influence upon Nobles and Laymen.

concerning the impressions produced on Charles VIII by Naples, Benjamin Fillon contributes the following fragment of a letter:-- "Before the king entered the city (Capua), he had spent a night in Poggio Reale, which is a summer residence built by king Ferrand and his predecessors, and which is of such a kind, that neither the fine speaking of Alain Chartier, the acuteness of master Hans of Meun, nor the hand of Fouquet, could describe, write of it or paint it".

Note 84. Archives de l'Art Francais, publies sous la direction de Ph. de Chennevières. Paris. Vol. 1. p. 275.

Cardinal Bricconnet writes to queen Anne of Brittany:-- "Madame, I wish that you had seen this city and the beautiful things within it, for it is an earthly paradise. The king, in his grace, desired to have me shown everything within and without the city, when I came from Florence, and I assure you, that the beauty of this place is an inconceivable thing, well supplied with all worldly pleasures. They were desired there by the king. At this hour, he prizes neither Amboise, nor the cities, that he has beyond (the mountains).

The impression received by the king himself may be seen by the following lines.

Charles VIII wrote to Pierre de Bourbon from Naples on March 23, 1495:-- "Moreover you cannot believe what beautiful gardens I have in this city; for upon my word, it appears that only Adam and Eve are lacking to make of this an earthly paradise, so beautiful are they and full of all good and rare things - . Besides, I have in this land better painters, and of these I will send, in order to make as many beautiful panels (planchiers", properly floors, but here paintings on wood), and the paintings from Beauce, from Lyons, and from other places in France are in nothing to be compared with these here; hence I will supply myself therewith (i.e. with painters), and will take them with me, for what can be done in Amboise". ⁸⁵

Note 85. Archives de l'Art Francaise. p. 274.

An idea of the views then held by another class of Frenchmen may be derived from a poem of J. Lemaire (1503), wherein Painting laments the death of Louis of Luxemburg, Prince of Altemore.

"Then my modern pupils, care for
My beautiful children, fed from my breast;
Thou, leonardo da Vinci, who had supernal grace,
Gentle Bellini, whose fates are eternal,
And Perugino, who mixes colors so well.
And thou, Jean Hay, thy noble hand rests.
Come to view nature with Jean de Paris,
To give him shelter and hope - - .⁸⁶

Note 86. Charvet, E.L.G. Jehan Perreal. p. 90.

47. Influence upon Architects and Artists.

Whoever is able to realize but moderately a conception of the vast sum of the efforts required to introduce a new art style into such a great country as France, even if but slowly, must admit, that such a transformation was only possible, when on the one hand a great number of Frenchmen went to Italy, in order to learn to know the new art forms there, and that on the other, a likewise considerable number of Italians of all grades of art helped to disseminate these forms in France. The modern school, which fancies that this was not necessary, lives in sweet illusions.

That the number of Frenchmen, who went to Italy on account of study was considerable, results from the following evidence.

In the year 1559, Du Perceau wrote in a dedication to the king:- "Your subjects will henceforth no longer have reason to travel in foreign lands, in order to see better composed buildings (than those contained in his works) - -, and your majesty will no longer have need for resorting to foreign workmen."⁸⁷

Note 87. Livre d'Architecture. Paris. 1559.

Jean Perreal, painter and architect of the king, made numerous journeys to Italy.⁸⁸ In March, 1509, Louis XII took him along in his campaign against the Venetians. Having returned, he wrote on Nov. 15 to Marguerite of Austria, that he had then changed his project for her, at least in regard to the antique portions, which he had obtained in the countries of Italy.

Note 88. Charvet, p. 39; also p. 51;-- "have changed my drawings, at least of the antique things, which I have had in part

from Italy, to make of all beautiful flowers a bouquet, then I have shown the cast - - - and now make the patrons - - ".

Concerning the design for the Church of Brou near Bourg, which Marguerite of Austria ordered from her painter, Jean Perreal from Paris, the latter writes on January 4, 1511, that he will make use of everything, which he has seen in monasteries in Italy, where are the finest in the world. ⁸⁹

Note 89. Chauvet. p. 89; "Madam, in regard to a terrace for the church, I shall be very happy to busy myself on it, and I will aid myself by all that I have seen of convents in Italy, where are the finest in the world, - - ".

Until now, no one has sought to deny that Philibert de l'Orme and Jean Bullant made studies in Italy, since these architects assert this themselves. But on the contrary, especially in recent times, it has been readily assumed that Jean Goujon and Pierre Lescot were never in Italy. It was proved in the author's Essay on the two Du Cerceaus, that the elder master of this name sojourned for a considerable period in Italy between 1530 and 1533. I have also now succeeded in deducing from the words of Goujon himself the proof, that both he and also Lescot acquired the knowledge by studies in Italy, to which they owed in great part their prominent position. ⁹⁰

Note 90. See Notes on this matter in Chapter 5.

Something upon the thoughts of French architects on Italian conditions is deduced from the following statement by one of the most important masters.

Jean Goujon, speaking as an architect, says of Raphael, Mantegna, Michelangelo, Antonio da Sangallo and Bramante, that after they had mastered geometry and perspective by labor and constant practice, they had pursued this noble object (architecture) with such remarkable enjoyment, that their undying fame spread over the entire extent of the earth. ⁹¹

Note 91. "They so singularly delighted in pursuing this noble subject" etc. Address of Goujon in Martin's translation of Vitruvius in 1547. Also reprinted in Berty, H. Les grands Architectes Francais de la Renaissance etc. Paris. 1860. p.821. -- The words of Goujon in this passage permit the idea of a similar statement by Serlio.

It would be a great error to believe, that the French master-

masters in the 16 th century only went to Italy for the sake of the antique remains, and not for the works of modern masters. concerning the Corinthian capital, Goujon says:- " - - one actually reads in the text of Vitruvius, that one should so consider it; yet this is not the opinion of some good modern masters". In his illustrations, he takes this view into account, and finds it manifestly more correct and harmonizing better with the antique examples. According to what Goujon wrote concerning the fame of a series of Italian masters, it is not to be assumed, that in mentioning "good modern masters," he only thought of Lescot and De l'Orme.

The domain then taken in consideration by French architects in their studies in Italy extended to everything necessary, w when one has to extend an entirely new art tendency over the entire realm of life and art. Nothing affords a better idea of it, than the great number and the diversity of the works, which Du Cerceau published.

That according to the aim pursued, many limited their studies chiefly to certain subjects, is conceivable, just as the frequently proceeded therein in the same manner as we do today, i.e. that they drew the general design at a small scale, some portions at a larger one, and details at a still greater scale. Fig. 10 ⁹² shows the pen drawing by a Frenchman of a twisted marble column, which then stood near the altar of the old Church of S. Peter, and is alleged to have been brought from Jerusalem. An entire series of such studies, which may be recognized by the delicate, parsley-like leaves, as in the preceding case, are to be found in a volume, that successively belonged to Dufourny, Callet and Destailleur, then passing from the last collection to the Berlin Museum. Since a similar treatment of the acanthus may occasionally be seen in the court of Hotel Carnavalet and in the Hall of the Caryatids of the Louvre, these studies must be due to a contemporary of Goujon, who made his studies in Italy about 1530.

Note 92. From Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. H d, 193.
That French architects, who studied in Italy not only studied antique ruins or already completed monuments enjoying a certain fame, but also those still under construction, is shown among others by Du Cerceau's drawing of the plan for a portion

of Palace Farnese at Rome in its arrangement as first begun, as it appeared between 1530 and 1533, just before the accession of Paul III. ⁹³

Note 93. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 26.

48. Fragments.

Instructive is the collection of 61 drawings, that are to be found on the 14 places executed by Du Cerceau in Italy. ⁹⁵ (Now in the Royal Library at Munich). They are divided among the following monuments.

Note 94. From Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. E & ref.

Note 95. Further information there: p. 15 et seq.

S. Peter in Rome, various sketches	11
Palace Cancellaria by Bramante	29
Palace built for Raphael by Bramante	1
Palace dell'Aquila built for Raphael	7 ?
Palace Farnese	1
Baths of Diocletian	6
House (Casa) of Tour-Sanguine	1
Antique buildings without plans	2
Modern buildings without plans	2
Inscriptions	1
	<hr/> 61

H. Lechavelier-Chevignard in Paris possesses a greater number of studies, especially of the monuments of Rome and of various columns, which are possibly worthy of De l'Orme, ⁹⁶ and Destailleur owned three volumes of careful drawings of the Baths of Diocletian, that were made by a French speaking architect in the 16 th century, and are now to be found in the Cabinet of Copperplate Engravings at Berlin.

Note 96. Three of these drawings are published in Geymüller. Documents Inédits sur les Thermes d'Agrippa, le Pantheon et les Thermes de Diocletian. Lausanne. 1884. Figs. 5, 6, 8.

That many French architects have endeavored to partly restore the ruins existing in Rome, or to compose backgrounds for representations of the antique, is shown by two beautiful drawings in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, which are reproduced in Figs. 11 ⁹⁴ and 3; they date from about 1535 and are executed with the quill pen in bistre in the style of Du Cerceau, but are rather better than the drawings of the latter.

That French architects have further sought to become acquainted with the theories of modern Italian masters, as they were frequently expressed only in manuscripts on art, is not to be doubted. The connection between Fig. 13,⁹⁷ in which is reproduced the method of De l'Orme for obtaining certain proportions for a church, and Fig. 12,⁹⁸ which is found in the then unprinted Trattato (Treatise) of Francesco di Giorgio, is a clear proof of this, whether De L'Orme saw the original itself or a copy of it in the hands of another, or whether this rule had become known to Italian architects in his time.

Note 97. Reproduction from Giorgio, F. di. Trattato d'Architettura civile e militare. Pub. C. Promis. Turin. 1841.

Note 98. Reproduction from De l'Orme. Le premier Tome d'Architecture. Paris. 1567. Book 8, p. 245.

The Paris architect Etienne du Perac remained at least 18 years in Rome, and also pursued other aims. Probably on friendly terms with Michelangelo, he executed during the year of the death of the latter (1564) three large engravings, representing his model for the Church of S. Peter at Rome, and published in 1575 in Rome his Vestigi dell' Antichita di Roma. In two manuscripts on the monuments of Rome, he endeavored to restore them by the aid of archaeological knowledge and other means.⁹⁹

Note 99. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Manuscrits, fonds F Francais, 382; Illustration des Fragments antiques etc. "Illustration of the antique fragments belonging to the religion and ceremonies of the ancient Romans, drawn and collected from the antique marbles found in Rome and in other places in Italy, with their explanation by Estienne du Perac, parisian. Book 1 first, containing several figures of idols, obelisks, and hieroglyphic inscriptions of the ancient Egyptians. p. 1-31. Book second, containing several temples, gods, altars and sacrifices - - ". p. 32-105.

A second copy is to be found in the Louvre, No. d'Ordre 26, 475 et seq., with 106 drawings, is much better drawn than the preceding, and it therefore probably is the original.

Another Frenchman of the end of the 16 th or the beginning of the 17 th century, several drawings by whom are to be found in Paris,¹⁰⁰ studied the monuments of Florence; the Uffizi,

the chapel in the choir of S. Annunziata, S. Michele, Gaetano, and also the Baptistery.

Note 100. In Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. V o, 41.

We have thus come to the 17th century. As the following passages show, the same tendency continued, and it frequently lasted among French architects until the present time.

De Chambray ¹⁰¹ had in 1640 a commission to open the way from Italy to France for all of the most distinguished architects, --, and he writes that it was easy for them to attract a great number, among those coryphoruses being the famous and unique Monsieur le Foussin --.

Note 101. Preface to his Parallele de l'Architecture antique avec la moderne. Paris. 1650.

Concerning this, the cabinet-maker and engineer Adam Philippon writes, after he had been for several years in the service of Urban VIII and of other ecclesiastical princes, -- -- Louis XIII sent everywhere in Italy, seeking the persons most famous in painting, in sculpture, and in other arts required for the decorations of his palaces; he was himself selected chiefly for the commission to send many artisans from Rome to Paris, as well as a great number of reliefs and antique figures. ¹⁰²

Note 102. See Destailleur, H. Notices sur quelques Artistes Francais. Paris. 1863. p. 68, 70.

Beneath a portrait of Philippon may be read:--

"Friends, with good heart I give you

All that I have learned at Rome, --"

De Chambray at the same time had a commission to have modeled many of the most excellent works in sculpture and architecture; but he mentions only the capitals of a column and a pilaster from the interior of the Pantheon. ¹⁰³.

Note 103. Destailleur. p. 67. Also see Art. 41.

A colony of French artisans under the charge of De Noyers, Lord de Dargu, was sent to Italy in the time of Richelieu. ¹⁰⁴

Note 104. Verbal statement of M. Destailleur.

During this period (1650) likewise falls the work of de Chambray on the comparison of antique and modern architecture, and the collection of the ten principal authors, who wrote on architecture with a preface dedicated to Dargu. ¹⁰⁵.

Note 105. Chambray, R. F. de. Parallele etc. Paris. 1650.

Finally in the year 1666, Charles Errard, as the first Director of the Academie de France at Rome, started for the first time for the eternal city with 12 pupils:- 6 painters, 4 sculptors and 2 architects, "all of the Roman Catholic apostolic faith." 106

Note 106. Merson, O. Academie de France a Rome, in Grande Encyclopedie of Joseph Baer & Co.

In the year 1674, Desgodetz was pensioner of the king at the Academie de Rome, and he published in 1682 his famous work on the antique buildings of Rome. 107

Note 107. His original drawings are still preserved in the Bibliotheque National, Depot de Manuscrits, fonds Colbert.

49. Influence of certain Italian Buildings.

In order to afford proof, that an Italian monument exercised a very definite influence upon a French building, without the appearance of the latter being in anywise similar to that of the original, reference is made to the former Bureau des finances at Rouen, placed opposite the cathedral, and at present in great part concealed beneath the suspended sign of a dealer in clothing. The lower half of the facade already shown in Fig. 2 is manifestly a translation of the internal system of Bramante's famous Sacristy of S. Maria presso S. Satiro at Milan, which is reproduced in Fig. 1 for comparison. The latter composition is itself so characteristic for Italy, that in this case there can be no doubt for connoisseurs in regard to its direct influence upon the building in Rouen. The transformation is quite complete, partly required by the low height of the French stories, and the upper half of the facade is an independent composition of its architect with detail forms, which are adapted as well as possible to those of the lower portion. Just as independent is the treatment of the vertical piers in the middle and on the angles of the building and their subdivision by projecting statues and canopies. Yet the influence of the Milanese building upon that at Rouen is no less absolute, and the whole is even a compromise between the style of composition and the taste of an Italian on the one hand and of a Frenchman on the other.

Of the manner in which many French compositions were formed

and grew, when they sprung from an Italian model, whether this were a building, a drawing, a copper engraving or a model, numerous works of the elder Du Cerceau afford an instructive illustration, which the author has described in his already frequently mentioned monograph on the family of architects of that name, on "his 'the elder Du Cerceau) art of working".¹⁰⁸

Note 108. In Les Du Cerceau. p. 192, 335.

The ground story of a House in Rue Juiverie at Lyons, represented in Fig. 14, shows the style and manner in which the rusticated ground story of a Florentine palace, with its great round-arched doorways and windows beginning at the height of the imposts, was transformed for French conditions.

The design of the ground plan of a Chateau by Leonardo da Vinci, already mentioned in Art. 32 (Fig. 16),¹¹⁰ as well as the symmetry of the arrangement of Chateau Le Verger in Anjou (Fig. 17),¹¹¹ must have been partly intended to recall the famous Castle at Milan, which was then considered the most beautiful palace.

Note 110. Geymüller. Leonardo da Vince as Architect. In R Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. London. 1883.

Note 111. Reproduced from Israil Sylvestre. I - 148.

The idea of constructing columns of rusticated materials, smaller than the half diameter of the column, instead of composing them of actual rusticated drums, is carried out on the Maison Blanche in the park at Caillon (Fig. 245), but may already be seen executed on Formigine's Palace Fantuzzi at Bologna.

Even for parts of buildings, whose use does not occur in Italy, Italian models are observed. Thus for the large and rich windows in the roofs, termed dormer windows and so very characteristic for the early French Renaissance, one finds in Italy a number of doors or windows in accordance with which, the basal idea of the exterior of the dormer window follows with its translation into Milanese details in the style of Bramante, and which experienced richer use and development.

Stepped crowning entablatures, whose transitions are formed by curved half pediments, are observed on the portico of S. Maria de Miracoli at Brescia. Another form with a pediment in the middle is shown by the second altar on the left in S.

Corona at Vicenza; a similar one with horizontal double consoles instead of the pediment and with a candelabra-like vase in the centre is to be found on a drawing of Peruzzi in the Uffizi at Florence, and the same form, excepting that it is somewhat differently shaped at the sides, may be seen on an engraving representing a street, erroneously attributed to Bramante. In Chapel Colleoni at Bergamo is found an addition with a segmental pediment above a pointed gable, and likewise must the attention be attracted to the Monument of Filippo Lippi at Spoleto, erected by Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Gate at Fano, a round arch enclosed by pilasters, upon whose entablature rests a lower attic with a semicircular pediment, accompanied by kneeling figures at the sides, shows in the details of its composition a striking accordance with many French dormer windows. Still closer is the relation with the window enclosures of Chapel Colleoni at Bologna.

Among the numerous examples from the domain of decoration should be mentioned the trophies of Du Cerceau; those are mostly likewise inspired by Italian models, -- drawings and engravings from the school of the Loggias, -- or by executed works, like the panels of the pilasters on the Tomb of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti by Giovanni Cristoforo Romano in the Certosa near Pavia, and innumerable others. That the charming grotesques, two volumes of which were published by Du Cerceau, were engraved in part after engravings by Nicoletto da Modena and Aenea Vico, or were imitated from the executed decorations in Fontainebleau and those of the Chateau at Monceaux, built and decorated by Primaticcio, has already been proved by the author. 112

Note 112. Les Du. Cerceau. Figs. 29, 30; an ideal city.

A niche in Hotel Lallemant at Bourges, which is accompanied by pilasters at the sides and by a semicircular pediment with acroterias at the sides and apex, with a shell, and appearing to be decorated by a pedestal-like "predella" and a console-like support," 113 is in proportions as well as in ornamental-general effect directly imitated from one of the innumerable Tuscan works of this kind from the period of Della Robbia.

Note 113. Represented in Planat. Vol. 8. p. 379.

The three following examples have even in cases, where one

after superficial consideration, one might least of all suspect an Italian motive, yet such may be proved. Just as on the angles of Italian palaces one may sometimes see shields of arms employed, as for example by De L'Orme on the outer angles of the high frieze on chateau of S. Maur (Fig. 126) and on the angle pavilions of Chateau Madrid (Fig. 31); likewise are found shields in Florentine style on the angles of the frieze on Maison Blanche at Gaillon. (Fig. 243).

An influence of a different kind may be perceived in the following. On the facade of the Abbey Church of S. Amand near Valenciennes (1653) are to be found great sculptured figure compositions in spaces, whose architectural forms are created by the subdivision of the facade, and which by the help of imitative perspective treatment appear to extend in the form of spacious and deep porticos; there occur in them real detached pillars in perspective form. One stands here before a further development of the imitation perspective of Bramante in S. Maria presso S. Satiro at Milan and that of Donatello in the ambos of S. Lorenzo at Florence, or the sculptures in the choir of S. Stefano da Sesto at Pavia.

As one example among many others, of the close relationship in the development of the style of Vignola in France and in Italy, may be mentioned the system of facades in the Place des Victoires at Paris, due to J. Hardouin Mansart; this is almost an exchange of that of the nearly 100 years earlier Palace Magnani Guidotti on Place Rossini at Bologna by Domenico Tioaldi.

The influence of other important Italian monuments will be mentioned later in treating the influence exerted by the different masters.

50. Influence of certain Italian Masters:- Bramante.

No Italian architect has indeed exerted so manifold an influence on French architecture as Bramante, because:--

1. During the period of Louis XII and Francis I by his own buildings in Lombardy, or by others influenced by him.

2. During the style of Henry II and on the Neo-Rustic of the 16th century.

3. By his pupils; by Raphael and Giulio Romano, who were supporters of his "last" manner, like sometimes Primaticcio.

3. By the publication of the third book of Serlio.

As the author has already proved in other places,¹¹⁴ Du Cerceau himself was inclined in such measure to the forms and architectural expression of the "last" manner of Bramante, that he did it offhand, so to speak, and that it always flowed from the point of his pen in the most rapid improvisation. In order to produce conviction of this, one must indeed recognize the studies of Bramante as unexpected or unfinished works, just as the 15 volumes of Du Cerceau's original drawings.

Note 114. Les Du Cerceau. p. 5, 9, 16, 230.

What happened to this master, concluding from various points of view, was likewise the case with several principal masters of that time. For example, the drawings and perspective sketches of the "nicchione" of Bramante should be mentioned, also with the circular stairway later omitted by Michelangelo, which belongs to a French contemporary of Du Cerceau.¹¹⁵

Note 115. Royal collection at Windsor. Vol. 12, Pl. 139.

Further let two buildings be considered, of which frequent mention has been made since Palustre, and in which it is believed can be proved, that they form an exception, especially from Italian influence. One is the Chapel of S. Sacrement in the Cathedral at Vannes, erected as a circular structure with two orders on the north side, built and finished in 1537 at the cost of the canon Jean Daniele from Brittany, who lived in Rome as an official. Palustre, who appears to have first called attention to this building, makes especially prominent, that the building is executed in the style, which Sangallo gave to Palace Farnese.¹¹⁶ But this is incorrect, according to the illustration given by him. The architecture of the aisles by Bramante for S. Peter in Rome, as it was for a time to be seen along the south arm of the cross and occurs in many studies by Antonio da Sangallo and in his model, has here clearly and substantially served as a model for the orders, arched windows and tabernacles.

Note 116. Palustre. La Renaissance en France. Paris. Since 1879. Part 11; Brittany; p. 17-21; further, Palustre. Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892. p. 258.

Concerning the second building in question here, Palustre told me in June, 1891, that he had discovered it in Peaule,

about 5 leagues from Vannes. Its architecture is imitated from that of the Cancellaria in Rome. I have unfortunately never seen a representation of it and therefore cannot decide, whether this similarity is greater, than that found by him in the preceding case.

Especially prominent was the influence of Bramante's S. Peter. Besides the more or less recognizable and generally known influence of this monument upon numerous domed churches, as on the Church of the Invalids, on the dome of Church of Val de Grace, etc., there is an earlier series of cases, in which either a detail or a special arrangement of the Vatican Basilica or of a model of the same has influenced a French monument. This influence upon the elder Du Cerceau has been sufficiently proved by the author in another place,¹¹⁷ and as Du Cerceau preceded his great contemporaries Goujon, Bullant, Lescot and De l'Orme also followed; the likewise learned to know these interesting works during their study periods in Italy. The incidents at S. Peter's church and the occasional views relating to its completion formed in the 16th and 17th centuries the climax of architectural interest of all Europe, at least of the Roman Catholic portion.

Note 117. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Chapters 1 and 2.

In the composition of the principal gate at Chateau La Tour d'Aigues (Fig. 19¹¹⁸) is unmistakably an echo of an unexecuted design for S. Peter.¹¹⁹ A colossal order, which encloses two smaller ones in the manner of those given, with the plain pediment above, is already so rare in both Italy and France, that one is compelled to deem the central part of the façade with the loggia as intended for the blessing.

Note 118. From a drawing of Lancelot in Magasin Pittoresque.

Note 119. Geymüller. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe für S. Peter in Rom.

Another explanation of the middle portion of the façade for S. Peter after Bramante's model is to be seen in an engraving by Du Cerceau from the series of Temples, which is reproduced in Fig. 18.¹²⁰ That this is a caprice after a model or a design of Bramante, has been proved by the author elsewhere,¹²¹ and it should only be remembered concerning it, that there is among the earliest engravings by Du Cerceau in the Cabinet d

of Copper Engravings at Easle a second variation of this model, as well as two drawings in the Foulc and Destailleur collections at Paris.¹²²

Note 120. From Du Cerceau's series "les Temples".

Note 121. Die Ursprüngliche Entwürfe etc. p. 187.

Note 122. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 16 and Figs. 3-5.

The famous former Sepulchral Chapel of the Valois at S. Denis (Fig. 21 ¹²³), designed and begun by Primaticcio after the death of Henry II, is entirely based upon recollections of the designs and models for S. Peter, that were never executed, or on parts again removed. The **exterior** recalls on the one hand the dome on the model of Sangallo (Fig. 20 ¹²⁴), also in part the subdivision of the aisles, especially of those, in which the bays corresponding to the internal piers projected somewhat; the internal architecture of the side chapels (Figs. 45 and 197) is based entirely on those of similar aisles for S. Peter. ¹²⁵ The location of these chapels at the end of the left transept of the Abbey Church at S. Denis, exactly like that of the two Early Christian circular tombs adjoining S. Peter in Rome, also makes known the intention of here joining the most famous modern building of Christendom. One of these circular buildings was called "Chapel of the Kings of France", and after it was removed, this name was transferred to the recently commenced south transept of S. Peter. This lay directly beside it and was the only part, on which men had commenced to erect that aisle of Bramante, whose influence on the Chapel of the Valois was previously mentioned.

Note 123. From Oeuvre de Jean Marot. Vol. 1. p. 105.

Note 124. From an engraving by A. Labacco. (16 th century).

Note 125. Compare Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe etc.

The great Doric order on the Church of S. Aignan at Chartres, in the treatment of the capitals, is clearly imitated from the again omitted order of Bramante for S. Peter. Likewise has the coffering of the dome arches by Bramante found an echo in the subdivision of the decoration of the vault over the staircase of Henry II in the Louvre at Paris, and now the never executed designs for the towers of S. Peter influenced the motives of the gateways of French chateaus is shown by Figs. 314 to 317.

In one of the medallions beneath the urn in S. Denis, which contains the heart of Francis I, is to be seen an inaccurate fragmentary representation of the building, though apparently taken from S. Peter, as it appeared about 1540, with the crane, the obelisk etc.; in the foreground are the sculpturs looking at a *torso* of Venus, painters copying antique statues, geographers with a globe etc.

As Du Cerceau had already measured the models of Bramante and of Raphael for S. Peter's, as then Etienne du Ferac later (1564) engraved the model of Michelangelo for S. Peter's, so Lemercier, the architect of Richelieu, likewise engraved a model for S. Peter's with all its details. ¹²⁶ Similarly, Jean Marot engraved all the drawings of the church of S. Peter, which were made in 1659 by Jacques Tarade, Architect and Engraver of the king, after which a model in relief was made at Versailles, that Louis XIV inspected several times.

Note 126. Verbal communication of M. Destailleur.

Other indications of the influence exerted by S. Peter's upon French architecture will again be found in the next Article (51). The influence of Bramante's architectural system of the "rhythmic bay" will later be thoroughly discussed in a separate Chapter, as well as the influence exerted by his scarcely commenced Palace S. Biagio upon the Neo-Rusticated, which was very common in France, and as men long believed should be accepted.

51. Raphael.

How the decoration of Raphael's Loggias were influential, has already been stated in Art. 38. But aside from this, certain other architectural works of the same master attracted the attention of French architects and left vestiges in their works.

That of the Palace dell'Aquila built by him at Rome only a part of the plan is known by a drawing of Du Cerceau, has already been stated, as well as the influence mentioned, that the facade of this Palace exerted on several compositions of the master last mentioned. ¹²⁷ But this palace has also found imitators in France by an arrangement characteristic of his facade, i.e., niches forming in the upper story a continuation of the supports in the lower story, accented there by half c

columns. ¹²⁸ Thus the arrangement on the Petit Cloître des Augustins at Toulouse, ¹²⁹ where pilasters enclose the niches in which stand busts, are to be referred to the Palace of Raphael, aside from the entirely free transformation. This arrangement, bordering on "experiments with extravagances", appears to have also found employment on the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, where the laudable though scarcely happy intention is carried out, of likewise connecting the niches with the projecting lower supports by an enclosure in relief.

Note 127. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 25; Figs. 8, 9.

Note 128. Geymüller. Raffaello studiato come Architetto. Milan. 1884. Fig. 31.

Note 129. Represented in Planat, 6 th year, p. 372.

Whether the arrangement of niches with Gothic-like canopies, as frequently occurs above the pilasters of the ground story during the period of Louis XII and Francis I, for example, on the gateway of the Chateau at Nantouillet (Fig. 28) and on other even more strongly expressed examples, should be referred to Raphael's façade motive, we are unable to decide.

The influence of Raphael's work on the Church of S. Peter in Rome upon French art can be demonstrated. For on the one hand compare the already mentioned Chapelle des Valois at S. Denis with the drawings for the aisles for S. Peter's, and on the other with the criticism of Raphael's model expressed about 1515 in the memorial of Antonio Sangallo, ¹³⁰ it indeed becomes a certainty, that this mausoleum in S. Denis is repeatedly influenced by the ideas of Raphael for the treatment of the ends of the transepts of S. Peter's.

Note 130. Geymüller. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe etc. p. 293 et seq., especially section 2 of the Memorial.

52. Michelangelo.

That influence exerted by Michelangelo's dome of S. Peter's upon Val de Grace and the dome of the Invalids at Paris (on the former through the engraving of Du Perac) will here be but temporarily recalled. The influence proceeding from his colossal order on the exterior of S. Peter's will be taken up again in the Chapter devoted to this element in composition.

The three pediments set within each other on Lemercier's Pavillon de l'Horloge in the Louvre at Paris apparently are

under the influence of similar models of Michelangelo in the Laurenziana. Similarly may be recognized the influence of this master in the Tomb of Henry II, especially on the doors at the end.

Of the many Italians living in Lyons, those coming from Bucca built a chapel in the Church d'Observance, whose design is alleged to have been by Michelangelo.¹³¹ Biard the Elder, his pupil, executed the stone statue of Henry IV above the doorway of the Hotel de Ville at Paris, and Etienne du Berac, the Parisian architect and archaeologist previously mentioned, engraved on several plates the model of Michelangelo for the the Church of S. Peter at Rome. Michel Adam, Nicolas Bachelier and others are reputed as his pupils.

Note 131. Charvet, L. Jehan Perreal, p. 15. (Charvet mentions the drawings published by the Societe d'Architecture in Lyons in 1846).

By Antoine Le Pautre (1621-1682) were published several designs by Michelangelo, after Vignola's Five Orders, and in 1691 Pierre Le Pautre published the book "L'Architecture de Vignole et de Michelangelo" with the commentaries of Daviler.

53. Vignola and Palladio.

The influence proceeding from both these artists is so well known, that in this place merely the following may be mentioned.

In his Treatise on the Orders, "translated from Palladio", (1645), Le Muet says:--"The high estimation of the book of P Palladio, that famous Italian architect - - ". Maucclerc adds on the title page of his very beautifully engraved Treatise on Architecture according to Vitruvius:-¹³² "In which he has harmonized the various dimensions and proportions of the famous architects, Scamozzi, Palladio and Vignola".

Note 132. Jean Maucclerc, Sieur de Lignerion-Maucclerc, La Brossardiere et Romanquis, Traite d'Architecture suivant Vitruve. Paris. 1648. "Mis en lumiere" by Pierre Daret, engraver in ordinary to the king. (Library of Ecole des Beaux Arts. A, I, 5).

The esteem enjoyed by Palladio in France is proved by the following passage. Sauvai writes of Lemercier, the architect of Richelieu:- "If he was not the Vitruvius of his time, he

was at least its Palladio --, he made himself famous in all Europe, especially in Rome, which is the seat of the fine arts. From youth upwards has he examined and measured all still-existing works of the ancients --". Of the direct traditional influence, that certain works by Palladio and by Vignola have exerted upon instruction in architecture in France from Louis XIII until our time, nothing further will be said here. It is only noted, that even in the year 1858 during his engraving studies at the Ecole Centrale at Paris, the author was required to draw the columnar orders chiefly according to Vignola.

54. Italians in France.

We now pass to the causes last mentioned in Art. 33, by which Italian and antique forms were disseminated in France; to the Italian masters of different grades (from the mere scarpellino upwards), who remained in France for a longer or shorter time. A correct estimation of their activity is rather difficult, not only on account of traditional statements, that men have sometimes taken the trouble to credit without hesitation, but since nothing is to be doubted, that the modern school of the tendency of Palustre frequently proceeds from incorrect conceptions in their endeavor to continually approximate nearer to the truth, and it therefore often errs in the opposite direction. I admit freely, that my own opinion of the activity of Italian masters in France has suffered numerous changes. Yet I finally reached the opinion, that an accurate understanding of the conditions under which they worked is much more difficult, than is usually assumed, and that no certainty exists, that until now has there ever been produced anywhere any sufficient representation of the varied ways in which these masters may have been active. At this time I am inclined to assume, that the Italian artists may perhaps have taken part in the designing of certain buildings, and indeed even in cases, where a few years since, this participation would have appeared at least very improbable.

Unfortunately efforts and feelings have frequently passed into the treatment of these questions, that do not belong there, affecting one's own decision and carrying that of the victor into exaggeration. This is to be lamented in a high

degree, for these questions are sufficiently difficult without these disturbing additions.

In order to obtain equal distribution of the materials in the present volumes and to avoid frequent repetitions, the author has abandoned the collection of everything relating to the works of Italian architects in France and the influence of these on architecture; a complete and conclusive representation of these circumstances and the proof of intimate connection of French and Italian architecture would of itself require a monograph of important extent.

Therefore this will be chiefly relegated to some places in this volume, in which the discussion of the matters in question most naturally occurs, and especially in the following.

1. Chapter 4 on the origin of the style of Louis XII and Francis I.

2. The two chief centres of the Italo-French combination in the schools of Amboise-Gaillon and of Fontainebleau, and also the smaller centres of this union, which proceeded from the former.

3. The notes on Fra Giocondo, Domenico da Cortona (Boccador), the family of the Giusti (called the Juste of Tours), Primaticcio and Serlio.

4. The history of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and the introduction of the Italian garden into France.

5. The final conclusions of the present volume.

When Destailleur regards the appointment of Primaticcio as superintendent of the royal buildings in the 1559 as the true date, from which the Italians, who were already well established in France, began to exert a direct influence upon the arts of France,¹³³ this may be correct in certain respects. Yet we might rather believe, that the number of architectural forms introduced into France by Italians of all kinds was quantitatively greater between 1495 and 1559 than after the latter year. At least it appears to us, that the advent of 22 Italians with Fra Giocondo and Paganino at their head at Amboise in the year 1495 was of equal importance. It will appear that sufficient attention cannot be devoted to this colony in Amboise. The school connected therewith must have exerted an influence of scarcely less importance, than that at Fontaine-

Fontainebleau, though of a different kind. It may only be recalled of this, that on December 24, 1495, the royal tent-maker and upholsterer Nicolas Fagot received payment of the sum of 1593 livres tournois granted to him for the transportation by royal command from Naples to Lyons and to the Chateau of Amboise, required for the various carpets, libraries, paintings, articles of stone, marble and porphyry, as well as other furniture to the total weight of 37,000 pounds, which were intended for the decoration and use of the said chateau. In the sum considered was also included the subsistence of 22 work people (*hommes de mestier*) during 34 days at 40 sous per day.¹³⁴

Note 133. See Destailleur, H. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Français*, etc. Paris. 1863. p. 9.

Note 134. According to *Archives de l'Art Français*, vol. 2, 305.

Balanne, who published this document, adds that it requires no commentary. Marquis de Chenevieres remarks thereon:— "This is no single remark necessary, or 20 sheets of them are needed; for what the upholsterer Nicolas Fagot despatched in his wagons from the lowest Italy into the heart of France was nothing more nor less than all Italian art, that art which was to make numberless wonders blossom in Amboise, in Gaillon, and in our entire fatherland, perhaps the most delicate ever introduced by France". To this striking expression for the great importance of the event considered one can only assent with entire conviction.

It will more and more appear, that this period, in which the French writer in the campaign of Charles VIII saw an epoch-making event for the arts of his fatherland, was entirely in the right, and that moderns momentarily forget this too much. That campaign was the perceptible starting point of the entire transformation in the tendency of French art and culture. France gave up the Gallo-Germanic art, at the head of which it had stood for 350 years, and it went back to Gallo-Roman culture.

Another fact should be mentioned, that makes the determination of the part taken by Italian artists in works of the French Renaissance much more difficult. This is the translation

of the names of Italian artists into French or sometimes their distortion beyond recognition in contemporary writings, documents and accounts.

Thus for example:--

Ponzio Trebati into Maître Ponce.

Isabella di Pace into Isabeau de Pasche.

Matteo dal Nassaro into d'Alvassac.

Domenico Fiorentino)
Ricoveri or Recoveri) into Recouvry, Ricourre, Ricombre.

Battista della Vernia into Baptiste d'Auvergne.

Domenico da Cortona (Beccadoro) into Dominique de Tortemer.

Primaticcio into Primatichie.

Francini (Alessandro) into Franchine.

Fra Giovanni Giocondo into Frere Jehan Joyeux.

Galladio into Paladiav.

Don Pasello da Mercoltono into Dom Passollo, gardener.

Chapter 4. Origin of the Forms of the Early Renaissance in France.

(About 1495 - 1540).

a. Necessity for a Period with mixed Forms.

55. Principle of the Mixture.

The origin of architectural forms in the early French Renaissance depends upon no unusual basal idea. We simply stand before the Italo-French expression of a general human intellectual tendency acting in the domain of architecture. It appears everywhere and in every period, where a foreign language or a new mode of expression is to be adopted. The first that we do then is to clothe our own former ideas and feelings in the new mode of expression and to express them therein. Much more rarely does it occur, that in the first epoch a foreign basal idea or a foreign composition is expressed in the old native formulas and forms of detail, or even contemporaneously in the new ones. Where this occurs, it is probable that this basal composition in the foreign spirit actually proceeds from a foreigner, and that merely its execution is left to those, who desire to learn the new style and adapt themselves to it. For the last that one learns in such cases is, that one also thinks in the spirit of the foreigner, composing and expressing himself accordingly. When this occurs, men are already in the case now considered; they have reached the period of the high Renaissance.

There can scarcely be even a rumor ¹³⁵ of an objective and rightly understood conception of the forms of the antique, or of the modern Italian architecture, both from the side of laymen and that of architects during the first period, that succeeded the campaign of Charles VIII. Every Frenchman took from that source at random just what might please him, and he applied it where it by chance caused him the most pleasure. Consciously or unconsciously, men still had too great pleasure in all kinds of Gothic arrangements, ideas, customs and phenomena, to adopt a design entirely Italian in appearance, - except for tombs and gardens. Therefore everything led of itself to a fusion, or more correctly, to a mixture of forms by placing them beside each other.

Note 135. Just as little as one can learn a foreign language in a week or a month.

We stand here in presence of a number of phenomena, which always occur in history, whenever a new architectural style is developed in a particular country, or whenever an already developed style is received from a foreign country. Such phenomena may be best observed, where Gothic forms begin to penetrate into Romanesque, Arab-Persian into those of Hindostan, the Italian Renaissance into the Gothic, and with Aristotele Fioravanti into the Byzantine-Persian of Moscow.

In the treatment of such questions, even architects like historians of art too easily commit the fault of requiring a psychological impossibility from the taste of the people, that begins to adopt a foreign style; the abrupt surrender of all national inclinations and peculiarities in favor of the proposals of foreign architects. For a purely ideal problem, the latter is sometimes sooner possible and may be directly required. Therefore tombs, like those for the children of Charles VIII at Tours or that for Louis XII in S. Denis, might be purely Italian, so to speak; for designs of gardens, and indeed in the Chapel of S. Lazare at Marseilles, do we find the same later. But for churches is already more strongly expressed the firm adherence to the national opinion; yet for residences is it quite otherwise, as will be shown later in the consideration of facade compositions.

56. Compromise in Residences.

If a French nobleman, inspired by the view of the palaces of Italy, made the decision to erect a chateau in the same spirit in his native land, when he proceeded to carry out this idea, and he finally laid before himself the design obtained from an Italian architect, he then found himself in face of a series of considerations, that had not at all occurred to him in the beginning. The round towers, the symbol of his feudal rights, the steep roofs first invented by the Gothic architects, the high chimneys, dormer windows, and the general arrangement preferred by him, he would not give up thenceforth. But by the introduction of these requirements alone, the appearance of the Italian design must naturally be substantially changed. This was further aided by the reduction of the imposing heights of the stories of Italian palaces to that lesser height, in which he felt himself comfortable. The

consequences of this were not only an entire remodeling of the Italian subdivision, where the greatest innovation was by no means the replacing of round by oval arches; but a systematic cutting of the orders and of other forms must occur, producing an entirely different proportion of the windows to the pilasters. But so far has been no question of satisfying any wishes of his noble wife, who had never seen Italy and so the more strongly adhered to native things, and just as little of the jealousy and concealed resistance of the native architects, which in such cases is never lacking, nor the scornful feeling of superiority, as a result of the structural complexity of the old style in comparison with the new, which the Gothic architects in general very frequently believed should be felt towards the Italians, and likewise manifested this.

Therefore it should indeed be asserted, that the design for a secular building, which an Italian worked out between 1495 and 1540 for France, must necessarily appear quite different, than if the same master had prepared it for Italy. This fact is of great importance in determining the participation of Italian masters in French art works.

b. Italian Models for French Compromise Forms.

57. Semi-Gothic Compromise Forms.

As later in France at the time of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I, so in Italy is found the compromise of a combination of Gothic and antique forms as a transition to the Renaissance; but this appearance is in Italy generally quite different, according to the province considered, since the local Gothic style was already an introduction to the Renaissance, being an antique-like idea or a similar feeling in clothing like Gothic.

Sketches in the compromise style of Leonardo da Vinci and other Italian masters have already been mentioned. Of executed examples of this transition phase may be mentioned:-- the windows on the older portions of the Palace of Urbino and on the Hospital at Sulmona; those in the passage to the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence; the pediments on works like to Tomb of Brancacci at Naples, the facade of S. Agostino at Montepulciano, the lantern of Brunellesco for the Florentine Cathedral etc., not to speak of the examples of this tendency in Lombardy.

58. Milanese Models.

In the latter province, chiefly on the Certosa near Pavia, on the pinnacles of the Cathedral at Como and on the model for the Cathedral at Pavia, the basal ideas of the style of Louis XII and of Francis I were first established, especially the retention of Gothic parts or members of the structure and their detailing with antique Roman forms in accordance with the principle of composition of the latter. Instead of aspiring little pinnacled towers were built the capricious forms of an ideal architecture, for the vertical portion being a series of beautifully graduated plinth and pedestal-like supports bearing a kind of shrine. In place of a single pointed pyramidal or obelisk-like roof appears a repeated succession of drums, beset with columns and variously subdivided, that alternate with circular drums; the latter are graduated like lanterns and are accompanied by varied graceful and crowning motives. The capriciousness of the subdivision of this series of stepped forms, the beauty of the combining profiles are frequently enchanting. One believes that he sees only models of fanciful towers in an ideal style, about as if he were inclined to imagine a certain "heavenly architecture", constructed only for love of an "ideal architecture" and to satisfy the originally innate in man, "joy in the beautiful". In spite of the indescribable charm of numberless works found in France, the author has neither met in Chambord nor elsewhere with those, which are of equal rank with some to be found on the roof of the side aisle of the Cathedral at Como.¹³⁶

Note 136. Probably after drawings by Bramante, decided on in the year 1491 and erected before 1513.

If these ground principles of antique-like treatment and detailing of Gothic compositions be extended to the French late Gothic doorways, church portals and windows, as well as dormer windows with their finials, little buttresses and flying buttresses, their tracery gables etc., in brief to all late Gothic architectural members, then has the principle of form and the programme of all possible forms been fixed, that are found in the early French Renaissance, or in the transition style of the reigns of Louis XII and of Francis I until about 1540.

It should not be forgotten here, that the candelabras were borrowed from S. Maria delle Grazie, the pilasters from S. Satiro at Milan, from the Cancellaria at Rome, from the works of A. Bregno there and at Siena, as well as from other buildings in upper Italy, and that niches and tabernacles were frequently furnished with canopies composed in late Gothic, but these were again treated after the antique and were detailed according to the basal ideas shown. By such combinations was produced a limitless domain, as might be said, in which the imagination and the love of ornament of this "first period of youthful love" for the French Renaissance might frequently develop with childlike rapture and charming grace. ¹³⁷

Note 137. Concerning the Milanese influence, see the correct views of Paul Mantz in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Feb. 1827. p. 124.

c. Necessity of Italian Cooperation at the Beginning of the French Renaissance.

59. Period from 1495 to 1540.

With the generation of French architects, who returned from Italy between 1530 and 1540, at whose head stood Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, Jean Goujon, Pierre Lescot, Philibert de l'Orme and Jean Bullant, the further development of French external architecture might indeed be conceivable, even without the presence of a number of Italians in France and exclusively by Frenchmen, who educated themselves in Italy at that time. Aside from these, one Italian, Primaticcio, is observed to play an important architectural part. Contrary thereto, the development of French architecture between 1495 and 1520 at earliest, without the cooperation of a number of Italian architects and of many Italian workmen is conventional, as psychologically impossible, though just during this time the general appearance of the monuments still comprises many more older, i.e., French elements, than after 1530.

60. Necessity for a Knowledge of Antique Forms.

It should not be forgotten, that in order to clothe the members of a Gothic building in a Milanese or Bramantesque exterior, an accurate knowledge of antique forms is first of all required, and so with all combinations, that one can undertake with them; in a much lesser degree was the knowledge of

Gothic required for this. The same masters that exclusively knew the Gothic forms, like most French architects of the first period of the Renaissance, therefore were simply unable to think at all of such a translation, like that employed by the style of Francis I. Just as little were the French architects in condition, when they had not studied for several years in Italy, to translate an Italian design before about 1515, such as might have originated in Tuscany, Milan or Venice about 1490 - 1520, into the forms of Francis I with correctly and systematically treated details; the new forms and the principles of their use did not sufficiently control here. The Italian design would not contain the same elements, by means of which it could transform the canopies, pinnacles and dormer windows into the style of Louis XII or Francis I. They were at the utmost only able to compose a certain kind of works in the style of Louis XII, i.e., to insert a certain number of new forms in alternation with Gothic forms in a Gothic design, when whether these new forms were taken from various monuments in Italy itself or from Italian designs in France, and were worked over with more or less skill sometimes, at others were imitated with more or less good fortune.

Hence one is driven to the important conclusion, that up to a certain moment, the drawings for a number of elements like the antique-like canopies, pinnacles etc. must have come from the Italians themselves.

61. Reaction of French Taste upon Italian Masters.

On the other hand it must be conceded, that the Tuscan masters do not as a rule suffer from a superfluity of imagination, and one must therefore inquire, whether if left to themselves, they would have been capable of happily producing the forms of the style of Francis I. The Milanese and the north Italian architects were much better fitted for this.

Therefore it was clearly the Gothic spirit and Gothic arrangements, with which these masters constantly had to satisfy themselves, for them an actual source of creative stimulation. From this probably resulted pretty often a scarcely to be avoided reaction of French taste upon the works and the character of the style of the Italians in France.

62. Views of Antnyne-Saint-Paul.

62. Views of Anthyme-Saint-Paul.

In view of the opinions, which have become generally disseminated in France, it is well to observe this necessity of Italian cooperation as well as the reaction of the French element upon the Italian, clearly recognized by Anthyme-Saint-Paul. He proposes to himself the question, ¹³⁸"whether then the French architects with their strong individuality, abundant reason and reflection, could not have dispensed with the constant and restraining cooperation of foreigners?" "We are compelled", he writes, "to recognize that there would have been no French Renaissance, or that it would have greatly differed from that existing, if an Italian Renaissance had not previously existed; it is certain, that Italian architects came to France, that they proved very useful there, and that our own had a necessity for seeing Italy and Italian productions in order to educate themselves. But after the directing impulse was received, the progress of our artists was sufficiently increased to become capable of selecting a direction of their own choice, to follow this without being continually led by the hand, and even frequently to surpass their masters themselves. In the last years of Charles VIII and during the first time of Louis XII, Italy could directly transmit many details, that the Florentine, Milanese and Venetian schools had not yet rejected, and which with us made their good fortune; arabesques, scrolls, oilasters with lozenge-shaped panels, little candelabra-columns, portrait medallions, shells, and the small pediments with sculptured architraves."

Note 138. Planat. Vol. 6. p. 368.

d. School of the Loire, or of Amboise, and of Gaillon.
of 1563. Italian Colony in Amboise.

The most striking evidence, that men perceived the necessity of that cooperation with Italian masters and workmen, which has been proved indispensable, consists in the already mentioned colony of 22 Italians, that Charles VIII brought from Naples to Amboise. Their assistance originated the first Renaissance school in France; the school of the Loire.

The great influence, that the Italians in Fontainebleau exerted on French art through the school connected with them, is generally known. With few exceptions like Marquis de Che-

Chenevieres, A. de Montaiglon, Ludovik Lalanne, Benjamin Fillon, etc., very few seem to have reflected, that the mass of Italian art, that after 1495 and previous to the school of Fontainebleau was transmitted into French architecture, was not less important. We even believe, that it had far greater difficulties to overcome, than the school of Fontainebleau itself, and consequently to all appearances required a similar centre, to be able to collect its forces and make them felt.

The first Italian school in France found this home, similar to that of the second in a certain degree, and indeed likewise in a royal castle, the fortress above the beautiful Loire, on the rock of Amboise. Its chief works form the school of the Loire and that at Gaillon. In support of this view, the following works of Fillon may be quoted:--¹³⁹ - - "From the preceding letters it follows, that the colony of Italian workmen came to France in 1495 and settled in Amboise, the favorite residence of Charles. Near Tours, this city became the artistic centre, where aided by fashion, Michel Columbe and his school came to obtain inspiration, as well as Jean Perre-al, - - -Martin Cloistre of Blois, and that swarm of painters and woodcarvers, whose vast talent our period is beginning to appreciate - - -."

Note 139. See Archives de l'Art Francois. Vol. 1. p. 276.

A. de Montaigne would prefer to believe that these Italians had previously sojourned in Tours, since Jacques Taillandier, under whose protection they were, staid there.¹⁴⁰ But the list of important masters staying in Tours shows mostly Frenchmen.

Note 140. See Archives etc. p. 124. No. 1.

64. Masters in this Colony.

Of 22 Italians, who came to Amboise up to the end of 1495, only 9 are mentioned in the following list,¹⁴¹ being indeed only those designated by their calling as connected with architecture. Under A are collected the expressions, which refer otherwise to their callings and their positions; under B are given the names of the masters and their yearly salaries (in tournois), so as to obtain therefrom a comparative view of their importance.

Note 141. From Annales de l'Art Francois. Vol. 1. p. 107 et seq.

Italians in the service of Charles VIII:--

A. Certain workmen

men of trades

and other personages

to work at their trades after

the custom and manner of Italy,

designers (came from the kingdom of Sicily)

to build

and to make works after their designs and

pleasure after the fashion of Italy.

B.

Frere Jehan Jocundus (Fra Giocondo), religious of the order
of S. Francis, designer of buildings. 562 livres 10 s.

Dom Passelo or Pasello (Pocello da Mercoliano) gardener. 375.

Guido Paganino, knight, painter and illuminator. 937 1/2.

Master Bernardin de Bresola, worker on floors and joiner in
all colors. 240.

Jerome Passerot, master workman of masonry. 240.

Domenico de Courtenne, maker of castles¹⁴² and joiner in all
kinds of masonry. 240.

Alphonse Damasse, turner of alabaster (together with his
master). 480.

Domino Johanne de granua, priest, maker of organs. 240.

Monsieur Luc Becjeame (called Berjeame in de Croy), jeweller
designer, cunning in making chickens set and hatch, knight,
designer of buildings.

Note 142. It is correctly stated, that "castles" do not here
mean "chateaux", but wooden towers employed in attacks
and other similar war equipment.

65. Part of the Masters of Amboise.

Of greater historical importance is now the question, whether
is possible a direct influence and a direct participation
of one or more of these or other masters on the origin of the
early Renaissance in France. This question has not only a
general conventional interest, which even extends beyond the
limits of the French Renaissance, but it belongs to those, that
for a series of years have most attracted the attention
of Frenchmen. For a conception of the difficulty of answering

this question, as well as to give the most recent views in this domain, the words of a recent investigator, F. de Croy, may be quoted here, and whose quiet objectivity has a good effect, in comparison with the rash decisions of others. He writes in reference to the royal chateaus on the Loire; ¹⁴³ "Neither the date of the beginning of these buildings nor that of their completion is known. A knowledge of the inspiration and of the superintendence under which they originated is almost entirely lacking. After the merit of these first works of our Renaissance had been ascribed to Italian architects until the most recent times, it is now proved that this honor belongs to the French school. But it is only on the ground of indirect statements or the accidental mention, that one can give the names of some artists, who were employed on them. The subject presents so many gaps, that one must almost doubt, whether these will ever be filled". It may be seen from this, that until very recent times the intervention of Italian masters has been generally assumed, and indeed perhaps in a greater degree, than we deem necessary here. One cannot deny the difficulty in determining the actual masters. But nevertheless it appears credible, that if correctness be granted, of what has been said concerning the necessity of compromise forms and of an Italo-French cooperation, we will perhaps recognize, that there may finally be deduced from existing statements both more and other conclusions, than many in the recent period were inclined to believe.

Note 143. Croy, J. de. *Nouveaux Documents sur l'Histoire de la Creation des Residences royales des Bords de la Loire.* p. 1, 4. Paris. 1894. -- The accounts on parchment were largely used in the year 5 for making patterns for stucco work.

66. Striking Homogeneity of the School.

Two additional phenomena incite us to enter more fully into this question. First is the frequently striking homogeneity, that manifests itself in similar ideas, in composition, in development and subdivision, as well as in the details on the royal buildings in Blois, Chambord and Chenonceaux, or those of the minister Robertet in Bury, and on other structures belonging to this group, and indeed in such wise as to arouse the conjecture, that at a certain time the same identical master has acted as a leader.

The mouldings on an entire series of buildings from the first 30 years of the 16th century seem to be due to the influence of a certain master, and this fact will be referred to again in the later chapter devoted to mouldings. The peculiarities in style and the character of the mouldings are in no way incompatible with what we know of the two most prominent architects of the colony of Amboise, the two masters upon which all traditions and recent documents invite us to concentrate our entire attention. These are Fra Giocondo and Domenico da Cortona. Both are architects of unusual fame. The fame acquired in Paris by the one mentioned in the second place, is indeed exclusively based on the later construction of the Hotel-de-Ville there; only very recently does attention appear to have been directed to his earlier lengthy stay on the Loire. The following first proceeds to the consideration of what we know concerning the activity of these two masters in France.

1. Fra Giovanni Giocondo from Verona.

(Born 1435 or earlier; died 1515).

67. Slight Notice of Him.

Men have frequently lamented and made prominent also, that the Italians, who came to France and exerted a more or less weighty influence upon the development of the Renaissance in France, were only masters of the second or even lower rank, - with the exception of Leonardo, who was too old and died too soon. But one has not thought this of Fra Giocondo. It may indeed be, that until now, we know of only one building in Italy, whose design belongs to his earlier period, namely the Palace del Consiglio at Verona (1476-1493); further that of the three works in France formerly ascribed to him, two have entirely disappeared and the third partially so; finally that the representations of these buildings do not exhibit the style, that one would at first be inclined to expect from an Italian, and that the building accounts and other documents, so far as we possess them in relation to these buildings, do not mention Fra Giocondo. To this may be added, that the only drawing by the Fra existing until 1832 long appeared so unintelligible, that men began to almost believe it a jest, and that all the reliable documents concerning his activity in F

France related to engineering structures, as to an aqueduct for the royal gardens in Blois and to the construction of the first stone bridge at Paris. (Bridge of Notre Dame).

From the latter fact, Palustre believed,¹⁴⁴ -- in accordance with the overhasty principles of modern criticism and the vivacity peculiar to him, -- "that this poor Fra Giocondo" must be ejected from the ranks of architects, and to decide that he was never an artist, but a "skilful constructor", thus being merely a civil and military engineer.

Note 144. *La Renaissance en France. Isle-de-France.* p. 75, 76. -- Now Palustre sometimes unfortunately decides hastily on matters, which he has never seen, is shown by his discussion of a work; *Cento Disegno di Architettura, d'ornato e di figure di Fra. G. Giocondo* (Florence, 1882), in *Chronique des Arts*, 1882. No. 28. -- Some further notices of Giocondo were given by us in *Chronique des Arts*, 1882. No. 38. -- We have since reported on more than a thousand additional drawings by Giocondo in the *Collection Destailleur* in *Trois Albums de Dessins de Fra Giocondo* in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et de Histoire publiés par l'Ecole française de Rome*. Vol. 11. (1891). -- Some thoughts in opposition to the latter work, in the *Mittheilungen d. Kais. Deutsch. Archaeol. Inst., Roman Section*, V vol. 7, parts 3, 4 are partly based upon an incorrect reading of my work, partly on points not yet finally determined.

After I had the good fortune to determine Fra Giocondo as the author of more than a hundred original drawings found in the Uffizi at Florence, from which it follows, that he was the greatest architect of his time in Italy, next to Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci; after I had further succeeded in finding the key to the unintelligible plan for S. Peter in Rome, and it resulted, that his design had led to a noble and wonderful work, -- it became a duty to examine anew, whether such a master, who was contemporaneously in the service of the king and of the city of Paris, and was suddenly called to Rome by Pope Julius II to participate with Bramante in the competition for S. Peter's, had not in some way influenced the development of the Renaissance there, during the 10 years that he had dwelt in France.

First of all, the buildings earlier ascribed to him were h

here first of all to be examined, since the reasons on which men relied in recent times to exclude Fra Giocondo from all participation in them, when more closely considered, had no decisive value whatever.

68. Designer of Buildings.

Before this indeed occurs, there should be announced the examination of an important point, especially the title by which Fra Giocondo was mentioned during the first years of his stay in France; this appears to have been not entirely unusual for that period. It reads "deviser of buildings", in contrast to "master workman of masonry", as another Italian of the colony, Jerome Passerot, was called. The first designation clearly denotes a master, who was rather intended to give to the buildings the corresponding artistic and especially the architectural form, and who troubled himself little or not at all concerning their material execution in all details. If this title be brought into connection with the expression "device and pleasure of the king", whereby must be understood ideas, views and caprices, in which the king had especial pleasure, then will "deviser of buildings" denote him, who had to work out proposals and drawings for the remodeling of the buildings in accordance with the most extended ideas of the king, certainly in the taste of the king and according to what he understood by the fashion of Italy. After they had been adopted, the execution of such designs perhaps followed under native masters in combination with some Italians.¹⁴⁵

Note 145. See likewise the following chapter on the architects of the French Renaissance.

69. Chateau at Amboise.

The dates of the works in Amboise, the often decidedly Italian elements in the parts of this chateau executed in the compromise style and represented in Du Cerceau (Fig. 22 ¹⁴⁶), and the positive statements of Commynes, that Charles VIII employed his Italians in building the same, permit the assumption, that upon this most important of the royal undertakings in architecture, for which he had in the first place imported his Italians, Fra Giocondo, who was at the head of the first party, may have exercised an influence.

If the statement of Anthyme-Saint-Paul be correct, that sym-

symmetrical plans of Chateaus Le Venger and Bury are exceptions in that period, -- and he appears to me to be right therein, -- then just this symmetrical arrangement of plan (Fig. 17), which in some things recalls those of the Castle of Milan and of the entrance at the gate of the Castle Nuovo at Naples, must be ascribed to the influence of Fra Giocondo, since the building of the chateau was begun in 1496, thus just after the campaign of Charles VIII, and it was already completed in the year 1499, thus being executed in the time, during which this master remained on the Loire. Some Italian details, the fact that the builder, Marshal de Gie, was governor of Amboise, and he frequently had the chateaus at Amboise and at Gaillon inspected by the master mason Colin Byard of Tours, who likewise executed some work in the Chateau Le Venger, -- all this likewise permits, that a certain connection with the colony at Amboise may be assumed.

70. Works ascribed to Fra Giocondo.

We now come to the question:-- can Fra Giocondo have had a any part in buildings, that were long ascribed to him, but whose appearance is entirely different from the style, that he would have employed in Italy? I freely admit that for a time, I was inclined to decidedly answer this question by a denial. Yet after a series of years, my more thorough studies on the nature of that period and on the conditions, under which Fra Giocondo was compelled to work in France, led to the opinion, that from merely the point of view of style, an influence of this master was at least not only possible, but almost probable for the Chateau at Gaillon and for the "Salle doree." (Golden hall).

Concerning the golden hall belonging to the Palace of Justice in Paris, it is to be said, that the decoration of the lunettes with the royal arms and the porcupine of Louis XII, the cenaturs and sirens, which even in the engraving of the last century (Figs. 23, ¹⁴⁷ 345) retain the character of the school of Verona-Padua, thus of the native place of Fra Giocondo, so that one must query, whether the authors are not entirely or partly right, who designate this hall as a work of the brother? It might also be added, that the suspended arcades, there employed as the decorative system of the ceiling,

also occur on the facade of the Chateau at Gaillon. (Figs. 24, 25).

Note 147. From an engraving by Poilly in *Gabinet des Estampes* at Paris. Vol. Va, 226.

Note 148. Padre Marchese mentions this description in his *Memorie degli Artisti Domenicani*. -- On the *Chambre doree*, see further the chapter on internal decoration.

One wing of the latter, whose fragments are now almost collectively preserved in the *École des Beaux Arts* at Paris and confirms the accuracy of the facade system shown by Israel S Silvestre (Fig. 24 ¹⁴⁹) and shows in the arrangement of the medallions between the pilasters with arabesques and in connection with sculptured scrolls (Fig. 25 ¹⁵⁰) a motive, which strongly recalls the similar arrangement on Fra Giocondo's *Palace del Consiglio* at Verona, on which the scrolls are indeed only painted. Since further in the mouldings and in the arabesques of this facade are likewise some things similar to models in the same parts of upper Italy, are queries whether there may not be some truth in the earlier opinion, that the Chateau at Gaillon is a work of Fra Giocondo.

Note 149. Reproduced from an engraving by Israel Silvestre.

Note 150. Reproduced from *Rev. Gen. d'Arch.* Year 40, Pl. 34.

Only since the publication by Deville relating to the building accounts of the Chateau at Gaillon, ¹⁵¹ which was in part epoch-making in France, have men begun to give up the latter opinion. Deville says:-- "It has been repeated to satiety, that the cardinal entrusted to the famous Veronese architect Fra Giocondo the building of his chateau at Gaillon. This opinion, which was already suspected by Emeric David, completely disappears in view of the building accounts here published, in which the name of Fra Giocondo does not once occur. If Georges did employ some Italian artists, none of them had charge of the erection of the buildings, which rather belonged entirely to French architects. The Italian artists were only utilized for subordinate works and for ornamentation. This is a fact, that is now won for the history of art and for the French school."

Note 151. Deville, A. *Comptes de Depenses de la Construction du Chateau de Gaillon etc.* Paris. 1850. 1851. p. 12. -- T Tipaldo (in *Elogio di Fra Giocondo*) and Selvatico further men-

mention the ascription to Fra Giocondo. (See Vasari. Vol. 5. p. 266. N. 3.).

But a remark on the building accounts of the Chateau at Gaillon may be found in Montaiglon,¹⁵² which deserves full consideration as coming from one of such profound erudition. Concerning the presence of Antonio di Giusti in Gaillon, he calls attention, like Deville in his comparison, to the payments made to him amounting to only 447 livres tournois, instead of at least 536, which should perhaps be increased to 736, but adds:- "however the sum indicates little, since we do not now possess all the accounts of Gaillon".

Note 152. In La Famille des Juste. p. 18.

The latter fact alone takes away all value from Deville's conclusion, that from the silence of the building accounts mentioned, Fra Giocondo had nothing at all to do with the Chateau at Gaillon. And even if these accounts were complete, then must one always oppose the view, that the silence of the documents must already be regarded as proof of the incorrectness of a statement transmitted in a different way. Courajod also writes at a very recent date:-- "Deville does not sufficiently enter into what the building at Gaillon contains of Italian and Italian germs." Moreover it would be very possible in this case, that while Fra Giocondo was paid by the king, in case he prepared for the minister Georges d'Amboise divers drawings for the Chateau at Amboise, may either have received no remuneration for the latter work, or this may not have been included in the building accounts proper, as very frequently occurred at that time, when artists were often compensated by benefices. Might not one decide with equal justice, that Jean Cousin never created anything whatever, since as L. de Laborde asserts, his name nowhere occurs in the royal accounts remaining to us?

Note 153. In La Sculpture Francaise avant la Renaissance classique. p. 8. Paris. 1891.

Note 154. In La Renaissance des Arts et la Cour de France. Vol. 1. p. 307. Paris. 1850.

By Pietro da Mercolano on the one hand, with the important architectural conditions of the gardens at the Chateau of Gaillon, and by Antonio di Giusto on the other with the sculpt-

sculptures and the arabesques, the Chateau of the Cardinal of Amboise is not connected with another head of the school of Amboise, Pacello da Mercoliano, and also with the atelier of the Giusti in Tours; therefore a connection of Gaillon with the artistic head of the school of Amboise, to which the Chateau of Gaillon belongs, would then be very probable.

Of the former Chambre des Comptes at Paris, likewise ascribed to Fra Giocondo and burned in 1737, the author has found no sufficient representation, from which one can decide, whether any characteristic or a general arrangement may strengthen this tradition in any way. As shown by Fig. 26¹⁵⁵, the exterior has no Italian appearance of any kind.¹⁵⁶

Note 155. Reproduction from Israel Silvestre.

Note 156. According to Bance, who is little trustworthy, Pierre Jouvelin and Nicolle Violle appear to have built the Chambre des Comptes in the Palace of Justice. According to an inscription given by him, the construction lasted from 1486 to 1489. If this be correct, Fra Giocondo would actually be excluded.

The arcades of the former Chateau at Bury are reproduced in Fig. 27,¹⁵⁷ which according to an inventory of the widow of Florimond Ropertet must appear to be a work of Fra Giocondo. Yet this conjecture has not been confirmed.

Note 157. Reproduced from Du Cerceau. Les plus excellent Bostiments etc. Vol. 2.

When one sees to what a degree a Fleming, Gian Bologna, became Italian in his art, why should it not be possible for Fra Giocondo to adopt various French peculiarities in working out his designs, and indeed so much the more, since (born in Verona in 1435 at latest) he saw only Gothic employed in his native city during his first 15 or 20 years? One may further consider that 20 years after the brother had left France, and Italian forms had become disseminated much more, Boccadoro retained numerous French peculiarities on the Paris Hotel-de-Ville.

In a dispatch from the Venetian ambassador Francesco Morosini to the council of ten, he writes of Fra Giocondo among other things:-- --"He also has a provision (salary) from the king for the skill, with which he has made an aqueduct to lead

water to his gardens in Blois. He is in great intimacy with the duke of Sora, and he is in relations with M. Philibert, whom he has served as secretary. He read Vitruvius to him, for he loves to occupy himself with the mathematical sciences, architecture and military engines". Through Fra Giocondo, the ambassador became acquainted with certain articles of the treaty made between the king, the king of the Romans, and the duke of Burgundy.

Note 158. Brochet, A. Les Archives de Venise. Histoire de la Chancellerie secrete. p. 512. Paris. 1870.

2. Domenico da Cortona, properly Bernabei, called Boccadoro.

71. Notes on his Life.

In order to come to a correct decision concerning Domenico da Cortona, several notes relating to him are first collected here, which refer to his employment previous to the building of the Hotel-de-Ville in Paris.

In the *Symbolae Litterae* of Gori, cited by Mariette, 159 Domenico is designated as a pupil of Giulio da Sangallo; it is further said, that he built for the king of France two magnificent palaces, one of which was the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, and that he died in the service of Henry II in 1549.¹⁶⁰

Note 159. In *Abecedario*. Vol. 1. p. 123.

Note 160. *Symbolae Litterariae* etc. Vol. 6. p. 172. No. 308. Florence. 1751. (I owe to M. Eugene Müntz a communication of the exact title and contents of this work).

Already in the years 1495, 1497 and 1498, we find Domenico among the 22 masters of the most diverse kinds, which Charles VIII brought in 1495 (on Dec. 24) from his kingdom of Sicily, i.e., from Naples and took into his service; they formed the Italian colony of Tours.¹⁶¹ Domenico is designated as "joiner in all works and builder of chateaus," which corresponds to the Italian "legnajuolo"; he received a tolerably high salary, namely 240 livres tournois.

Note 161. *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Vol. 1. p. 124, n.

When the old Bridge of Notre Dame at Paris fell in 1499, Domenico was named among the masters, who were examined at that time in regard to this occurrence.¹⁶²

Note 162. Leroux de Lincy. *Histoire de l'Hotel-de-Ville de Paris* etc. Part 1. p. 182. Paris. 1846.

Nov. 11, 1510:-- Dominique de Cortone, Italian joiner. Worked on the furniture of the Chateau at Blois.

June 5, 1512, he acquired two adjacent houses at Blois, remained in possession of them for 18 years, and appears to have transformed them into one.

Domenico is designated as "valet-de-chambre and cabinet-maker of the queen," probably of queen Claude.¹⁶³

Note 163. Croy, F. de. Nouveaux Documents sur l'Histoire de la Création des Residences royales des Bords de la Loire. p. 103. Paris. 1894.

At the obsequies of Louis XII in the year 1515, he caused to be built the framework for supporting the image of the deceased king and the canopy for protecting this image, likewise the catafalque in the Church of Notre Dame as a sepulchral chapel in the form of a Greek cross 15 ft. long, whose four facades each rested on two octagonal piers terminating in pinnacles; over the intersection a central tower rose 26 ft. higher with small turrets at the angles, crowned by 13 crosses and decorated by candles.¹⁶⁴

Note 164. Friendly communication of M. H. de Champeaux from Comptes des Obsequies et Funerailles du roi Louis XII. Archives Nationales. K. K. 89.

By an account of April 24, 1518, it may be seen that Domenico was then conducting the following works in Amboise.

1. In the Chateau, the erection of the scaffolds in the galleries for the baptism of the dauphin.

2. The construction of a festal hall for the marriage of the duke of Urbino and Madelaine de la Tour d'Auvergne (in the inner court).

3. the Bastillon or great market-place of Amboise for the baptismal tournament, which lasted 8 days; this work was greatly hurried; Domenico was engaged on it for 26 days and 10 nights and received therefor 60 livres. Perhaps in connection with the design by Leonardo da Vinci. (See Art. 32 and Fig. 16).¹⁶⁵

Note 165. Croy, J. de. p. 22, 105.

For works executed by Dominique de Courtonne, architect,¹⁶⁶ between 1516 and 1531 at the command of the king, thereby incurring great losses, he received from Francis I a gift of 900 livres, which nearly equals his salary for four years. This

appears to have been for wooden models for the city and chateaus of Tournay, of Arches and Chambord, for bridge-, wind-, horse- and hand-mills. ¹⁶⁷

Note 167. Patrons, en levee de boys etc. Archives Nationales, J-960; Comptes des Batiments du Roy, by Marquis de Laborde, published by M. Guiffrey. Vol. 2. p. 204.

On March 8, 1531, Michel Cosson declared that the house in Blois, which had belonged to Dominique de Cortonne since 1512, had passed into his possession. ¹⁶⁸

Note 168. Croy, J. de. p. 105.

May 3, 1531, for the coronation of Eleonora of Austria, the master at the command of the king constructed the scaffolds and platforms in the Abbey Church of S. Denis for the ceremonial, and he executed the work in the hall of the Palace of the city of Paris for the banquet at the entry of the queen. For both (the value of the lumber in the Abbey Church of S. Denis being included), he received 200 livres. ¹⁶⁹

Note 169. Croy. p. 104.

September 1532 to March 1533; during the stately meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Domenico is again found busy. The completion of a great buffet in cabinet work is mentioned, and further that the Grand Master de Montmorency had him especially come from Paris to Boulogne in order to arrange, execute and hasten various works. ¹⁷⁰ H. de Champeaux considers this to be the arrangement of the royal apartments in the Abbey.

Note 170. De Laborde, L. La Renaissance des Arts. Vol. 1. p. 280.

From this clearly follows:--

1. That Boccadoro had already been more than 3 months in Paris, when the first mention of his model for the Hotel-de-Ville in Paris was known.

2. The fact, that he was especially called from Paris to Boulogne by an occasion, on which the courts of France and England endeavored to excel each other in magnificence, affords proof, that something was expected from him, that other masters were unable to undertake.

72. Conclusions.

What conclusions may be deduced from the preceding statements?

The idea, that Domenico da Cortona was merely a technically skilled carpenter, is entirely untenable; for in that case he would not have been brought to France, where carpenters were then generally much more skilful than in Italy, on account of the existing more complex requirements. One must doubtless consider him as a "legnajuolo", such as the two Sangallos were, who were at the same time architects and military engineers, and who started with the carpenter's trade, passing to all branches of architecture.

J. de Croy is clearly right, when he speaks of the peculiarities of Domenico as a poser and improvisator. The important part played by him in the decorations for such important festivals, as for the obsequies of Louis XII (1515), for the baptism and marriage in Amboise (1518), for the coronation of Eleanora of Austria (1531), and on the field of the cloth of gold (1531-1532), each in places distant from his dwelling in Blois, shows that the king regarded him as the most suitable artist for giving to the splendor of the court an honorable expression on such occasions.

The large compensation awarded to him by Francis I in 1531, according to the account of his secret expenditures, for the various works executed by him in the last 15 years at the royal command, permits him to frequently appear as court and royal architect, whome the king desired to have at hand in order to prepare for the execution of his own ideas.

When one sees Domenico with such a position after 1512 and as the owner of a house in Blois during 13 years, i.e., until about the moment when Francis I began to consider the rebuilding of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and the Louvre, this indeed happened because he could make himself most useful to the king in Blois. It must further arouse attention in the highest degree, if the master in this position also prepared a model for the Chateau at Chambord, and if one further thinks of the affinity of the principle in the subdivision of the piers at the stairways in the Chateaus at Blois and at Chambord (Figs. 81 to 83), and of many other elements of relationship in style, as well as of the mouldings, which indicate a common creative influence. (Also see Fig. 84).

73. Model for the Chateau at Chambord.

It is well to understand, if F. de Croy regards it as proo-

probable, that the wooden model for the Chateau at Chambord, which Felibien still saw in a house at Blois and described, was made by Domenico da Cortona. Even the arrangement of the stairs in straight flights, as de Croy rightly remarks, makes in that time an Italian composition or treatment of the model appear probable.¹⁷¹ The difference between this model and the execution, although considerable in certain points, is not so great in the description and words of Felibien, as one would believe from de Croy. Felibien says:--¹⁷²"The number of the rooms and their arrangement approximates unusually closely to what was built, with the exception of the stairways". De Croy makes of this :--"The work has only a very slight similarity to the actual building".

Note 171. Even in the year 1548, this form of stairway was termed Italian at the Louvre.

Note 172. In Felibien, A. *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Maisons royales et Bostiments de France*. p. 28. Paris. 1874.

Exactly the contrary is the most characteristic ground idea in Domenico's model; the square with four angle towers, and so to speak, subdivided by a Greek cross into four different chateaus, was retained in the construction. The final conclusion of de Croy is certainly carried too far, that even if D Domenico was the designer and not merely the maker of this model, yet one cannot award to him the merit of the original conception of this model, since his plans were not followed. On the contrary, one can very well understand, that Bournon¹⁷³ regarded Domenico as the actual architect of the Chateau at Chambord, and that to the same master was also attributed the wing of Francis I on the Chateau at Blois. De Croy also finds his real feelings again, when he says:--"The presence of this Italian artist on the banks of the Loire, when these monuments of the Renaissance were erected, appears to justify a all conjectures concerning the part he might have taken therein".

Note 172. See the latest Paris Grande Encyclopedie, Art. Chambord.

Great probability has the idea of de Croy, that Domenico da Cortona built the wooden covered galleries and the middle pav-

pavilion of the royal gardens at Blois; they were filled with excellent joinery. These gardens came from Pacello da Mercoliano and exhibit entirely Italian plans; Boccador was the master in Italian woodwork, who was there in time and place.

We shall also frequently have to return to Domenico in the following. (See the descriptions of the Chateaus at Blois and Chambord, of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, and of the Church S. Eustache there).

3. Other Italians of Amboise.

74. Pacherot.

Besides the two already named, three additional masters of the colony of Amboise may be mentioned.

First is Jerome Pacherot, whom Charles VIII brought with him from Italy. He had settled in Tours, was married, and is designated as "marble cutter of the king" in various documents. He executed in the year 1507 in Gaillon a marble fountain, that shows great analogy to that at Blois. The appellation of "master workman of masonry" permits the inference, that instead of furnishing ideas for the treatment of buildings, like the "designers of buildings", he rather occupied himself chiefly with their construction. His influence may therefore have been considerable in a different way.

Note 174. De Croy. p. 115.

75. Mazzoni.

For the versatility, well known as one of the most interesting peculiarities of the Italian masters in the Renaissance period, must a man be considered, that chiefly worked as a sculptor, but who was honored in a strange way by Charles VIII and therefore was in a position to exert an influence upon questions connected with architecture. This was Guido Mazzoni from Modena, also called Pasanino or Modanino. We limit ourselves here to repeating the words of de Montaignon,¹⁷⁵ as follows:--"France, ungrateful and forgetful, has retained no memory of a man, who dwelt there too long and was too near to its king, not to leave behind many works by his own hand, many examples and also many evils, and who could not fail to exert in the most varied ways a great influence. Italian authors have preserved the recollection of his abilities.---- He especially worked in terra cotta and painted his works.

Charles VIII took Guido into his service as soon as he knew him, and he was among those knighted by the king on the day of his entrance into Naples (May 12, 1495). (The gate was opened to him on Feb. 21). His wife Pellegrina Discalzi came with him and also worked; she died in France. Mazzini left France a year after the accession to the throne of Francis I, laden with gold and silver, and he settled again in his native city of Modena on June 19, 1516, where he died two years later. If as probable, he came to France in 1495 with Charles VIII, then he remained there for 21 years."

Note 175. Archives de l'Art Français. Vol. 1. p. 125.

76. Becjame.

Of the second "designer of buildings" of the colony of Amboise, Luc Becjame, we merely know, that the ovens built there by him for artificial incubation of eggs succeeded remarkably, and that Francis I rebuilt in the year 1533 in the Chateau at Montrichard the Italian incubators employed from 1496 at Amboise.

4. The Giusti from Florence in Tours.

77. Family of the Giusti.

Although not belonging to the original colony of the 22 Italians at Amboise, mention must still be made in this place of the artist family of the Giusti. These masters, whose name was translated into French (Juste), were frequently regarded as Frenchmen from Tours. De Montaignon and Milanese have corrected this error and have proved the derivation of the Giusti from Florence.¹⁷⁶ We shall again find these masters in the later chapter on tombs.

Note 176. Montaignon, A. de & G. Milanese. La Famille des Juste en Italie et en France. Paris. 1877. -- Also, Societe de l'Histoire de l'Art Française. p. 2. Paris. 1876. -- It is there said:--"The Juste have long been established at Tours,-- but the school of the Loire is indebted to and imitates them, when they own it nothing. The Juste are Italians and their works are Italian in the first place".).

It is generally assumed, that the Giusti introduced the pilasters with the arabesque panels into France. But they can only have disseminated them, if the Tomb in Dol (1507) is proved to be their first work. The arabesque pilasters are pe-

peculiar to many Italian schools, and they are already found in the works of Laurana in Tarascon and Marseilles in 1476 and 1481, and in the most beautiful form in 1496 in Solesmes. The assumption that the Tomb of the children of Charles VIII at Tours, which was completed in 1506, is due to them is not conclusively proved, but indeed their authorship of the Tomb of Louis XII. The latter shows that they were in position, more than Paganino, at least to frequently contribute to the dissemination of Italian forms and motives.

The real family name of the Giusti is Betti; they came from S. Martino a Mensola near Florence. In France were settled the three brothers Antonio di Giusti, Giovanni di Giusti and Andrea, as well as the son of the eldest brother, called Juste de Antoine Juste. The Giovanni, who is seen in 1559 and 1560 in Oiron and at the entry of Mary Stuart into Tours, was very probably a Giovanni II.

Since the works and localities of the Giusti belong to those centres, from which Italian forms must have spread, some data concerning them may be collected in the following.

Antonio di Giusti; 1479-1519. First mentioned in 1508 and 1509 as working in Gaillon. Great alabaster figures of apostles in the chapel; relief of the Battle of Genoa; a great greyhound; a great stag's head; portraits of Monseigneur (the Cardinal) and of a child, -- both as medallions.

1510; a doe in wax for Louis XII in Blois; was the owner of vines in Orchaize in the district of Blois.

1508, 1514, 1516; mention of his house in Carrara, and designated as sculptor of his majesty, king of France; Aug. 20; delivery of marble blocks according to dimensions given by him.

Giovanni di Giusti (Jehan de Juste), born 1485; the most important artist in the family.

1507; completed his Tomb for Thomas James in Dol (Brittany).

1518; Tomb of Jean de Rieux, marshal of Brittany, formerly in Nantes.

1517-1531; Tomb of Louis VII and Anne of Brittany.

1521. Purchases a house with his wife Agnes.

1521. Rents his farm L. Rodiniere in the district of Tours.

1521. He and his nephew Juste de Antoine Juste separate their business.

1522; designated in Tours as sculptor to the king.

1548; again mentioned.

Juste de Antoine Juste; 1505-1558 (?).

1521, July 1; separates from his uncle Giovanni, in whose service he remained.

1522; he and his mother Isabeau de Pace buy a house in Tours.

1529; designated as sculotur in marble, dwelling in Tours.

1530; as sculptor in marble, a statue of Hercules and one of Leda for the king.

1530-1531; settled near Fontainebleau, still in the service of the king.

1535-1536; worked on the stucco decorations of the great g gallery in Fontainebleau.

1538, Dec. 31, for four years past sculptor in marble to t the king.

1548; his wife still lived in Tours.

On the two similar tombs in Oiron, one of which is dated in 1539, the pilasters exhibit capitals like the Doric with a l long and flated necking. The capital proper consists of an egg-and-dart moulding without an abacus, in place of the latter being a broad fillet above a smaller one beneath the ovo-lo. Such a plain treatment is unusual, but indeed occurs on the Palace, that Giulino da Sangallo built for Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II) in Savona. Now Giusto da Antonio di Michele, the father of the three Giusti, who went to France, indeed furnished in 1486 for the Church Madonna delle Carceri in Prato a series of fluted pilasters with 16 bases, and Giuliano da Sangallo was architect of this church; -- might any relations between Giuliano and the Giusti sons have originated thereby?

Other Italians working in France will also be mentioned later in the course of this volume.

5. Various Centres of Italo-French Cooperation.

78. Stonecutters in France.

After a view of the activity and of the participation of t the Italian masters has been given by some preceding examples, some words must be said on the work of a more modest class of Italians, stonecutters or carvers of arabesques (scarpellini). The appellation of "chiselers" employed for them by Rivoalen is fairly applicable. The number of these, who remained in

France during the period from 1495 to 1540, especially in the first half of that time, is probably much greater, than one is at first disposed to accept. One would likewise scarcely err in assuming, that to the labors of one or two such stonecutters for a few weeks or months is to be attributed the existence and sporadic occurrence of a number of Italian ornaments on otherwise late Gothic monuments. Rivoalen must here be entirely right in saying:--¹⁷⁷ "For this enriching of the expiring Gothic were at the same time employed the French stonecutters and the Italian carvers. For in France Italian artists or workmen gradually became less necessary for the revival of an art, whose early masters, Lescot, Bullant and De l'Orme had gone to seek the sources and principles on the spot; the French stonecutters have gradually mastered the slight of hand, the delicacy in chiseling, and the appreciation of graduated shading, which were peculiar to the Italians?"

79. Tomb of duke Francois II at Nantes.

Every architectural work, on which even two or three Italian stonecutters were employed, became a more or less intensive centre for the gradual dissemination of the new mode of decoration, according to the existing circumstances and the talents of these carvers, mostly from upper Italy. The buildings at Amboise, the Chateaus at Gaillon, Chamoord and Blois, the Priory at Solesmes, and the Chateau at Bonnivet, belong to the most important centres of this kind. Courajod has reached the same views in this respect.¹⁷⁸

Note 177. *Origines de la Renaissance en France.* p. 41. Paris. 1888.

Note 178. In Planot, P. *Encyclopedie de l'Architecture et de la Construction.* Vol. 6. p. 568.

What is said above likewise applies, where the ornamentation is limited to arabesques in panels of pilasters and on walls, to capitals, and to a few medallions and mouldings. This suffices to bring thence into use in a French imitation or interpretation the new mode of decoration on a neighboring building, on sunken surfaces, on mouldings, and on similar architectural parts of an otherwise Gothic structure.

It will suffice to mention a single such centre. This is the Tomb of Francois II, the last duke of Brittany, at Nantes. On this may be likewise seen the Italo-French influence, occ-

occurring from 1502 to 1506. The drawing of the entire composition is due to Jehan Perreal. Michel Coulombe with two journeyman sculptors worked on the statues for five years at 20 thalers (\$15) monthly, the latter at 8 thalers (\$6) each monthly, also with two Italian stonecutters, who received the same wages. The execution was again frequently superintended by Perreal, and he also supervised the setting in place. The Italian treatment, probably due to Jeronimo da Fiesole, must be an entirely independent undertaking of the latter.

Note 179. Charvet; Jehan Perreal etc. p. 67; also the letter of Perreal already published by Fitton.

80. Extension of the School of the Loire.

In the preceding can be given no thorough description of the manner in which by such centres was extended the school of the Loire, which may be designated as the first "royal Italo-French school". Yet it should be desirable to contribute some statements in regard to certain masters and works thereof, what are suitable for a better understanding of the entire question. They likewise frequently permit recognition of homogeneity with the most distant works.

a. The marble fountain of the gardens at Blois, paid for in 1503, was executed in Tours,¹⁸⁰ probably as de Croy conjectures, by the Italian Jerome Pacherot, who erected a similar fountain in 1507 at Gaillon.¹⁸¹

Note 180. Croy, J. D. p. 115.

Note 181. It was destroyed by the overthrow of the pavilion during a hurricane. Fragments of it are to be found in the C chateau there. (Croy. p. 115).

b. A manifold connection of the works at Gaillon with those on the Loire results from the following facts.

Pierre Valence, master mason from Tours, was in 1503 frequently called to Gaillon to supervise the building of the chateau; he remained there also for longer periods, likewise worked on the Palace of the Archbishop in Rouen, was also questioned concerning the Cathedral there, and he erected in 1508 the Venetian fountains at Gaillon.

c. The gardens at Gaillon, begun in 1506, had an entirely Italian character and were a creation of Pietro da Mercoliano¹⁸²; thereby by this alone is already shown the similarity to those at Blois in the clearest manner, both by documents

and by style. The fountain, which was made in 1507 by the Italian Jerome Pacherot for Gaillon, has already been mentioned under a.

Note 182. See further on this matter in the chapter on gardens.

d. Marshal de Gie, governor of Amboise under Louis XII, called Goulin Byard to oversee and visit some works in his Chateau du Verger at Anjou, then in the Chateau at Amboise, and later in Blois; he is designated as master mason in the city of Blois.

Georges d'Amboise sent him three times between 1504 and 1506 to oversee and visit the works, which he had executed at Gaillon and at Rouen. He is designated once as master mason of Gaillon;¹⁸³ yet de Groy does not regard him as the chief master of the works at Blois and at Ambois; according to the latter view, this concerned a temporary consultation.

Note 183. See Deville. p. 128, 133, 166.

e. When in 1516 the magnificent Tomb of the Cardinal of Amboise was to be erected, Pierre Valence in Tours was first asked whether he would undertake this work.

f. Although relating to artistic gardens, the following statement is useful for understanding the manner in which art forms may have been transplanted from one building to another. Chateau "La Bourdasiere", built by Francis I in 1520 on the Cher opposite Azay¹⁸⁴ and belonging to the family of Babou, received mulberry trees from the royal gardens at Blois and again supplied them in 1554 to Diana de Poitiers in Chenonceaux.¹⁸⁵

Note 184. See Le Chateau d'Amboise et ses Environs. Guide Guillard-Verger. Tours. p. 15.

Note 185. Groy. p. 127.

g. The extent of the activity of the Giusti is well shown by the communication, that Antonio di Giusto (Antoine Juste) was owner of a vineyard called "Closerie du Roy", located in the district of Blois, and in the year 1519 sold by his widow to Bernard Salviaty.¹⁸⁶ He made in 1510 for Blois the waxen painted doe.¹⁸⁷

Note 186. Groy. p. 119.

Note 187. Groy. p. 118.

n. In case of architectural works attributed to Fra Giocondo, if actually influenced by him, then do they likewise come from the school of the Loire, as later the case for the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris.

i. Finally, the transfer to Paris by Louis XII of the Italian colony of artists called to Amboise by Charles VIII, and its final installation in Hotel de Nesle ¹⁸⁸ is an important fact in the extension of the school of the Loire northwards.

Note 188. Courajod, L. Les Origines de la Renaissance etc. p. 40. Paris. 1888.

6. Form of Italian and French Cooperation.

81. Origin of the Designs.

The attempt will be made in the following, to give a description of the manner in which during the period before about 1530, the drawings and models for executed buildings were produced. First may be recalled as proof, that some had the proper appreciation of the "twofold nature" of that period, the various designations employed, as for example, Franco-Gallia in Hotman, France-Italy, ¹⁸⁹ or "those furious and mad beasts, the Medici-Valois", etc., even if these originated at a somewhat later time. ¹⁹⁰

Note 189. Memoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX par H. Wolf. 1570. Vol. 1. n. 366. Meidelberg.

Note 190. Le Reveille-Matin des Francois et de leurs Voisins. By Nicolas Bernard. 1574. p. 113. Geneva.

In order to obtain the working drawings, the procedure in many cases was similar to that 100 years earlier in the masons' lodge of Milan Cathedral. The German and the French architects there worked out their designs in order to have their ideas and motives at command. Then the engineers selected from these so much as found beautiful, and transferred the accepted ideas with reference to the existing conditions and the Italian taste, several foreigners cooperating therein. The circumstances were reversed in France; the Italian designs were transferred by reason of French arrangements and were harmonized with the native taste. It must not be forgotten here, that on Milan Cathedral not merely the northerners were Gothic architects, but also the Milanese to a certain degree, and that therefore the transformation to the Italian taste t

there would far more readily occur, than in France, where the use of antique architecture did not prevail until the time of Louis XII.¹⁹¹

Note 191. The author has described this procedure in his Study: *Le Passe, le Present, l'Avenir de la Cathedrale de Milan*. *Gaz. des B. Arts*. 1890.

To explain everything on such buildings, that either Fra Giocondo or another Italian has not done in the general appearance, as well as in the development of the particular building in Italy itself, there are many possibilities.

a. Either Fra Giocondo himself devised this work in a manner composed of French and Italian elements, and indeed simply for the reason, that the then existing plane of development of the French taste did not admit anything else. (As shown in Arts. 55 and 56).

b. Or we stand in presence of a French transformation of an Italian design.

c. Or Fra Giocondo has in parts Italianized a French design submitted to him, so far as the conditions and French taste permitted, whereupon the design was executed by French masters with the cooperation of Italian stonecutters.

d. It must finally not be excluded, that at first a cooperation of French and Italian artists occurred, and that during the various phases of this common labor, one or the other of the three first possibilities became true.

In the transformed designs might occur four different groups of elements, such as:--

- a. Purely Gothic elements.
- b. Gothic elements transformed into the Italian style.
- c. Italian elements transformed into the Gothic style.
- d. Italian motives and details, that were unchanged.

In the preparation of the final designs, the native master concerned needed again for groups a, b and c, -- according to the existing conditions, to his capability, and to whether he knew Italy or not, -- the touch of an Italian element, whether in the person of an Italian architect, who had already made a preliminary design, or had cooperated in the preparation of the first design, or whether in the person of a more subordinate draftsman, who devoted himself to the preparation of

the working drawings. For group d, Italian stonecutters were at first exclusively utilized.

32. Stonecutters and stonecarvers working together.

However surprising it may appear, the representation, which Rivoalen ¹⁹² gives of the cooperation of the Italian and French stonemasons, is in many points correct. The procedure in Gaillon can only have been partly of this kind. "In the north as in the south", he writes, "in the east as in the west, on the borders of the Loire as on the Place de Greve (place of Hotel-de-Ville in Paris), Italians stood on the scaffolds, elbow to elbow with Frenchmen, -- working on the boss assigned to each one by the master. To one being assigned the refinement of an entirely ideal and conventional arabesque with shallow chiseling and infinitely delicate graduation, by a Milanese or Florentine, -- to the other being assigned a deep and strong relief rising from a deeply sunken ground with marked ornamentation, its elements taken from the native flora, luxuriantly swelling beneath the Gallic bubbling spirit of the chisel of the stonecutter from Touraine or Normandy, Burgundy or Paris. The French stonecutter's chisel, accustomed to the swelling luxuriance of the curled lettuce or chicory is to be recognized after the beginning of the French Renaissance, in Gaillon as at Azay, in Auvergne as in Brittany". Courajod already earlier spoke of the cooperation of Italians and Frenchmen, just like Rivoalen.

Note 192. Planot. Vol. 6. p. 567. Art. Styles Francois.

Aside from the tendency in taste, which required the retention of many native elements, there were yet other reasons, that made indispensable the participation of French masters; such as a thorough knowledge of building materials, diversity of the technical procedure, familiarity with many native customs etc. Even ignorance of the French language, which must be assumed for most Italian masters, made the necessary mediation a true cooperation, whereby as might well occur today, it might seem to the natives, that they and their fellow citizens played the chief part, the more so because in many cases this actually happened.

33. Summary.

If one collects together the matters more fully illustrated

in the preceding, the following results are obtained for many cases. The design was a compromise and the product of Italian-French cooperation or an embodiment of the programme fixed upon by the owner, which was changed alternately by Italians and Frenchmen until the determination of the design to be built. The execution in each trade was entrusted to a native master in harmony or according to another process. In the preparation of the working drawings as well as in laying out the ornament and decorations, in addition to the French and according to circumstances, one or more Italians took part as draftsmen or as stonecarvers. Their assistance and the ornamentation were always the new element in the style.

Certainly at the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, where an Italian was at hand, who had already been employed in the country for 35 years, and who had become acquainted with the tastes and the needs of the French, it was possible that the design was due to Domenico da Cortona alone, and that to him was likewise entrusted the highest supervision of the execution.

34. Tangible Examples.

A tangible representation of the method employed on many a architectural works is afforded to us by the erection of the first stone bridge at Paris, the Bridge of Notre Dame, in which Fra Giocondo played the decisive part, in spite of frequent attempts to lessen his participation.

The old wooden bridge fell down on Oct. 25, 1499.¹⁹³ For the rebuilding of a bridge, those versed in construction were called from all parts of France, among them being also Fra Giocondo and Domenico da Cortona.

Note 193. See *Histoire Generale de Paris* etc. Vol. 1. Paris. 1876-1885. Bonnardot, P. *Registre des Deliberations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris*, etc. I. 1499-1526.

On March 12, 1499 (1500 new style), the painter Gautier de Campes was directed to prepare a "figure or portrait" of the newly projected bridge. This model was to unite in a general way the various preferences derived from the consultations of a series of shipmen, bridge-architects, and other technicians. Among the latter was Fra Giocondo.

On July 6, 1500, occurred a consultation between Fra Giocondo and the masters of the work, concerning the height and fo-

form of the future bridge arches. Both the former and also Didier de Felin each laid before the council of the city a design. It was decided to determine the form of the arches only after the piers had been built above the water level.¹⁹⁴

Note 194. Jean d'Esculant, Jean Joconde, and Jean de Dogoc, all of which attended the consultation of July 11, 1500, are not at all the same person, as Sauval believed; the one first named was also a monk.

In three sittings between Aug. 10 and 26, 1500, attended by Fra Giocondo, the masters of the work decided on the works required for each bridge pier.

On Nov. 25, 1502, the height of the bridge arches was finally fixed; Fra Giocondo and Jean d'Esculant were present at the sitting.

Le Roux de Lincy¹⁹⁵ believes that from the registers of the city and of the parliament must be drawn the conclusion, that Fra Giocondo determined the designs for the Bridge of Notre Dame, rather than that he superintended its execution. Yet since to him and to Jean d'Esculant was also entrusted on Nov. 25, 1502, the control of the cut stone work, this is indeed a function, that includes an important part of the execution of the work.

Note 195. See Le Roux de Lincy. *Recherches historiques sur la chute de la construction du pont Notre Dame a Paris. 1499-1510. Paris. 1845-1846.* (In Library of Ecole des Chartes).

This is likewise shown by the fact, that after Fra Giocondo had been called several times into the commission, to which was transferred the higher supervision of the construction of the bridge, on July 20, 1504, was busied in leveling the bridge, together with the chief master of the work, Jean de Felin.¹⁹⁶ It should not be forgotten here, that the special registers of the erection of this bridge have been lost. The importance of this undertaking for that period invested it with a certain solemnity, as Le Roux de Lincy remarks, which only appears in the true light, when one sees how during the building of the Bridge Pont Neuf nearly 100 years later, the proportions of Bridge Notre Dame were continually studied.¹⁹⁷

Note 196. See Le Roux de Lincy. p. 39.

Note 197. See the author's *Les Du Cerceau. Section of Bridge Pont Neuf.*

For deciding the matter, the following is further of importance. On Nov. 13, 1504, the Venetian ambassador Francesco Morosini writes to his government from Paris. "Here is a monk, Fra Giocondo from Verona, in the service of this illustrious community of Paris. The city has paid him for erecting a bridge, that he has built across the Seine, and which is a very beautiful work."¹⁹⁸

Note 198. See Boschet, -. *Les Archives de Venise. Histoire de la Chancellerie secrete.* p. 562. Paris. 1870.

The true connection of Fra Giocondo with the construction of the Paris Bridge of Notre Dame must finally be deduced from the fact, that the city of Paris had the following distich executed as an inscription upon an arch of its new and first stone bridge.

Jucundus geminos posuit tibi, Sequana, pontes;
Hunc tu jure potes dicere Pontificem.¹⁹⁹

Note 199. Le Roux de Lincy refers concerning this inscription, printed innumerable times, to *Les Antiquities de Paris.* Folio 150. Paris. 1561.

This would certainly have been an inexplicable, even an inconceivable flattery of a foreign master, who had left France before the entire completion of the bridge. In spite of this, Le Roux de Lincy writes:--"According to this, Giocondo cannot be regarded as the architect of Bridge Notre Dame. The unity of the intellectual conception, that such a designation presumes, did not exist in the thought of that time; but it is certain, that the part is great, which he took in the work. He would therefore be repaid by the fame connected with his name. The Parisians already desired in the 16th century to perpetuate the enduring memory of his name by that distich."

85. Final Results.

The preceding explanations and descriptions must have led to the following final conclusions.

a. By the cooperation of the Italian colony at Amboise with the native masters originated the first French Renaissance school, that of the Loire and at Gaillon.

b. In this cooperation, the Italian part is far greater, than this tendency has been assumed to be, since Emeric David, Deville, Palustre and other writers, and than the style of

these buildings permits to be assumed, when compared with contemporary works in Italy.

c. It is in nowise impossible, that Fra Giocondo actually had an important creative part in the works in Paris and in Gaillon attributed to him.

d. He has probably influenced in parts other architectural works, as for example, the Chateaus at Amboise and Le Verger.

e. As the first head of the school on the Loire, he may have contributed to its extension to Paris and Gaillon, and he may perhaps have also taken part in the introduction of the Renaissance by the instruction, that he gave on Vitruvius and on other architectural questions.(mouldings ?).

f. After Fra Giocondo was suddenly recalled in 1505 by Julius II to participate in the competition for S. Peter's at Rome, Domenico da Cortona seems to have assumed a very important position, perhaps contemporaneously with the former, and of which relatively little has been known heretofore. His activity on the Loire, especially his participation on that group of buildings, to which belong the Chateaus at Blois, Chambord, Bury etc., was possibly yet more important, than his later part in the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris.

These unusually influential parts as here indicated, that we believe should be claimed for Fra Giocondo and Boccador, according to what has been said, may perhaps be deduced most simply from the fact, almost unheard of in France, but finally determined, that the officials of Paris honored by inscriptions the names of two architects, who were both Italians, namely that of Fra Giocondo by the cited distich on Bridge Notre Dame, and that of Domenico da Cortona or Boccador upon the Hotel-de-Ville.

After I have found myself caused to express in Art. 5 a view so decidedly opposed to Courajod concerning the place of the origin of the Renaissance, I hold it to be my duty to make prominent, that this learned man has quoted the same facts and reached the same conclusions, concerning the participation of the Italians, in three publications,²⁰⁰ that only became accessible to me after the printing of the preceding explanations, to which I had come independently of him.

Note 200. These writings are:-- La Part de l'Italian dans

quelques monuments de sculpture de la premiere Renaissance F
Francoise. Paris. 1885.

Des Origines de la Renaissance en France etc. au XIVe et au
XVe Siecle etc. Paris. 1888.

La Sculpture Francoise avant la Renaissance classique etc.
Paris. 1891.

Chapter 5. Periods and Phases of the Development of French Architecture from the Beginning of the Renaissance

86. Subdivision into Styles.

It is of great importance to make possible a clear survey and a correct understanding of the homogeneity of the styles of French architecture from the beginning of the Renaissance, as well as of the true architectural nature of its successive phases of development. Therefore we have chosen the formative changes and the character of these phases, as well as their relations to the greater periods of development of the architectural style in question, as a basis for its subdivision, instead of retaining the series of architectural styles named after the different kings. For we believe, that the latter custom not infrequently makes more difficult the scientifically correct understanding of French architecture, since about the year 1495. Yet since this custom is in a high degree fixed and likewise convenient, although the duration of the reigns of the monarchs but seldom coincides with those of the style tendencies named after them, we have likewise added these appellations, though only in the second place.

Already in Arts. 17 to 21, the stylistic connection of the different phases of the architecture in France beginning with the Renaissance was set forth. In Art. 24 and the corresponding graphical illustration (Plate next page 28) it was shown, how these phases of the style until the present day form three great periods of development of approximately equal duration, which in the following may be termed the first, second and third. In each of these three periods of development are again found three different phases, that may be designated as the early, ripe, and late or free. There naturally exists between each two successive phases a time of transition, as well also as between the great divisions of the development, which we have called periods. There exists such an era of transition.²⁰¹ We shall see that since the year 1500 in these transitional forms from one phase to the next, French architecture has thrice attained to its most charming forms in reference to delicacy, maturity, and fresh life. These are:--

Note 201. Although one always stands before a gradual transformation, this seems to me to be in nowise a reason for re-

rejecting with Viollet-le-Duc the system of separate periods of the style with definite names, just as A. de Caumont introduced for Gothic. For just as certain as the gradual transformation of a style is the fact, that it assumes a series of clearly distinguishable steps in development, that sometimes differ most expressively from the preceding, as well as from the succeeding phase.

1. At the close of the early Renaissance and at the beginning of the mature period (Francis I and Henry II).

2. At the end of the style of Louis XIV and at the beginning of the style of Louis XV.

3. During the transition from the latter to the style of Louis XVI.

87. Two main currents.

The first phenomenon in the architecture of France after a about 1500, also one of the most interesting and heretofore too little considered, as we believe, is the existence of two currents flowing beside each other, -- a phenomenon, that must even form the basis for the correct understanding of the following statements. The first of these may be designated as the Italian-Antique or the new; the second is the continuation and heiress of the native Gothic or Gallo-Germanic architectural style, and it tends toward a freer, more subjective Franco-Flemish comprehension. It is sometimes believed, that the latter current entirely disappears; yet it appears on closer consideration, that it merely has assumed different forms according to the period, and that just this fact has frequently contributed to obscure the understanding of the homogeneity of the style.

The relation of these two currents to each other, the different spheres in which they work at times, the influences they exert on each other, the manner in which they combine themselves with the influences coming from outside, the alternating predominance of one or the other, the almost total disappearance of one current at times. -- all these phenomena must belong to the most important elements in the development of French architecture; they contribute essentially to the correct understanding of the various phases of the style and of its actual character. It will therefore be our problem to deter-

determine in the different steps of development the perceptible points of view, from which the continuity of the two living sources of French architecture after the beginning of the Renaissance is to be recognized, even when one only runs further beneath the surface, and appears to be entirely lost.

88. Italo-Antique Current.

The purely Italian-Antique tendency in this current is the first, that produced on French soil really architectural monuments, even if on a small scale and flowing little before 1540. It began with the purely Italian works of the masters in the service of the house of Anjou, Francesco da Lovrana and Pietro da Milano, and it continues in the Tomos of the children of Charles VIII and Louis XII, in the designs of the gardens at Amboise, Blois and Gaillon, in some tombs executed by the Giusti family, and in those of the Castle chapel at Oiron. (One in 1539). With the Tomb of Breze at Rouen (1535-1544) by Goujon, the French enter upon the high Renaissance with the style of Henry II. Lescot's Court of the Louvre and Primaticcio's Tomb Chapel of the Valois belong to the most strongly expressed works with this tendency, which forms the prevailing current from 1540 till 1570.

89. Gallo-Germanic or Franco-Flemish Current.

Only some years later and after the succeeding return of Charles VIII from Naples in 1495, did the other or great national current begin to participate in the Renaissance, indeed in the attractive form of the French-Italian compromise style, which gave rise to the styles of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. In this continually diminished the multitude of the at first predominating Gothic details; on the contrary, the number of Italian-Antique elements constantly increased, until the latter alone predominated. During the last 5 or 10 years of the reign of Francis I, architecture was changed into the high Renaissance or into the style of Henry II, and it flowed with the Italo-Antique tendency in a single stream.

Yet the entire national stream was not spent in the style of Henry II, nor in the Italo-French compromise style of the early Renaissance. A first, though smaller part of the native Franco-Flemish current continues rather in firm adherence to many Gothic arrangements of church architecture. A second

portion of this current, depending upon the freer treatment of forms, united itself with the elements of Michelangelo's caprices, which both directly as well as by the progress of the capricious and the bizarre, that had been placed in the school of Raphael, were brought to France with the decorations of Rosso and of Primaticcio. Together with the religious wars, these shortened the cooler development of the high Renaissance by a superfluity of caprice and of frequently unhealthy imagination, which attained its climax in the chaos of the time of Henry III and feebly vanished in the confusion of the League.

A third part of the Northern-National tendency, that manifested itself among the Huguenots, is first expressed in the works of B. Palissy, and combined with the Flemish-Hollandish influences ²⁰² and reacting against the digressions of the style in the time of Henry II, it later produced the insipid and angular brick and stone architecture of Sully under Henry IV as well as the arrangement of brickwork, that is shown by one of the two tendencies of the style under Louis XIII. This mode of expression later combined with the free and often fanciful caprice in the decorations by Pietro da Cortona, Bernini, Borromini and their successors, and it brought the free mode of decoration, that moved within severer limits under Louis XIV, but dominated the entire domain under Louis XV, into harmonious development in the brilliant caprices of the Rococo. But besides the ornamentation, the native spirit is reflected during the 17th century in several monuments, such as F. Mansart's Church S. Marie at Paris and in the Triumphant Gates of S. Martin and of S. Denis there, as well as in many types of mansions and houses.

Note 202. For an explanation of this Flemish influence, see in the following pages the introduction to the styles of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

Many appear to believe, that the Italian-Antique current was suppressed and replaced by the tendency to brickwork under Henry IV and Louis XIII. On many buildings, even in the works of Huguenot masters, like the three younger Du Serceaus and Salomon de Brosse, it continues further, as on the Louvre, on Palace Luxembourg, in the Chateau at Coulommier, and on the

facade of the Church S. Gervais at Paris; it forms at that time one of the two tendencies of the architectural style predominating then, and it combined in an unbroken way under R Richelieu with the increased reaction to Italy, the succeeding founding in 1466 of the French Academy of Architecture at Rome, and with the more important of the two tendencies of the style here described as existing beside each other, and which has continued until this day.

In the time of the style of Louis XVI, the Northern-National tendency asserted itself in a return to nature. And since we have gone so far, it is no longer difficult to recognize the continuation of this tendency in the increasing Romanticism of our century, even in more than one way in the periods of the revolution and the first empire, in order to establish in such a form the connection with the revival of appreciation of Gothic and of the middle ages in a continuous and unbroken manner.

90. Earlier Italian Monuments in France before 1495.

Before passing to the description of the development of the proper Franco-Italian Renaissance, the attention should be directed to some monuments, though erected on French soil, indeed, but which represent works in Italian Renaissance executed in Florence by Italians. The possibility that these could even originate in France in nowise refutes the principles stated in the preceding chapter; for even the most important of these works, the Chapel at Marseilles, can be counted with that group of ideal structures, in which we have judged it alone possible for the pure Italian monuments to arise. Moreover, these works may be said to all be connected with either the princes of the house of Anjou, whose Italian claims are well known, or two Italian masters, who were in the service of king Rene and are of interest from even the point of view of the Italian Renaissance; these are Pietro da Milano and Francesco Laurana, who is supposed to be a brother of the builder of the Palace at Urbino, Luciano da Laurana;²⁰³ the latter with L. B. Alberti was the most important master in the second generation of architects in the Italian Renaissance. Since Francesco shows himself in his Chapel of Lazarus at Marseilles as belonging to the better Italian architects of

his period, it must be of interest to briefly state the points relating to his stay in France.

Note 203. Formerly written Luciano de Laurano, following the Latin name of his native place. The author learned from Michele Cossi, that this place in Dalmatia is called Laurano.

According to the medals signed by Francesco Laurana, he was from 1461 to 1466 and from 1473 to 1490 in the service of king Renee and of the house of Anjou. Heiss believes that from 1466 to 1471 he worked on various things in Palermo. The notaries write his name Laurana, Loreano and Loreana. On Nov. 11, 1477, he is mentioned as a witness in Marseilles, with his father in law Gentile the Elder from Naples. On May 7, 1479, a notary gives for him as "talhator ymagium" (sic) a receipt for 600 thalers (\$450) for the work in the Church of Celestins at Avignon. On Sept. 2, 1482, Laurana, "artifex ymagium", gives a power of attorney to his son in law, the painter Jean de la Barre at Avignon.

Receipts of May 4 and 27, 1483, are the last mentions, which we have of this master.

On the Chapel of Lazarus in the old Cathedral at Marseilles (La Major), a white marble structure, the composition, drawing, and every chisel stroke are Italian work. L. Barthelémy has found out the master and the history of this important monument.²⁰⁴

Note 204. See Barthelémy, L. Francois Laurana, Auteur du Monument de Saint-Lazare dans l'ancienne Cathédrale de Marseille. Marseilles. 1885.-- Illustrations of this monument are also to be found in Palustre's Architecture de la Renaissance. p. 145. Paris. 1892.

The chapter had already decided in 1475 on rebuilding the shrine or altar of S. Lazarus. On Jan. 4, 1479, Thomas de Como is mentioned as sculptor of the stone work of S. Lazarus. On the frieze of the shrine and on that of the Chapel itself is given the date 1481, doubtless that of the completion. A master named Thomas de Samolivio worked with him as sculptor. A document of May 3, 1483, shows that Loreana had the supervision of the entire work, and that he was responsible for the workmen employed under him; as payment for his work, he received 300 florins.

Two round arches, supported by a column at the centre and by pilasters at the sides, open into two tunnel vaults; with the projecting bands rising from these supports, they support an entablature, above which again two nearly semicircular pediments terminate the composition. The general arrangement and the details prove, that the master knew Florence indeed, but was not a Tuscan. They in some measure exhibit the noble treatment of forms, as one may see by Luciano da Lovrana on the Palace of Urbino and some Lombard artists (like Andrea Bregno); they indicate a master, that had passed through a development similar to that of Luciano, and lend some probability to the assumption, that Francesco Laurana was a brother of Luciano.

Palustre believes himself to have called attention to the alleged earliest monument of the Renaissance in France, that certainly only belongs to sculpture, and he designates it as a work of Laurana. This is the Tomb of Charles d'Anjou, Count of Maine (died 1472) in the Cathedral at Mans, which was built by his son Carl in 1475. It consists of an Italian sarcophagus after antique models in the style of that shown by the Tombs of the Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato al Monte near Florence or that of Pietro da Noceto in Lucca; on this sarcophagus lies the deceased in his armor in dignified repose.

Müntz further ascribes to the artist Laurana the so-called Niche of king Renee in the small court of the Chateau at Tarascon, a loggia recessed in the wall between two fluted pilasters supporting an entablature; attached to them are smaller half columns, which bore an oval, or more probably two round arches, either resting on a central column, ending on a suspended pendant, as in Fig. 24. The whole ²⁰⁵ is a purely Italian work of Urbino-Lombard tendency.

Note 205. According to photographs kindly furnished to the author by M. Müntz.

Further to be mentioned is the Tomb of the Seneschal Jean de Cossa in the lower Church of S. Marthe at Tarascon, erected in 1476 at the cost of king Renee, with pilasters with arabesques, a rich entablature, and fruit garlands on the wall behind the statue reclining on the sarcophagus, likewise a work of the same school.

Very interesting, even for Italy, is the architectural background of the altar in the Church of Celestins at Avignon, which was completed in 1481, and is now to be found in the Church S. Didier there; it represents various domed structures of Italian design.²⁰⁶

Note 206. See the corresponding illustration in Courajod, L. *La Sculpture Francoise avant la Renaissance classique etc.* p. 17. Paris. 1891.

Finally, let the medal of duke Jean of Calabria, son of king Renee, be considered; Laurana has also represented on it a Corinthian circular temple with domical roof.²⁰⁷

Note 207. Representations thereof are found in Heiss, A. *Les Medailleurs de la Renaissance. Vol. 2.* Francesco Laurana, Pietro da Milano. Paris, after 1881; -- also *Jahrbuch der Kön. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Jahr. 3, Heft 3, 4.

91. Italian Architecture and the Leaders of French Art; Jean Fouquet.

Before passing to the description of the architectural monuments erected during the period of the Renaissance, the influence should be considered, which Italian architecture exerted upon the contemporary masters of French art, especially on three chiefs thereof; Jean Fouquet, Jehan Perreal, and Michel Colombe.

Jean Fouquet, born in Tours about 1420, died about 1485, and painted in Rome a since famous portrait of Eugenius IV between 1443 and 1447. Vasari calls him Giovanni Focchetta and Foccora; Filarete names him Giachetto Francioso, and by Francesco Florio²⁰⁸ is he mentioned as Johannes Fochetus.

Note 208. In *Archives de l'Art Francois. Vol. 4.* (1885). Documents. p. 168.

Fouquet was the first Frenchman, who felt a strong influence from the Italian Renaissance in the domain of decoration.

Even if limited to the sphere of miniatures, ivory carvings, goldsmiths' work and certain furniture, Courajod²⁰⁹ proves a very gentle inflow of Italian elements since the 14th century; under the reigns of Charles VII, Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII, this influence increased. -- Jean, duke de Berry (died 1416), had in his service Italian miniature painters, or those under their influence; ²¹⁰ it is not improbable that

he further had painters from Italy.

Note 209. See the Essay mentioned in Note 206. p. 12.

Note 210. The correctness of this view and of the actually existing Italian influence, I might gather from existing examples.

In the miniatures of manuscript 919 in Fonds Francais in the Library Nationale at Paris, in that portion earlier than 1416, one finds already in Gothic architecture (folio 31) an oval arch and a round arch. On folio 4 is seen the influence of Italian painting. Folio 96 recalls the Florentine mode of representing the interior of vaulted churches, as if one viewed it from a certain distance outside of the church, the facade and one side of the church being conceived as omitted.

The manuscript of Josephus (Fonds Francais, No. 247, folio 49) shows the representation of a tabernacle as an open dome on round arches and slender columns with a lantern, in the form of the Florentine cathedral between Orcaño and Brunellesco.

For Fouquet, the fact likewise noted by Lübke²¹¹ is of importance, that his Renaissance forms were not derived from the excessively ornamental schools of upper Italy, from which the German masters drew their opinions (and Lübke might have added most French masters of the Renaissance), but from the more severe Florentine school.

Note 211. Lübke, W. Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich. 2nd edition. p. 14. Stuttgart. 1886.

Three reasons lend to the work of Fouquet a special importance. First, the architectural backgrounds of his famous miniatures afford in the Italian elements therein adopted the earliest examples of the influence of Italian upon French art. Second, like no other article, they give evidence of the various ways in which the French utilized studies made in Italy. Lastly, one of these miniatures contains the first and earliest actual compositions of a Frenchman, executed in Renaissance forms.

In those miniatures in the Paris copy of Josephus, which are due to Fouquet, capitals in the style of Brunellesco may be seen on page 70. on page 89 is a chest with fluted pilasters and a segmental pediment, also with Gothic brackets; on

page 213 in the midst of a Gothic building is a small columnar structure with an entablature, whose bold cornice above the dentils suggests a model of Michelozzo; on page 230 is a triumphal arch with columns, whose Composite capitals are allied to those in the court of Palace Medici at Florence; on another page are the twisted columns around the altar of the old Church S. Peter at Rome, which we also see represented in later, according to Lübke, and riper "Hours" of master Etienne Chevalier. 212

Note 212. Lübke mentions among the Renaissance motives in the Munich Boccaccio, circular temples with domes, antique portals, Corinthian pilasters, Roman triumphal arches, borders with fluted Corinthian or Composite pilasters. They indeed directly grew out of the manuscript, composed by the writer on Nov. 24, 1458.

This beautiful and mature prayer book has frequently been examined by us in Chantilly.²¹³ In its miniatures may be seen among other things in the representation of the adoration of the Madonna within a Gothic church portal, a niche with a snell, enclosed by a spirally fluted round, to all appearance taken from the interior of the Tabernacle of Donatello on the Church Or S. Michele at Florence.²¹⁴ Further back is a wall, decorated by pilasters, entablatures and panels, as well as crowned by angels supporting garlands and shields, evidently inspired by the similar representation in the sacristy of the cathedral at Florence; the capitals entirely exhibit the drawing of Brunellesco. In the Removal from the Cross and the Burial in the Tomb, the appearance of a church with four towers and a dome-like roof is striking, its choir being treated as a domed structure; one is tempted to think of the tribune of the Annunziata at Florence, begun in 1446, and of that of S. Francesco at Rimini, projected in 1445.

Note 213. Of these miniatures, 40 were long in the possession of L. Brentano de Roche at Frankfurt-a-M, were until recently the property of Duc d'Aumale, and are now in Museum C. Conde at Chantilly. -- Published in chromolithograph by Delaunay in *Heures de Maître Estienne Chevalier*, par Jehan Fouquet. Paris. 1867.

Note 214. Fouquet has omitted the spiral flutes on the col-

columns and transferred their continuation to the arches.

The very rich and interesting architectural back-grounds of Fouquet in the prayer book just mentioned permit the recognition of a series of facts, that are quite instructive for the intellectual tendency of those French masters, who first came into contact with the Italian Renaissance, and for the Italian studies and the reaction of these upon their manner of composition. We find:--

1. Groups of buildings in which a purely Florentine building occurs directly among northern late Gothic structures.

2. A Gothic building, whereon an Italian Renaissance composition is directly interpolated in the Gothic architecture, for example, the already mentioned niche of Donatello's Tabernacle as the central part of the Cathedral portal.

3. A back-ground exclusively in antique style, for example the miniature representing the marriage of Mary and Joseph. Only a single building, designated as the Temple of Solomon, forms the back-ground; this is formed like the Roman triumphal arch of three openings with rich frieze, keystones, winged victories etc. But the twisted Composite columns appear strange, that support the main entablature. Lübke asks the signification of this form of column, which is first found here, later in Raphael's work, and lastly in Bernini's altar canopy in the Church of S. Peter in Rome. The answer is easy. These are entirely imitations of those white marble columns, that surrounded the altar of the old Church S. Peter.²¹⁵ Since according to tradition, these came from the Temple at Jerusalem, when Fouquet employs them here, he manifests an independent endeavor to compose an antique building with some archaeological accuracy, here exclusively in the antique style.

Note 215. Fouquet has drawn these a second time in the same position, for these columns are likewise represented on the miniature representing the plundering of the Temple at Jerusalem.

4. But two other miniatures are in certain respects the most important of all, since they are supposed to contain the earliest actual "compositions" of a Frenchman in the Renaissance style. In both cases is given the interior of a hall, one in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the other in the

dinner of Simon; the latter shows a tunnel vault with large coffer.

The first hall terminates in an apse and the walls are subdivided by Corinthian pilasters; the other contains elevated rectangular windows, and in the apse are marble panels; at the entrance archway to the apse stand spirally twisted columns instead of pilasters. Above the architrave begins the French composition; a wooden vault, whose section has the form of a depressed ogee arch; above each pilaster is a transverse arch, blue with golden arabesques; lengthwise on the transverse arches, boards of equal widths form the covering, and in the low half dome of the apse is a single large shell.

5. From the fact that some forms indicate the peculiarities of the style of Michelozzo, which we now observe on certain buildings, but which Fouquet cannot have seen, when he painted the portrait of the Pope in 1443, since those structures were not then completed, it follows that Fouquet, like Du Cerceau and others later, did not merely study the antique in Italy, but likewise also the most recently undertaken works of the Italian masters.

6. The circumstance, that in spite of the small scale of the miniatures the character of certain forms by Michelozzo and Brunellesco may still be observed, shows finally how thoroughly the northeners, and with them Fouquet, frequently studied the latest Italian art works. Yet it should not be forgotten, that the "Hours" of Estienne Chevalier was considerably later than the portrait of the Pope and certainly was made after 1453, and that accordingly Fouquet had much time for becoming acquainted with the Tabernacle by Michelozzo, which was already substantially completed in 1453, and other later works of this master.

7. Likewise in one work of larger scale, in the gilded paneling on the back-ground of his portrait of Juvenal des Ursins in the Louvre, may be perceived in the scrollwork as well as on the capitals of the pilasters, which exhibit bears as symbols of the Ursins, a purpose to compose freely in the Italian style. On the entablature may again be seen the influence of the rich treatment of these members, as frequently employed by Michelozzo a little after 1445.

92. Jehan Perreal.

One of the most interesting figures of his time is Jehan P Perreal, also called Jean de Paris.²¹⁶ He was alternately engaged as painter, modeler, architect, engineer, and also as poet, at the courts of kings Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I, as well as at those of the duchess of Savoy, Margaret of Austria, whose painter and valet-de-chambre he was likewise. Perreal's attitude toward Italian architecture is sufficiently evident from Art. 47.

Note 216. See Charvet, E. L. G. *Biographies d'Architectes*. Jehan Perreal etc. Lyons. 1875.-- The author has collected in this book the numerous notices of this artist by others, and enriched them by new ones; in it are contained valuable notes on the artistic nature of that period.-- After 1472, a several Jeans de Paris are found in Paris, whose identity with Perreal is not sufficiently established; this is first the case after 1483. Perreal died in 1529 at latest, perhaps already in 1528.

Courajod calls Perreal the artist, who then had the greatest influence on art in France.²¹⁷ From him came the design of the Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes, executed by Coulombe and Hieronimo da Fiesole. Charvet holds it not impossible, that in the erection of the Church du Brou near Bourg and of the Tomb therein by Van Boghen and Meyt, that still something of the designs of Perreal and of Coulombe was utilized.²¹⁸

Note 217. See Courajod, L. *La Sculpture Renaissance* etc. p. 16. Paris. 1891.

Note 218. See Charvet. p. 106.

93. Michel Coulombe.

Michel Coulombe or Coulomb,²¹⁹ although primarily a sculptor, must still be mentioned in this place, since sculpture and ornament are those elements, by which the Italian Renaissance permeated French architecture, and since the influence of the new and on such an important master must shed some light on the much less perceptible way in which Italian architecture affected many French architects.

Note 219. Brittany is generally held to be the native country of Coulombe. A. de Chompeaux gave reasons (*Chronique des Arts*, 1895, April 20), that the master must have come from Berri.

Courajod designates ²²⁰ the Loire valley as entirely penetrated by Italian elements at that time, when Michel Colombe left the Flemish-Burgundian school of Dijon, and under Italian influence created the sculpture of the French Renaissance. He believes that at that time, when men began to let themselves be swept away by Italian taste, Colomb must have produced such a result just on account of the Italian side of his talent. It is not possible to acknowledge Italian influences in that epoch with more energy and fairness than does Courajod.²²¹

Note 220. See Note 217 in the work mentioned (p. 22); "You state that there was a Franco-Italian school of the 15th century, contrary to the gratuitous statements and in spite of the knowing jests of a certain league of badly informed patriots".

Note 221. Courajod is certainly right, when he says elsewhere, that even Palustre has entirely suppressed the influence, that Michel Colombe received by contact with the Italian Renaissance. (See his *Sculpture Française* etc. p. 8. Paris. 1891).

Anthyme-Saint-Paul ²²² has seen correctly, when he says:-- "In the atelier of Michel Colombe, the new ideas were received with enthusiasm and the Italian artists were not rejected. There arose a true centre of the Renaissance, in which Anne of Brittany found a design and an executing artist for the Mausoleum of her father, duke Francis II, and her mother".

Note 222. In *Planat*. Vol. 6. p. 363.

a. Transition Style from Gothic to Renaissance.

(Style of Charles VIII and Louis XII)

About 1495 to 1515.

94. Survey.

The phase of transition designated by the preceding title, which is to be regarded as the first transition period of the new French architecture, begins with the infiltration of the first Italian details into the late Gothic and lasts until the complete transformation of Gothic details into the style of expression of the former, i.e., till the style of Francis I or until the early Renaissance.²²³

Note 223. We have indeed long hesitated, whether we should not also count the styles of Charles VIII and of Louis XII as

with early Renaissance. But it appears to us to better correspond to the character of the phenomena, as well as to the principles of development of the architectural style, if we prefer the grouping employed here.

In view of the wealth of late Gothic forms and ornamental arrangements on the one hand, and of scarcely less abundant, chiefly Milanese (Bramante's) motives, which were mixed together or combined by simple juxtaposition, it is naturally impossible to describe here all experiments, much less all conceivable combinations. It must therefore suffice to present here and give the essential and typical steps in the course of development, that we believe may be distinguished.

1. Transitional Steps in Composition.

95. First Steps in the Transition.

The occurrence of certain Renaissance elements, still expressed in Gothic details, we term the first steps in transition.

On the exterior of the beautiful, pavilion-like loggia structure of the stairway in the Chateau at Chateaudun, the new style asserts itself almost exclusively in the general composition by the introduction of the oval arch and of the lintel, yet merely accompanied by rich Gothic, not antique details. Only on the upper small side towers occur small Italian windows and Renaissance balusters in the internal balustrade.

This tendency likewise appears in places and in certain parts of Hotel de Cluny at Paris and on the Palace of Justice at Rouen, as well as on the Louis XII wing at the Chateau of Blois.

96. Second Step in the Transition.

In the second transition step appear sporadically the new elements, mostly upper Italian interpretations of antique forms, in the shape of certain details, without any compelling cause or necessity, in the midst of a late Gothic architectural style.

In the middle portion of the facade of the Cathedral at Rouen, begun under Louis XII, which is retained in the richest and most wonderful late Gothic style, a Renaissance flavor shows itself in the arabesques of the four small twisted columns of the base and in the undercut foliage of the cavetto, the latter only noticeable on closer inspection, as also occa-

occasionally in Gaillon.

In the highest degree important for the knowledge of this interesting period were the buildings, which chiefly Charles VIII and Louis XII had erected in the Chateau on the triangular shaped terrace between the Loire and the Amasse. Unfortunately, most of this chateau has disappeared, as well as the gardens of Chateau Gaillard at Amboise, where Passello da Merlolo developed his landscape art. However interesting are the existing remains, yet they are little suited to be mentioned here as characteristic examples. Even the representations in Du Cerceau, a portion of which is given in Fig. 22, do not suffice for this. (Compare Art. 69).

On most remains of Hotel de la Tremouille at Paris,²²⁴ for example, the Renaissance is limited to some keystones in the cross vaults. One of these is ornamented by a garland and a shell, another by two birds besides a vase and two rosettes; there apparently were in the tracery, that in some places forms the decoration of the walls, some medallions placed instead of rosettes. Yet the main doorway with its great cap composed of two dolphins, with its medallions and pilasters, already goes a step farther; it exhibits the composition of a motive in the compromise forms of the new spirit and already belongs to the next step.

Note 224. Now in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

97. Third Step in the Transition.

The third step in the transition is characterized by the isolated and direct occurrence of larger Italo-Antique motives in the midst of a late Gothic composition. The new elements like the antique became somewhat more numerous and were sometimes combined in a motive or an architectural member in the midst of Gothic forms.

As examples of this course of development can be mentioned several facades of Chateau Le Verger; the form of the plan of the latter further makes known already a different influence affecting the general composition.

On this Chateau begun in 1496 (Fig. 17 and Art. 69), Renaissance motives are joined to Gothic and became more numerous, as the building progressed. The front round arched gateway with pilasters and pediment, placed between two circular tow-

towers, exhibits entirely Italian design; likewise the second gateway leading to the court, and which has below a wide and a narrow passage, above it being an equestrian figure in relief, -- all being enclosed by pilasters. Likewise Italian are the rich niches with pilasters and entablatures, that alternate with the windows in a regular arrangement. In the second court, the wing on the right side is already formed as a terrace.

One of the most expressive examples of frankly unmixed juxtaposition is presented by the famous sacred Tomb of the Priory at Solesmes, which was completed in 1496.²²⁵

Note 225. See La Tremblaye, R. P. Solesmes, les sculptures de l'église abbatiale. Solesmes. Pls. 4 - 8.

The entire architecture is the late Gothic; only the lower half is divided on each side by a pilaster, whose panel belongs to the very best and purest Florentine work of this kind in France. It exhibits in the middle of each one a candelabra-like more solid part, composed of vases with lighter arabesque work on both sides. Besides these pilasters, the statues of the two soldiers are genuine Italian works, while most of the other figures are works by northern masters, but who like Colombe, have dropped the excesses of Flemish realism by contact with Italians. The pilasters have neither bases nor capitals; the three horizontal bands of ornament, which separate the lower half, must be a kind of Gothic interpretation of the entablature.

98. Fourth Step in the Transition.

In the fourth step in the transition appears the endeavor for a regular arrangement of the plan and the general composition. For when conditions permitted, it was sought to give to the ground-plan greater regularity, as well as to the elevations on different parts of the building. The individual treatment of these parts was either a predominating or almost exclusively Gothic one, or a more or less marked transformation toward the Italian-Antique tendency with a mixture of properly Italian details.

The wing of Louis XII on the Chateau at Blois, which is usually dated in 1498,²²⁶ repeatedly exhibits a style tendency allied to the Chateau at Gaillon, especially in the depressed

oval arches of the portico in the court and in the ornaments of the columns and compound piers. The Gothic character is more strongly expressed than in Gaillon.

Note 226. Dean d'Autun says, that on Dec. 25, 1502, the king ordered his chateau to be entirely restored. The works were not entirely completed in 1503; yet already in 1502 is mentioned gold for the lead ornaments. (See de Croy.p.36).

Nevertheless in reference to the architect of this wing, a attention is called to the words of Planat;²²⁷ "Still is it admissible, that he was Jean Jooonde, the ordinary architect of this king". Since it is proved, that Fra Giocondo constructed an aqueduct for the garden of the Chateau at Blois (Art. 70), then is a certain influence upon the building of the chateau itself the more probable.²²⁸

Note 227. Planat. Vol. 2. Art. Blois.

Note 228. Among the constructing masters is found Simon G Guichart, who for a long time held the position of master of the works in the county of Blois as a substitute for Cadot, and who was also promoted to this place in 1500 or soon afterwards.

Beside the influence, which this master probably exerted upon the building of the two chateaus mentioned, and besides that clearly due to the two gardeners da Mercoliano (Art. 30), the connection between the chateaus at Blois and at Gaillon is yet strengthened by the following facts.

1504, Nicholas Biard went from Blois to Gaillon to visit the works in the latter place, and he received for this 70 sous, including his traveling expenses.

1505, he went twice to Gaillon and received the first time 18 livres and 5 sous, the second time 17 livres and 6 sous.

1506, he took part in the decoration of the chapel at Gaillon.

France might regard Biard as the general inspector, who was entrusted with a certain higher supervision. From him comes a report; "--- has always haunted and frequented several masters, experienced in the said trade of masonry".²²⁹

Note 229. Lonce, A. Dictionnaire des Architectes Francois. Vol. 1. p. 71. Paris. 1873.

The inclinations of Louis XII, the "father of his country", were not directed toward the new style. This is evident from

the before mentioned wing of the Chateau at Blois, where he remained insipidly within the Gothic traditions. All the more energetically did his minister, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, seize the standard of progress and erect in his Chateau at Gaillon the largest and most beautiful monument of the new style, which as Albert Lenoir stated to me, proverbially remained the model of a magnificent residence. It is a little Gaillon was then said, as later; it is a little Versailles.

Albert Lenoir had already recognized long since the nature of the art epoch under consideration far more correctly, than Deville did ten years later in his already often cited works, with all his documents, since as we have also found, -- he designates the Chateau at Gaillon as a building in the transition style, as a strange alliance of two entirely different architectural styles. Thus he means, that one must perhaps conclude from this alliance, that two architects took part in the building of Gaillon; Jean Jouande, who led in the Italian path, and an unknown French master, who was still imbued with the principles of the native school. The possible participation of Fra Giocondo and the work of other Italians at Gaillon has already been discussed in Art. 70; a word may here be spoken concerning the French masters. According to Deville, among the French masters employed on the building the chief were:-- Pierre Fain, Pierre Belorme, Guillaume Senault, Pierre Valence, and also master Arnault in the latter period. Yet what Lance states in his notices of these masters never permits the supposition of a chief architect, neither from the nature of their work nor by reason of their salaries. Those mentioned appear as masters, who undertook to construct certain parts of the chateau; one even sees that several of them were busied on the same portions of the building, as for example on the chapel, on the gallery etc. One would think of a participation in the design by Senault and Fain. (Also see Art. 106).

Note 230. See Note 151.

The following words of A. de Montaiglon concerning the Chateau at Gaillon should further be quoted:-- "The main structural work and the architecture are entirely French. But the Cardinal of Rouen had frequently visited Italy, and this had

left on him a sufficiently deep impression of astonishment, to move him to employ Italian artists for the decoration of his wonderful residence, which was purer, rarer and more complete, than of the royal chateaus transformed in accordance with the prevailing taste. While he employed Michel Colombe, and his architects were from Normandy and Touraine, he had his chapel painted by Andrea Solario, the statue of Louis XII sculptured by Lorenzo da Mugiano, and he utilized for two years the chisel of Antonio di Giusto. (Antoine Juste).²³¹

Note 231. See Montaignon, A. de. & G. Milneri. p. 18.

At the Chateau of Gaillon, the decoration internally and externally was the only part belonging to the Renaissance and novel, excepting a number of compromise forms; the late Gothic had no interest in these.

Courajod appears still more energetically for the Italian character, which permeates the decorations of Gaillon so frequently, even if in different ways. He says:-- "No one can doubt the absolutely Italian character of the decoration of the whole of the Chateau of Gaillon -- excepting the exclusively French style of the roofs, it is the Italian influence, that predominates almost everywhere in the ornamentation. The almost exclusively Italian tendency of the decoration of the chateau strikes the eyes, so to speak, when one compares in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts this decoration with the ornamentation of the Hotel de Tremille, that on the contrary remained entirely French. 232.

Note 232. See Courajod, L. LA Part de l'Art Italien dans quelques Monuments de Sculpture de la premiere Renaissance Françoise. Extract from Gaz. des B. Arts. 1884. p. 4, 6. Paris. 1885.

99. Fifth Step in the Transition.

The fifth step in the transition is characterized by the fact, that the composition of an entire architectural structure already adheres to the Franco-Italian compromise style.

As such a Franco-Italian, or more correctly Italo-French, compromise composition, not merely ornamentation, there may be designated on the Chateau at Gaillon:--

1. The external arched portico adjoining the chapel.
2. The round arched portico, a part of which stands on the

left in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Paris.

3. The arched entrance in the middle of the court.

4. The facade represented in Figs. 24, 25.

5. The gate pavilion still standing in Gaillon, which was built about 20 years earlier than the porte doree in the royal Chateau at Fontainebleau, but which exhibits a more strongly expressed, richer, and better understood Italian composition of forms, than that.

6. The tower-like roof turret above the chapel.

7. the angle tower in the court beside the latter.

8. The external circular angle tower adjoining the wing of the chapel.

Yet other portions of the building might be mentioned, but those above will suffice. That the gardens belonging to the chateau are a purely Italian work will be proved in the following.

It is to be noted in reference to the before mentioned facade (Fig. 24)., that the portico and the two beautiful galleries were in 1802 taken down stone by stone by Alexandre Lenoir and reerected in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. According to Deville, these facades were located on the south side of the court.²³³ Accordingly the representation by Silvestre, in which these are conceived as a projecting building on a terrace, can hardly be correct, and may be merely regarded as a portion of the side of a court. Neither at the locality nor from the engravings by Du Cerceau is the author able to accurately deduce the location of this facade.

Note 233. It appears that Deville gives a correct restoration of this facade based on the engraving by J. Sylvestre and on the aid of the existing remains, while L. Courajod (in Alexandre Lenoir, his Journal and Le Musee des Monuments Français. Paris. 1878-1879), and E. Muntz (in Guide de l'Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts. Paris. 1889) reproduce an erroneous representation by Lenoir, in which the characteristic motive of the suspended arches is replaced by a pier; the attic or balustrade-like upper ending is likewise omitted.

The arcade of the loggia, now on the left in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, from one of the other court facades at Gaillon is a fusion of Italian-French forms; round arches

above tree-like columns, surrounded by a spirally arranged network, with the ermine emblems of Brittany; the dolphin capitals are from Milanese models, but are set diagonally with the front.

100. Sixth Step in the Transition.

In the sixth step of the transition are found works, which on the basis of the general composition arose in the Italian style. In this period it is much rarer to find on any architectural work an Italian general composition. Especial interest is therefore due to the termination of the north tower on the Cathedral at Tours, -- not merely a Gothic general structure with more or less Renaissance details, but a Renaissance creation in the form of an octagonal Italian domed structure with a lantern. The members and details, though indeed somewhat rude, mostly belong to the Renaissance; yet some of these, like the crockets, certain pinnacles and the cornice around the lantern dome, are taken from Gothic.

We have a work before us here, that is executed somewhat in the spirit of the studies of Leonardo da Vinci for the design of a dome, which he prepared about 1488 for the Cathedral at Milan. This must be due to the nephews of Michel Colomoe, B Bastien and Martin Francois, and it was completed in 1507. Both this fact as well as the date are the more remarkable, since the two artists mentioned assisted their uncle on the Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes; the latter was finished in 1507, and it is known that the entire architecture was the work of two Italians. If then the uncle needed the assistance of his nephews during five years, then might the question be raised, how the latter were in a position to prepare a much more complex composition? Only two solutions are possible; either the composition is that of an Italian, or at least one of the nephews must have studied in Italy for a long time.

In order to not lose sight of the general view of the movement under consideration, the already mentioned purely Italian works of this period are again recalled, as well as reference made to the purely Italian gardens at Amboise, Blois, G Gaillon etc.

2. Details.

101. Principle of Formation of Details.

For the development of details during the so-called styles

of Charles VIII and of Louis XII, the underlying idea is indeed, that the forms of separate members, the motives or the details of Gothic and be replaced by those, which fulfil the same or yet in some measure similar functions. This exchange or substitution shows itself in various ways and in different courses; innumerable shades arise in the mixtures. We find:-

1. Pure Gothic details beside pure Italian.
2. Gothic details modified in the antique direction.
3. Italian details changed to the Gothic tendency.
4. According to circumstances, one finds one or the other of these methods employed, sometimes all at the same time.

102. Details at Gaillon.

According to the latter tendency, and for the mutual penetration of the Italian and the French spirit in art as well as for the contemporary existence of both styles beside each other, the choir stalls at Gaillon, now to be found in the Church at S. Denis, are especially instructive.

Pure late Gothic and also French are the verticals of the upper backs. Half Gothic in conception are the side arms of the front row of seats, which terminate with dolphins from an Italian hand in Italian foliage, and in Gothic clustered pillars, apparently bearing small French figures on their backs; the small figures on the standing seats (*misericordias*), that are found on the underside of the seats, when turned down, are probably Italian with northern attitudes. The front seats and the canopy of the backs exhibit the most delicate and purely Italian arabesque panels; in the lower half of the backs are intarsias after the drawings of a Frenchman, who busied himself in composing in Italian, somewhat like Jean Perréal. In the upper half with French conditions somewhat lessened, Milanese architectural forms as relief borders enclose scenes, that one may indeed describe as treated in the Franco-Italian style of Colombe.

On the Chateau at Gaillon, this use of both style tendencies is repeatedly shown by the contemporary accounts. Thus for example in 1509 the spaces, that were to bear the medallions of Paganino, were chiseled "in the antique and in the French manner". Under Napoleon I in the year 10, to Alexandre Lenoir were delivered 42 medallion heads of Roman emperors in

white marble, which came from the court of the Chateau at Gaillon, and which were entirely similar to those so frequently occurring in Renaissance architecture; they were executed by Guido Mazzone, and at least in part, were placed on the facade represented in Fig. 24.

A portion of the vertical arabesques on these arcade piers were doubtless executed by Italians; some of the panels are of even greater delicacy than the best of this kind in Florence, Venice or Milan. Another portion was executed by natives after an upper Italian drawing, whose character harmonizes with the manner of Fra Giocondo.

The arabesques and the scrollwork of the second story on the wall above the medallions and on the pilasters (Figs. 24, 25) are much heavier, just as on the window pilasters. The execution shows how unskilful the French stonecutters were still, when they had to treat Italian ornament and foliage, while just beside these and in the leafy stems wound with thistles, roses and Gothic leaves, they developed very great skill, likewise on the main doorway of the Cathedral at Rouen, that belongs to this school, and is a real wonder of mastery.

For some pieces of ornamentation, it is difficult to determine whether they were originated by Frenchmen, who had previously acquired a much larger knowledge of the new forms, or by Italians, who had acquired in certain things something of the French manner of expression. Thus for example, in the scrollwork in the window parapets, whereon occur crouching satyrs, a mermaid and children, swans with human heads and the legs of deer, centaurs, the three graces, and many other things.

On the gateway to be found in the middle of the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and which according to Deville led to the entrance to the second court of the Chateau at Gaillon, there are on the facade toward Rue Bonaparte, that alone is old,²³⁵ 46 ornaments on merely the middle portion, composed and carved by Italians; 4 pieces recall the Church S. Maria presso S. Satiro and one on the doorway of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan. Two other ornaments especially exhibit the character of upper Italy, and five others the Venetian. The lower capitals are Italian, but on the contrary the upper

ones are perhaps French interpretations of Italian models.

In the Louvre is a number of fragments from the Chateau at Gaillon, rightly designated as of the Franco-Italian school, among them being some from Italian chisels, even if coming from masters of only the third rank. The Italian enclosures around Colombe's S. George are preferable.

Note 234. Represented in Deville. Pl. 7.

Note 235. Locke has shown (Pl. 28) merely the modern occupying of this archway.

Where antique orders occur, one generally finds very flat pilasters in Bramante's style, which do not appear prominent. On the arcades, window openings and bases, the mouldings intersect. The decoration of the window openings is freely cut on the jambs in relief on a sunken ground; the architraves and ribs retain in their sections the angular forms of the 15th century; the windows exhibit mullions, rather lacored tracery and stone crosses. For the capitals is generally preferred the Corinthian after Bramante's type, as most nearly allied to the Gothic. The niches with canopies, the pinnacles, the perforated balustrades occur as frequently as ever.

3. Principle of Composition.

103. Ground Principles.

The question may be raised, whether in this alliance of Gothic style tendencies, any one idea, a single rule, or anything like a ground principle was followed in the mixture or juxtaposition as a guide. It appears as if the cases are more numerous in which this question must be answered negatively. The principle of the translation of Gothic forms of details, whose consistent execution at last produced the style of Francis I, was nevertheless manifestly at an already early time the leading idea, that occasionally produced the forms of the transition period.

104. Principle of Horizontality.

In this transformation of forms carefully considered, we clearly meet with at least two leading ideas. The first of these may be termed the principle of horizontality; there may possibly be many horizontal elements included within the yet generally Gothic composition and introduced under Gothic conditions. On few examples is this ground idea so plainly visible, as on the pinnacled superstructure of the portal of the

ducal Chateau at Nancy, ostensibly a work of Mansuy-Gauvain, and which belongs to the style of Louis XII.

105. Role of Gothic and of Italian Details.

The second idea of the transformation in question follows the ground principle of making the supporting parts Gothic and the intermediate parts Italian, so that at least in many places, a tolerably clear arrangement is followed, which was also observed by Anthyme-Saint-Paul or is still supposed. According to his opinion, "the architects retreat in the defence of national traditions but slowly, step by step. Gothic procedures stipulate for the construction, the general arrangement, the proportions, the ribbed vaults, the depressed and pointed arches".²³⁶ Such observation should not alone be conclusive; but such a procedure is also based on the natural and pretty intimate feeling for everything, which concerns the stability of the building or symbolizes this in an esthetic way, to retain the well known Gothic forms. On the contrary, the intermediate surfaces, sometimes perhaps also the supported parts, are decorated with Italian ornament and chiefly with Italian arabesque work. It almost appears as if the consistent development of the roles destined for both style tendencies and a true combination of their elements not infrequently was directly conceived by the architects. As examples of this may serve the clustered piers of the lower portico on the facade of the Chateau at Gaillon, illustrated in Fig. 24.

Note 236. See Planot. Vol. 6. p. 362.

At the five angles of the piers of the arcade, with the angle turned outwards, are small Gothic columns, that are angular and somewhat lower than the impost. The three in front terminate with ogee gables, and their pinnacles extend into the cornice. The archivolts with Gothic mouldings start from these piers. The Renaissance ornamentation extends over all surfaces between the angle columns in the form of vertical arabesques of symmetrical design, rising from vases and with trophies, masks, vases etc.

In a similar way may be seen on the church in Montresor illustrated in Fig. 153, two clustered piers at both sides of the doorway, their surfaces between the rounds being covered

by arabesques,²³⁷ In accordance with the same basal principle is subdivided the ~~the new~~ pier of the winding stairway in the Chateau at Chateaudun.

Note 237. No example in France is known to me at this moment, where this system is employed on the internal detached piers of a church. But the slender and tall pillars in the Chapel Mor da Egreja dos Jeronimos at Belem in Portugal exhibits exactly the same principle of subdivision, as on the piers of the Chateau at Gaillon. On these piers of the right side aisle in the Church at Gisors, this has been attempted in a certain degree.

This ground principle is again expressed at a larger scale on the facade of the Chapel at Les Roches-Tranchelin, now a ruin.

The facade is divided into three spaces by four entirely Gothic buttresses. The entire width of the wall in the two outer spaces is subdivided by flat Italian pilasters in two series, one above the other, and these are connected together by arches and medallions, being conceived as architecture filling a space.

A somewhat similar arrangement of the roles appears on the south tower of the Cathedral at Tours. In Fig. 2, the main piers are subdivided in a more thoroughly Gothic manner, than the intermediate piers.

The principle here considered also forms the basis of various other buildings, which are already to be enumerated more or less with the style of Francis I.

Thus on the facade of the chapel of the Chateau at Usse, the doorway and the window above it are enclosed by a slender arcade and are combined into a common motive. The external parts, even if already translated into the spirit of the style of Francis I, have still more retained the outlines of the Gothic pinnacle treatment, than the lower parts, especially the jambs of this arcade.

The construction of the vaults of the choir in the Church at Tillieres (Fig. 68) permits the same idea to be observed.

Something of the assignment of roles appears to have led to the treatment of the main pier in the stairway of the Chateau at Blois (Fig. 82) more in the style of a buttress, and in t

the clustered piers of Church S. Esstache at Paris, to treat the rounds corresponding to the main arch ribs as columns in the Gothic spirit extending to the transverse arches, while to the lighter and less necessary diagonal arches correspond three antique-like orders, standing out above each other. Figs. 84, 184.

106. Altar Reredos at Gaillon.

In some cases, still different principles were followed in the assignment of the roles of the two style tendencies. Thus on the altar reredos of the chapel of the Chateau at Gaillon, the Renaissance plays the part of enclosure.

The pilasters with entablature covered by charming arabesques are manifestly Italian work,²³⁸ they enclose Colombe's Relief of S. George, and according to Courajod, they are probably the work of Bertrand de Meynal, Jerome Pacherot and Jean Ghersalle (or Ghairselle); the Italian names of these masters are unknown.

Note 238. Long used as a mantle in the Louvre (opposite to the Caryatides of Goujon).

It is otherwise on the Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes, that was executed in accordance with Perreal's drawing, and all of whose principal figures were by Colombe, while everything architectural composing the tomb is ascribed to two Italians.

107. Duration of the Style of Louis XII.

It has been frequently said with justice, if one considers the details of the members, that the middle ages end with the style of Louis XII: even in the succeeding phase of development the general idea still remains Gothic. Concerning the duration of the latter, Anthyme-Saint-Paul²³⁹ says:-- "The so-called style of Louis XII continues four or five years beyond the death of the king, and the Chateau at Gaillon is the most complete and most characteristic example thereof". In regard to its extension, the same author asserts:-- "In provinces like Beauvais, Valois, Vermandois, that around Amiens, and so much the more in Artois, Flanders and the Free County, the last three provinces then being foreign, -- the transitional period of Louis XII produced as good as no effect".

Note 239. In *Planat*. Vol. 6. p. 314.

4. Masters and Monuments.

4. Masters and Monuments.

108. Masters of the Transition Style.

For a complete understanding of the transition period in question, there may be added some notes on several of the masters, whose names may be regarded as those of the well known architects of that period.

In this still essentially Gothic period, the notes on Martin Chambiges are especially valuable.²⁴⁰

Note 240. See Berty. D. *Les grands Architectes Français* etc. p. 138, 140. Paris. 1860.

Martin Chambiges presents an example of a case, where one may be certain that the appellation of "master mason" denotes an actual architect. It may be assumed that he was also a Gothic master. We find him:--

1489, as a master mason living at Paris, goes to Sens and builds the transverse aisle and the two portals of the Cathedral there.

1495, he returned to Paris.

1497 and 1499, in Sens as "master of the undertaking and leader of the transepts", then directs further the building from Paris, probably more as "consulting architect".

1500, Apr. 3 and 26, at the deliberations on the rebuilding of Bridge Notre Dame at Paris.

1506, he had charge of the building of the famous choir at Beauvais.

1506, on the way to Sens to inspect his works, is then consulted in Troyes, and returns to Beauvais.

1512, he is called from Beauvais by Jean de Soissons, the master of the Cathedral at Troyes, to a consultation at the latter city, received with honor and rewarded; after he has labored there for two weeks, he returns to Beauvais. From this circumstance, Berty holds that he was one of the most important masters in his time.

1532, he is still "master mason" of Beauvais.

We now pass to the masters of the building of the Chateau at Gaillon (Arts. 70, 98).

1. Pierre Fain.

1507, Dec. 4, contract for the building of the chapel and the main staircase to it.

1508, erection of the kitchen, two half windows and one dormer window of the main building, also of the portal forming the passage to the forecourt. According to Lance,²⁴¹ this is the portal now placed in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. The construction lasted from the end of 1508 until Sept. 1509.

Note 241. Lonic. Vol. 1. p. 258.

2. Guillaume Senault, according to Deville, prepared the plans for the main building and superintended the construction.

1502, he works on the tower of the great house.

1503, Jan. 21, he brings the plans to Rouen.

1506, he with other masters is consulted with reference to open each of the towers of the Cathedrals at Rouen and Bourges.

1507, Dec. 14, together with Pierre Faim and Jean Fouques, he makes the contract for the building of the kitchen. For supervision of the works, he receives daily 7 sous and 6 d. Since he further received in 1508 37 sous 3 d for a journey, for a stay of 8 days in Rouen (with his horse), and for a visit to a stone quarry, this is a remuneration, that can hardly be thought to be made to a higher architect.²⁴²

Note 242. Lance. Vol. 2. p. 268.

3. Pierre Delorme had charge of the erection of the marble piers and of the balustrades in the great gallery and in the court of the garden. 1506-1508, he executed one of the four sides of the middle court, which was therefore long called "House Pierre Delorme". He improved the old main residence of Cardinal d'Estouteville, and he built the rectangular pavilion "New Portal" leading to the great court. He further executed the sloping banks of the ditches and the house for ball-playing, worked on the balustrade(?), on the basin of the aviary, and on the windows of the garden pavilion.²⁴³

Note 243. Lance. Vol. 1. p. 211.

4. On April 20, 1509, Martin Arrault and Neauldet negotiated for the cutting and polishing of 60 toises (fathoms) of the pavement in the great court of the chateau.

5. Jean Gaudras worked in 1507 on the building of the great gallery, on the doors of the pavilion, and on the cabinets in the gardens.²⁴⁴

Note 244. Lance. Vol. 1. p. 302.

6. Jean Fouquet was further known in 1503 and 1508, and he was also sent to Rouen for the work of the Cardinal.²⁴⁵

Note 245. *Lance*. Vol. 1. p. 271.

7. Pierre de Valence from Tours was employed frequently in Gaillon between 1503 and 1508, chiefly on aqueducts, and he also worked as sculptor on the panels of the great garden gallery and of the chapel.

Of other competent masters, the following may also be mentioned.

1. Bastien Francois worked in 1502-1507 with Guillaume Regnault, another nephew of Colombe, and with an uncle on the Tomb of Francois II of Brittany at Nantes. With his brother, Martin Francois, he must have built the domically shaped termination of the north tower of the Cathedral at Tours, and have completed it in 1507, "with a slightly rude appearance, although much in advance of the style", as Palustre says. [Likewise to the two brothers must be due the so-called Mount-ain of Beaune at Tours (1510-1511). Finally, to Bastien is ascribed the Cloister of S. Martin (1508-1519), whose eastern side still remains. According to Palustre, Bastien must have been both architect and sculptor.²⁴⁶

Note 246. Palustre, L. *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 243, 247, 260, 272, 284. Paris. 1892.

If the two works last named are actually designs by Bastien Francois, he must then be regarded as one of the foremost French architects, which resulted from the multitude of Italo-French cooperation, and it would be of interest to follow his artistic development in order to know, whether he merely learned from the Italians on the Loire the degree of predominance of Italian forms to be seen, or whether he had himself dwelt for a considerable period in Italy. The unusual and peculiar character of the decoration on the archivolts, friezes, and arch spandrels of the cloister of S. Martin makes it difficult to decide from photographs, whether the most characteristic and most interesting ornaments are really Italian or French work. The antique and tolerably primitive medallion profiles between architrave and frieze are certainly French. (See Art. 98).

2. Jacques Beroux (died 1516) laid in 1507 before the c

chapter of the Cathedral at Rouen a design for the facade between the towers, worked out on paper; but on account of his great age, he soon withdrew. On his suggestion, his nephew Roulland Leroux was appointed his successor. On April 24, 1510, the latter presented a new design, and detailed drawings were required from him.

3. In Rouen in 1514, Roger Nollel is designater as "architector."

4. In Lorraine is to be found Jacquart de Vaucouleurs or Jacquot Wauthier. In 1508, he is master workman of the works of the marquisate of Pont-a-Mousson and master of the works of the duchy of Lorraine. In 1510, Jacquot is ennobled by duke Anton, and in 1511, he is appointed "porter" (conciierge) of the ducal Palace at Nancy on account of the "trouble he has always taken to know the building and the work of our house". In 1511 and 1512, the portal of the main building of the house on the great street "was completed" under him; he further worked on a winding stairway, and in 1519, "on the completion of the galleries of madame, for the gardens of my lord", and on a fountain.

5. According to Palustre, Mansuy-Gauvain, a famous architect and sculptor, works in 1501-1512 on the ducal Palace at Nancy.

6. Hugues Cavelier builds in 1516 the Library of the chapter, as master of works of the Cathedral at Sens.

7. About 1507, Jacques Corbel was architect on the Bridge Notre Dame at Paris.

8. According to Palustre, Charles Viart works on the Hotel de Ville at Orleans and at Beaugency, Guillaume Besnard in 1507-1513, on Hotel Beaune-Semblancay at Tours; Chahureau and Andre Amy in 1503-1515, on the chapel of the Chateau at Thouars, and Jean de Beauce in 1511-1519 on the Cathedral at Chartres.

109. Monuments.

Besides the architectural works already mentioned, which belong to the transition style, the following may be mentioned here:--

Fig. 24; dormer window on the Chateau at Gaillon.

Fig. 26; former facade of the court on Chancery of Accounts at Paris.

Fig. 69; the so-called staircase of queen Berthe at Chartres.

Fig. 141; dowecot at Boos.

Fig. 143; Palace of Archbishop at Sens, wing of Louis XII.

Fig. 150; facade of the chapel at Tilloloy.

Fig. 291; interior of the former gilded chamber in the Palace of Justice at Paris. Further:--

Hotel d'Alluye at Blois.

Maison des Gendarmes or Manor of Nollent at Caen.

Portions of the Chateaus at Chemaze and at La Rochefoucault.
(On the exterior).

Older parts of Hotel Bourgtheroulde and of Palace de Justice at Rouen.

Vaults of Chapel of Saint-esprit at Rue.

Facade of Chapel of Chateau at Usse.

b. True Early Renaissance.

(Style Francis I).

About 1515 to 1535 or 1540.

110. General Character of the Period.

The twenty years of apprenticeship of Franco-Italian working together, the first transition phase formed thereby is over. Now arises at the same time the true French early Renaissance; the era of Francis begins. In architecture this epoch appears as almost an era of unlimited hopes, of boundless dreams.

At the first glance, the architectural phenomena of just this time might appear to contain something mysterious. One unwittingly asks himself, was the architectural activity of Francis I a kind of frivolous levity, or is there in it something so foreign, that it seems entirely inexplicable to the ordinary mode of thinking? Only when one realizes the characteristic chief tendencies of the historical side of this epoch in France and its connection with Italian conditions, do many architectural works pass into a clear light, as for example the Chateau at Chambord. It will therefore not be superfluous to briefly sketch here these historical surroundings.

The French may justly term their great 16th century the century of Francis I. Men still heard then of worlds newly discovered beyond the sea; but everything in old Europe also seemed to grow young again. Culture and the arts celebrated the alliance of two intellectual worlds; the mediaeval with

the neo-antique, the Gallo-German with the Greco-Latin. On the contrary in religion, there already began a strong and a mysterious separation between the German and the Latin spheres of feeling.

Likewise for the architecture of France, and even of all Europe, the age of Francis I presents a picture, such as few others afford. The architecture of France at that time is the result of the most intimate alliance, which had already been formed between the two ripest and noblest styles of Christendom, the French Gothic and the Italian Renaissance. Even if the Gothic was also the national style of all Germans, yet this style ripened earliest in France. Its purest forms always appeared there; therefore the alliance of the Gothic with the life-enjoying and new-born Italo-Antique style must there be seen to be most instructive. From this alliance not only came a great number of works; that are always anew surprising by their magnitude, imagination, refinement and variety; but in the last ten years of his reign, Francis I lived through a second transformation in architecture, the high Renaissance. The ripest period of French architecture put forth its noblest flower before the death of the king and at his command; the court of the Louvre at Paris was begun by Pierre Lescot and Jean Goujon!

A new sun suddenly shone upon the strongly aspiring spirit, the imagination of the Gothic masters, always rising to lofty crests. In the fields of Italy, the antique had again arisen in the blooming freshness of youth, being in the arts the incomparable symbol of the clear shining of simple and eternal truths. The alliance of these two highest sources of art, of longing and of manifestations, like a union of youth and wisdom, ensnared all hearts; there came a period of unlimited, even of infinite hope.

The imagination of the Gothic masters was not then exhausted, as men so readily believe; it was the style itself, the Gothic, that in their hands refused, indeed could no longer give to them any new motives. The spirit of the masters was indeed as fresh and their ability as powerful, as in the age of the early Gothic. Therefore as Italy had supplied them with new materials, they were filled with new fire. The Chat-

Chateaux at Chambord and Rabelais' "Theleme", the Church S. Eustache at Paris, the facades of the Churches at Tonnerre and of S. Michael at Dijon, even the entire style of Francis I show this. Certainly such a prince as Francis I belongs with it likewise.

111. Francis I and his Love of Architecture.

He was one of the rare monarchs, who patronized art, not merely to lend splendor to his throne, but also because he loved it with his entire heart. Not merely a new king appeared to ascend the throne in Francis I, but one of youthful heroic valor and warlike fame; the arts themselves appeared and a time of unlimited visions. Everyone of the great masters passed by Italy and France; Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, this king desired to honor and to win for his court and country, when possible. Not in vain were the kings of France then also sometimes Italian princes. And what princes! Rulers over proud Milan, to whom Bramante lent the sceptre of architecture, before he transferred it to Rome. Had Julius and Bramante begun there recently a new Cathedral of S. Peter, which should surpass everything previously built until then, king Francis would certainly have not remained unaffected by such an act.

The youthful knight, who at the age of 21 years celebrated his accession to the throne by the victory of Marignano, and soon afterwards cast a look at the imperial crown, must indeed dream of the erection of the most beautiful palaces. As the entire world then seemed to renew itself, the same must have appeared to him with his chateaus. Marignano gave him the best stonecutters, who were trained in Milan by Bramante, together with a man, Leonardo da Vinci, in whom was combined everything, that art, science and abilities could permit to be dreamed of. Then arose a period, which we can scarcely represent to ourselves. What might not a young king like him, hope from it!

How could one otherwise understand, that a single man, -- even though a king, -- had the spirit for love of hunting, to erect on swampy meadows and in the midst of great forests a veritable dream, an airy chateau, a Chambord! No chateau, but a colossal caprice is it, a fabulous structure, from whose lofty roof terraces the ladies of his court could convenient-

conveniently overlook the return from the nunt! Absurd, often actually ugly, yet full of magical charm; almost unpardonable architecturally, had not each capital, each scroll, even each chimney cap, told of the visions of a new world, whose revival shone before the eyes of all!

In an age, when king Francis I created a vision of the imagination, such as the Chateau at Chambord; in which Henry VIII built in England his no less inconceivable Palace Nonesuch;²⁴⁷ in which Du Cerceau composed numerous ideal chateaus, some grouped like islands, others built in pyramidal form, with terraces above terraces; in which the king laid the foundation of a new high school in the College of France at Paris, -- who knows indeed really, whether Rabelais may not half in earnest believed in the building of his "indivisible" Abbey of Tneleme, where intellectual culture should find every gratification, in the delusion that it could alone renovate the world!

Note 247. An illustration of this, after an attempt at restoration by H. W. Brewer, is to be found in the Builder. Vol. 66. (1894).

The generosity and enthusiasm of the Valois, the services rendered to architecture by some of them, as we see in Charles V and his brother Jean de Berry, further in the nephew of both, Louis d'Orleans, and in Charles d'Orleans, son of Louis and father of Louis XII. the splendor and the love of art of the Valois, of the duke of Burgundy, -- all this, says Anthyme-Saint-Paul,²⁴⁸ the king combined at the same time in himself. An amateur in the true sense of the word and an Italian lord, Francis I understood how to busy at least ten good architects contemporaneously and uninterruptedly. He undertook the erection of five royal residences of the first rank; the Louvre, the Chateaus at Fontainebleau, S. Germain, Villers-Cotterets and Chambord; he left the four works last named in a very advanced condition. He built in Blois a masterpiece the principal wing of the chateau, that bears his name. Of chateaus of the second rank, he counted those at Madrid near Paris, Challuan, Folembay, and La Muette in the forest of S. Germain, -- a series of types, which can scarcely be conceived more diverse.

Note 248. In Planet. Vol. 6. p. 374.

Under Francis I originated in Paris the hotel de Ville and Church S. Eustache. The latter is certainly not by date but by nature the earliest northern example of these typical monumental works, that without reference to their date of origin form the stylistic transition from the Gothic Cathedral to the Church of S. Peter of Bramante; together with the Cathedral at Granada built in the 16th century, it is the most beautiful church of the Renaissance outside Italy. King Francis was likewise the founder of the school of Fontainebleau, now in part justly decreed. Its influence was long predominant in all provinces of internal decoration for a long period. In it is to be seen no organic further development of the first Franco-Italian school of the Loire, but a second Italian current, that poured itself into the art already become Franco-Italian, strongly influencing this anew.

By such scarcely credible activity, Francis built the temple, or more properly the palace of royal Franco-Italian art, on the Italian foundation set by Charles VIII, and to this France today owes its peculiar position in the arts.

112. Germ of Decay.

The fate of art in the 16th century would remain unintelligible, were it not that two of these elements had not already been considered here, that restricted its development and suppressed its most beautiful blossoms. The school of Fontainebleau first shows us, that it was unfortunately concerned with a period, in which only too many ignoble germs were contained, that like poison should corrupt souls and with them art also; immorality and limitless yielding to caprice. It was also unfortunately the era, in which on May 17, 1542, the greatest artist of France, Jean Goujon, on account of Lutheran sympathies, was compelled to travel in a penitent's snirt with Geoffrey le Blanc to Place Maubert, to be present when the latter was burned, and closing his life 20 years later in Bologna, an exile from his country for his faith. Herein appeared already the precursors of the soon succeeding frightful religious wars. These and the ever increasing depravity of manners were only too soon to put an end here, as in Italy, to the golden period of art, to the immeasurable hopes for other ages.

1. Principle of Treatment of Forms and its Tendencies.

113. Ground Principles of this Phase of the Style.

The tendency described in Arts. 92 and 94, to replace all Gothic details more and more by Italo-Antique ones after Milanese models, must lead to the moment, when all parts of the building were clothed and translated in a consistent way into the details of the new architectural style, yet still retaining the former ideas, mode of composition, and the general arrangement of its members. This logical assignment of the roles of the two sources forms a definite esthetic principle, as a result of which one may speak of a peculiar and fixed architectural style. Although the ground principles of the mixture were not in themselves new, yet from the character of the combining sources originated works full of originality, which in their general appearance corresponded to no variety of the Italian Renaissance, although all separate elements were taken therefrom. We have to do with a period, which permitted every conceivable development for motives of details, without allowing this any effective influence on the general composition.

114. Different Tendencies.

Within or beside this principle was there space for the richest play of imagination. Innumerable variations apparently arose; yet two definite tendencies may be recognized.

1. Contemporary detailing with forms from the different steps of the development of the Renaissance. -- In the same way as during the preceding period, for example on the former building for the Bureau des Finances at Rouen (Fig. 2), there exist beside each other forms of two different epochs, one of purely Italian origin in a French translation, the other being purely Gothic, so to speak; there are likewise found in the phase in question mixtures by placing forms beside each other, that are taken from different steps of the development of the Franco-Italian Renaissance.

Thus for example, the entrance gateway of the Chateau at N Nantouillet,²⁴⁹ shows exclusively on the lower story general and detail forms, which belong to the northern Italian Renaissance of between 1480 and 1510, while the upper part of the composition exhibits Gothic ideas in Milanese forms of details,

indeed of a character termed the style of Francois I. Likewise to a certain degree in the House facade of Du Cerceau, drawn in 1534 (Fig. 289), are found columns and a doorway, whose forms are more progressive, than are those of the window.

Note 249. Reproduction from Sauvageot. Vol. 3.

According to the principle, the Renaissance portions of the Churches at Magny (Fig. 151) and at S. Calais (Fig. 152) must be counted in the transition style, indeed with the type of the age of Louis XII; yet in date are they essentially later, and their new forms already belong in great part to the high Renaissance. In the choir of the Church at Tillieres, built 1543-1546 (Figs. 88, 359), the ribbed construction is not combined with the usual details of the time of Francis I, and it therefore does not have a Milanese-Bramantesque character, but is combined with the bizarre decorative system of the cartouches at Fontainebleau.

2. Uniform Development. -- The portal of the southern transept of the Church S. Eustache at Paris (Fig. 29)²⁵⁰, by its magnitude comparable to a cathedral, affords one of the most expressive examples of the complete translation of an entirely Gothic composition into the Italian-Antique details of north Italy. Even the tracery, which is frequently retained in Gothic design in early Renaissance buildings on account of the difficulty in finding a satisfactory translation into the new forms (Figs. 151, 152), is here translated, and the canopies in the archivolts are reproduced as charming shrines. To satisfy the late Gothic need of almost unlimited richness in details, -- as for example, may be seen on the middle portal of the Cathedral at Rouen, -- and to guard against the endeavor for simplification, innate in the antique, in the epoch of Francis I for mere love of richness, men came to a concentration of motives on the same place, as shown by Fig. 29. Here rises not only the severe acute gable before a niche, that appears to be fastened to a pilaster, but a rich shrine or lantern canopy intersects from this gable the Corinthian capital of the pilaster.

Note 250. Reproduced from Lenoir, A. Statistique Monumentale de Paris. Paris. 1861-1875. (Coll. des Docum. ined. sur l'Hist. de France. Paris. Pub. since 1836).

In the same sense are frequently found pilasters, from whose shafts project half candelabra columns: their capitals unite with the broader pilaster capitals as well as they may.

A refining of details and an arrangement of the members to correspond to their functions is to be seen in the clustered piers in the interior of the Church S. Eustache after 1530 (Fig. 84) and in the arrangement of the capital of a pier at the intersection there. ²⁵⁰

As further clear examples of this tendency of the early Renaissance, reference is made to the Church S. Eustache at Paris, represented in Figs. 29, 30, 180, 182, 184, to the facade designed for the same by Du Cerceau (Fig. 156), to the stairways in the Chateaus of Blois and Chambord (Figs. 81, 82), to the Church at Montresor (Fig. 153), and to the different forms of piers in Figs. 176-179.

2. Composition and Subdivision of the Elevation.

115. Composition of Facades.

In the early French Renaissance may be observed in the treatment of the facades two tendencies opposed to each other. One strives to apply different systems of Italian facades to French conditions, and to translate them into French. The other proceeds from the French systems of facades and is translated into Italian forms of details, or it encloses Italian motives within Gothic borders.

a. Facade Compositions on the Basis of Gothic Principles.

The endeavor of the Gothic to emphasize vertical elements in all compositions, and to create such, is expressed in various tendencies.

1. First in the formation of vertical unities by connecting windows lying over each other into a single vertical band. The entire building can thus be subdivided into a number of continuous vertical membered supports, like a clustered pier or buttress, between which are inserted parts to fill the spaces. Thus for example, the famous winding stairway of the Chateau at Chambord (Fig. 81), the staircase tower of the same Chateau given in Fig. 83, the stairway of Francis I in the Chateau at Blois (Fig. 82), the court of the Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye (Figs. 35, 142), the two courts at Lyons (Figs. 36, 37), the tower at Bressuire (Fig. 312), and the dome-

like tower in the back-ground of Fig. 39.

In other cases, by breaking the entablature around them, orders standing above orders were developed into continuous vertical elements. To these belong the design by Du Cerceau for the facade of a House in Fig. 289, the House at Dijon in Fig. 290, the gateway pavilions of the Chateau at Ecouen, in the Louvre and on the Chateau at Anet (Figs. 315-317), the court of the Chateau at Bussy-Rabutin (Fig. 333) etc.

In still other cases are the buttresses of churches subdivided into one or more orders of pilasters, half or entire columns, standing above each other, as for example on the choir of the Chapel S. Saturnin at Fontainebleau (Fig. 220), on the Church at Magny (Fig. 151), on Du Cerceau's facade for Church S. Eustache at Paris (Fig. 156), on Church Madelaine at Montargis, ascribed to him, on Church S. Pierre at Tonnerre, etc.

The clustered piers in the interiors of churches were now composed of antique orders, very different combinations occurring; as for example, a pier in Church S. Eustache at Paris, (Figs. 84, 130, 132, 134), the piers of the Churches at Gousainville (Fig. 176), at Epiais (Fig. 177), at Ennery (Fig. 178), S. Clotilde at Andelys (Fig. 181) etc. A peculiar clustered pier is to be seen outside the side portal of the Church at Falaise (Fig. 179), and the clustered piers of Chapel des Eveques at Toul (Figs. 135, 136) already almost belong to the high Renaissance.

2. Entire portions of the facade were further composed on the basis of Gothic ground principles, as on the Chateaus at Fontaine-Henri, Chemaze, La Roche-foucault and Azay-le-Rideau, as well as on many half timbered houses, as at Caen, Lisieux, Rouen etc., further on the Ducal Palace at Nevers (south facade) and on Palace of Justice at Grenoble, lastly on the Churches S. Eustache at Paris, S. Michel at Dijon, Notre Dame at Tonnerre, on the choir chapels of Church S. Pierre at Caen, on the tower over the intersections of Churches S. Jean at Caen and S. Pierre at Coutances, on the older Towers at Gisors and at Cergy.

b. Facade Compositions on the Basis of half Gothic and half Italian principles, -- whereto first of all belongs the old Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye. As separate architectural

forms no longer occur here Gothic doors or windows translated into antique details, but men began to design these architectural parts in Italo-Antique style; reference is made for this tendency to the gabled window shown in Fig. 142 and the doorway in the court of the before mentioned Chateau.

Another step in advance is made by the composition of the facade of the former Chateau Madrid near Paris (Figs. 31, 221).
251. Loggias, doorways and windows are all designed after Italian and not after Gothic models; yet their proportions are frequently uncertain, and the connection of the rich stories with the plain, tower-like projections is still not harmonious. The studies of Du Cerceau in Fig. 222 seem to have been made under the impression of this defect, that was remedied in Lescot's court of the Louvre.

Note 251. Reproduced from an engraving by J. Marotte. Paris. 1667. (Callographie des Louvre).

c. Facade Compositions on the Basis of Italian Systems.

1. The facades were designed after Italian models, with pilasters or arcades, but in reduced proportions on account of the lesser height of the stories and with windows of the same height as the orders. Here are to be classified; of the former (begun about 1515) Chateau at Bury, the three principal facades of the court (Fig. 237), the court side of the wing of Francis I in the Chateau at Blois (1515-1519), the Hotel-de-Ville at Beaugency (Fig. 291), the so-called House of Agnes Sorel at Orleans (Fig. 335), the court of Palace Granvelle at Besancon (Fig. 334; these not even French), the former House in Rue S. Paul at Paris, (Fig. 294), (to decide from illustrations) the later Hotel de Luynes at Paris (Fig. 299), Chateau Usson at Echebrune (Fig. 91), the court of the Chateau at La Rochefoucault, and in more mature forms, the court of Hotel d'Ecoville at Caen.

On the basis of the same forms proceeds the architect of Chateau Le Rocher-Mezangers, though somewhat more freely; he introduces changes into the axial development in order to bring the dormer windows into direct connection with the facade. (Fig. 101).

2. The subdivision of the facade is not rarely based on arcade motives; still its development is a very different one.

Thus are found arcades with pilasters or half columns, as for example at the Chateau at Blois, on the loggias of the external side of the wing of Francis I, and on the two galleries on the tower over the intersection of the Church S. Pierre at Montauces (Fig. 258). An intermediate type appears on the two galleries of the Chateau at Dampierre-sur-Boutonne, where may be seen in each story short, stumpy columns, on which rest upon consoles at one-third their height, the arcade arches of the wall behind them, that extends ~~between the columns~~. (Fig. 90). Somewhat similar is the treatment of the arcades of the House des Consuls at Riom. Men have further placed porticos with oval arches above columns, as for example in the court of the Hotel d'Alluye at Blois, where two galleries are arranged above each other and the columns are short and stumpy. In the loggias of the former Chateau Madrid near Paris, the arches rest on impost caps; but were borne by piers standing on both sides of the half columns, these being connected with the archivolts in an unsatisfactory way. Similar, but still more unsatisfactory and more awkward is the location of the pilasters on the external window piers of the gallery of Henry II of the Chateau at Fontainebleau, especially just at the intermediate points, where no load is to be supported. A further step in development is shown by the coupled pilasters beneath the impost cap of the round arch at the main entrance to the court in the Chateau at Vallery.

Somewhat more tasteful is the combination of columns and pilasters with arches on the so-called peristyle of the oval court in the Chateau at Fontainebleau. The same master was much happier in the subdivision of the choir piers in the Chapel of S. Saturnin there; a study of the beautifully profiled graduations of Bramante on the sacristy of the Cathedral at Pavia was manifestly very helpful to him. Well understood and probably under the influence of Boccador, exerted by the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, are the half columns and arcades in the former court of the Chateau at Chantilly.

116. Works on the Basis of Italian General Forms.

Compositions are to be found, whose general ideas are based on Italo-Antique models; we have already seen one such on the top of the tower of the Cathedral at Tours. Similar are the

domical structures, that form the towers at Argentan (Fig. 211) and those at Bressuire (Fig. 312). On Church S. Patrice at Bayeux (Fig. 313), the entire tower is an Italo-Antique composition, as well as the domical structure between the two towers of the Cathedral at Angers.

117. Endeavor for better Proportions.

But there also appears the endeavor to introduce into Italian motives beautiful Italian proportions likewise. Thus for example in Orleans, where the House in Rue du Tabourg is built in nearly the forms of Palace Vendramin-Calergi at Venice, and the House in Rue neuve (Fig. 295, now a Museum) exhibits very good fluted Corinthian half columns. Approximately in the style of the court of the Cancellaria of Bramante, and indeed so in composition as in details, are designed in Orleans the lower loggias of the so-called House of Agnes Sorel (Fig. 335) and the two loggias of the so-called House of Francis I (Fig. 292); certain forms on the latter recall those of Bramante's Church S. Maria di Campanuova at Pavia.

Entirely Italian, both in composition as well as in proportions, are first in the Chateau at Bury the arcades of the front side of the court (Fig. 27), recalling the Milanese-Venetian style of about 1480-1500; further in the staircase at Azay-le-Rideau the double arcade in the third story; further in its chief parts the portion of Hotel of Etienne Duval at Caen shown in Fig. 296, and the court of the Chateau at Mesnieres etc.

On the already mentioned House in Rue neuve at Orleans (Fig. 295, now a Museum), there likewise appears the endeavor to treat the half columns and the orders of columns of the facades in a manner corresponding to noble antique proportions.

118. Moment of most charming Bloom; Ideal Architecture.

In the further course of the development of the style came a moment, in which in the compositions based on Gothic ideas expressed in Italian forms attained to the noblest harmony of proportions. We shall return to this in the phase of the transition to the high Renaissance.

The last tendency of the architectural style in question, which will here be merely mentioned, might be designated as ideal architecture. Reference will be made to this later,

and it will here be only stated, that the Chateau at Chambord is the most speaking expression of this phase of development.

3. Royal Chateaus on the Loire, their Homogeneity, and their Builders.

119. Chateaus on the Loire.

During the both magnificent and charming period of the proper early Renaissance, the royal chateaus in the region of the Loire form the most important results of the secular architecture of the time. The small number of documents on the history of their origin remaining to us, the contradictory views, that here come to light concerning the latter, the both attractive and also astonishing appearance of so vast a building, perhaps standing there alone, like the Chateau at Chambord, make it a duty to cast as much light upon it as possible, and at least to contribute to the solution of this problem to the extent of one's powers. The connection in style existing between several of these chateaus indeed justifies us, if we describe them together in a certain way, and devote attention rather more to the most important among them, that at Chambord, than the proportions of this volume would otherwise permit.

120. Chateau at Amboise.

The Chateau at Blois, as well as the Chateaus at Chambord, Bury, Chenonceau and Azay-le-Rideau, originated in artistic as well as stylistic respects also, from conditions developed at the building of the Chateau at Amboise during the transition period of Charles VIII and Louis XII. Therefore for the better understanding of the period of Francis I, it is reserved for this place to give a few statements concerning the latter Chateau, although it even belongs to the preceding period. It should also be assumed, that the way in which the Italians of Charles VIII worked out the comprehensive designs on the buildings at Amboise, and that they wrought together on the execution in common, a certain fixed form was retained, and the procedures there were determinative for many later buildings, and served as a model for them.

Concerning the time at which the buildings of the Chateau at Amboise were designed and executed, the following statements are presented.

Under Louis XI, the transformation of the chateau had already been commenced. Charles VIII was born there in 1470. Works of unusual extent were executed by the latter in 1488-1498; the chateau was in great part restored and enlarged as a terrace, especially toward the south. In the year 1494, the chapel and several important buildings were completed.

Already in the years 1493-1496 are buildings mentioned, whose internal arrangement was then completed.

To the buildings undertaken after 1496 belong those lying along the Loire, the portions now forming the chief parts of the chateau. The memoirs of Philip de Gomynnes, which are dated from the last years of Charles VIII, mention the splendid buildings, that the king had commenced shortly before his death, among them being the towers, in which one might ride up. It is further stated, that he there employed "the workmen excelling in various works, which he had brought with him from Naples". According to the royal order issued in 1496 for providing funds "for the buildings, improvement and the fortification of the chateau, and of the Place Amboise", important works must be referred to.

The oven of M. Luc Becjane, as he is called in the work mentioned below,²⁵² which was to serve for artificial hatching of eggs, was built between the north tower and the Loire, and the undertaking "succeeded marvellously".

Note 252. Croy, J. de. p. 19.

The death of Charles VIII (1489) did not interrupt the works. Louis XII confirmed in his office the Commissary Raymond de Dezest, who was charged to have the edifices and buildings of the chateau executed. On Dec. 17, 1500, F. de Pontbriant and R. de Plorec received the command "to lead and take charge of the erection of several splendid buildings", which the king desired to erect in his Chateau of Amboise.

From 1499, the quadrennial accounts show that the works were in full course.²⁵³ During the first three months of the year 1501, work was carried on upon the great tower towards Gate Hurtault (south tower), as well as on the garden. From Oct. to Dec. 1502, the stones were delivered for constructing the vaults of the great tower of the chateau, as well as the corbel stones for the machicolations of the great tower; ²⁵³ on Jan. 14, 1503 (new style), the keystone was paid for.

Note 253. Croy, J. de. p. 12, 13, 15, 190.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Francis I likewise introduced a new and zealous activity in building at Amboise.

So far as it concerns the existing remains of the Chateau at Amboise, we limit ourselves to mentioning the two great circular towers, which instead of a staircase contain an inclined ramp for riding, that in four spiral turns around a newel internally round and externally polygonal, leads to the elevated platform of the chateau. In the interiors of the towers are to be found pointed cross vaults; the light enters through lofty and narrow round arched windows, which are spaced regularly and follow the ascent in the interior, forming the sole external decoration of the tower, except the doorways.²⁵⁴ The simple grandeur of these two towers, whose scale contrasts with the small forms of the chateau, appears to have sprung from a single idea, together with the mighty terraced structure, that extends the platform, and which is likewise animated on the western portion of the north side by round arched windows, and to have already been under Italian impressions and influence. The words of Commynes lead to this understanding, since he mentions them with the great works, that Charles had begun shortly before his death, and on which Italians were employed.²⁵⁵

Note 254. The inharmonious double series of battlements of the northern tower is a modern restoration.

Note 255. According to Burneau (1814), the south tower was built in 1495, thus during the Italian campaign; yet according to J. de Croy, the work was interrupted during the latter.

Concerning the masters, who designed the buildings at Amboise, we now know nothing at all. But it would be very singular, if Fra Giocondo and Domenico da Cortona did not take a prominent part therein.²⁵⁶

Note 256. J. de Croy (p. 16, 17, 191) believes, that the master mason Gouien Fordebroz must have been the same, who under Louis XII had charge of the works in Amboise; yet he received in 1499 and 1501 only 4 sous and 2 d daily, which seems much too small to consider him as a designing chief master, when compared with what was paid on the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and the Chateau at Chambord.

Palustre has scarcely been able to show the documents, on the basis of which he assumes that Giocondo, Domenico da Cortona, Alfonso Damasso and Bernardo da Brescia, according to all probability never came to Amboise, and that Jerome Passerrot, who actually was there, never himself worked on the chateau.²⁵⁷ He limits most acpriciously the assistance of the I Italians on the building of the Chateau at Amboise to the gardener Dom Passello and perhaps also Guido Paganino. But simple reflection requires us, by reason of what we know of the calling of the colony to Amboise and of the later activity of some of their masters, to assume with certainty, that as Commynes states, these Italians, who were called for this purpose from Naples to Amboise, must have actually taken a certain part in the works there, about in the manner indicated in Art. 60.

Note 257. See Palustre in Howard, *H. Le France Artistique et Monumentale*. p. 137. Paris. Parts 42-44.

It results from what is stated, that even after the advent of the Italian artist colony a long period of architectural activity prevailed, in which the Italians participated, and that after 1500 Francois de Pontoriant was superintendent of the works, the same that in 1503 had the same problem to solve in Blois, as well as during the first two years of the works at Chambord, thus during the period in which the designs of these buildings of the Chateau were decided upon, although he was represented at Chambord by two other persons.

121. Chateau at Blois.

At the Chateau of Blois, the wing bearing the name of Francis I chiefly owes its origin to his queen Claude, Countess of Blois. According to J. de Croy, it may be definitely stated, that Jacques Sourdeau superintended this building as master mason. This extends from the Hall des Etats to the tower of Chateau-Renault, was begun in 1515 and appears to have been completed in 1519. There formerly stood in the same place a building in three stories, that contained a gallery and was flanked externally by three round towers. The ancient wall of more than 6.56 ft. thickness was retained, and it now forms the rear wall of the loggias; all the ancient foundations were also utilized again.

Concerning Jacques Sourdeau, master mason of the works and reparations of the Chateau of Blois, there occur the following notices.

He received from the queen the site for building a house in Blois for himself and his heirs. Designated as master mason of the works of the Chateau of Blois in 1518, he received 250 livres for various works in masonry, carpentry, roofing, joinery and locksmithing, as well as for various fabrics, to fit up a part of the chateau for the advent of the Dauphin. On Aug. 3, 1519, he was appointed master of the works of the county of Blois in place of the resigning Simonnet Guischart.²⁵⁸

Note 258. On the other Sourdeaus, see J. de Croy, p. 94 etc.

According to J. de Croy, the external loggia structure on the north wing of the chateau at Blois only gradually assumed its present form.

It was originally a simple terrace to the second story. A About 10 years later, but still in Claude's time, the lower loggias were constructed; over these a wooden gallery was built in 1559 or 1560, which in 1563 was constructed in stone at the command of Catherine. The erection of the uppermost open gallery was decided upon in 1570.

The entire external facade is a kind of loggia structure, by means of which the architect desired to give to the irregular older parts a new and regular facade in the new fashion, in the same manner and for the same purpose as Bramante's wing with Raphael's loggias in the Vatican. That the then unique side of the court of S. Damaso served as a model is manifest. There are to be found the same number of stories and the same treatment; two series of arcades crowned by an open columnar loggia; but the axes, instead of being in a simple series as on another part of the Vatican by Bramante, the Giardino della Pigna, are arranged in the so-called rhythmic bays.

The purpose of the mouldings in the Chateau at Blois is frequently the same as on that at Bury, but never so refined in either drawing or execution.

122. Chateau at Chambord.

Concerning the architectural history of the Chateau at Chambord, the following more important notices occur.

The counts of Blois had already built the two manor houses or small fortified little castles at Chambord and Montfrault in the "Forest of Boulougne" lying eastward from Blois, on account of the abundance of game. From that last named, Francis I visited the structural works of the new Chateau. In the documents, in which Francois de Pontbriant is named as superintendent of works, the king speaks on Sept. 6, 1519, of the "beautiful and sumptuous building, which he has ordered to be built in Chambord", and J. de Croy has proved,²⁵⁹ that these works were not commenced merely in 1524 or 1526, but were already in progress in 1522. Even if this also then first concerned only the foundations, which were very difficult and costly, -- the delivery of 300,000 livres,²⁶⁰ according to others as costly as the superstructure, -- then it results, that the design for the Chateau at Chambord was likewise already completed in 1522, and probably even in 1519.

Note 259. J. de Croy. p. 94.

Note 260. J. de Croy. p. 78 (according to the Venetian ambassador Lippomano.

At the end of the year 1523, the king busied himself in the enclosure of the park, and already in 1534, the master masons Pierre Neveu, called Trinqueau, and N. Coqueau were called from Chambord to Amboise in order to give their opinions there,²⁶¹. The query of H. de la Valliere, whether this concerned the removal of the old fortress or already referred to the new buildings is answered by the preceding.

Note 261. See Chevalier, Les Archives d'Amboise.

In consequence of the war and the captivity of the king, the works were interrupted for about 27 months, but were again commenced on Oct. 1, 1526. The superintendence of the entire undertaking was now entrusted to a new commission, that continued for 15 years without change. There were 1300 workmen constantly employed on the building. During the period of 1526-1536, the exterior of the Chateau must have been substantially erected.²⁶² Yet long afterwards work proceeded on additions and rebuilding, certainly on a smaller scale; from 1531-1535, the king expended annually 60,000 livres for the building.

Note 262. It is intelligible, how this view accords with the

statement, that Antoine de Troyes undertook the building of the towers and of the rectangular pavilion of the donjon, which is that by this is meant the portions above the cornice, thus the attic, the roofs, the rich dormer windows and chimneys.

About 1534, the roofs arose under the supervision of Maugyn Bonneau, master carpenter of the building of Chambord, and the lead required for covering the same was produced on the spot. Antoine de Troyes worked in 1537-1538 on the completion and equipment of the terraces,²⁶³ and at the end of Dec. 1539, when the emperor Charles V visited the Chateau at Chambord, the portion of the Chateau called the donjon was already completed.²⁶⁴ After frequent changes, the "superintendence" was transferred in the year 1543 to a woman, Anne Gedoyne, and in the following year was concluded the contract for the building of a stairway above the already dressed parts, and which was to be decorated externally by columns and to end in a lantern, which latter was to be crowned by a lily, and caryatids were to be added to it. Yet since there is 3 and not 6 windows in the central stairway, and since caryatids are wanting there, this description may perhaps suit the stairway reproduced in Fig. 83, and judging from the remains, which formerly bore an addition at top (the great lily); its style would better conform to the date of 1544, than that of the lantern. This agreement was made with Coqueau and purports, that the stairway is to be after his design and arrangement, -- the first indication in the architectural history of the Chateau at Chambord, which refers to a master producing a design. The style thereof is also already progressive; it almost belongs to the high Renaissance.

Note 263. "For the perfect harmony of the terraces and other buildings of Chambord?" (J. de Troy. p. 80).

Note 264. In reference to the contract of 1544, J. de Troy believes, that the lantern had not then been completed; but this contract evidently relates to the other stairway represented in Fig. 83 and not to that in Fig. 81.

Capitals of the pilasters of the first terrace of the lantern above the general terrace of the donjon bear the date of 1533; this does not prevent the completion of the lantern in

1534 or 1535. Some of these capitals exhibit a certain peculiarity in such expressive manner, that one is almost compelled to ascribe them to a carver, who had worked in Milan under Bramante and Garadosso. On the side of the lantern next the street of Blois, on the capital of the pier at the right of the middle pier towards Blois, there is wrought a characteristic head instead of the elsewhere usual rosette, with a thin treatment of the neck after the manner of Garadosso, in which I am tempted to see a portrait of Bramante. On one place on the lantern may be read the name "Aristo (?) Milanese" and the date 15-3"; the third indecipherable figure seems most likely to be 3. On another place is found the inscription "Malleteste 1540."

In the year 1550, a number of beams and rotten floors had to be replaced.

Since a site for the chateau was chosen in the marshy valley of the Cosson, to canalize the river, to build on piles, to drain the swamps, and to fill the moats of the Chateau with running water.

We know nothing of the beginning of these works. In the year 1527 or 1528, the king had the engineer Pietro Caccia (Pierre Caste) come from Novara,²⁶⁵ who was to study the grand project, whether the entire Loire, -- as some maintained, -- or only a portion thereof could be conducted to the Chateau at Chambord. Meantime men were satisfied with straightening the Cosson within the length of the park, making it navigable and leading it past the Chateau, further draining the surroundings by means of a canal towards Chaussee-le-Comte. These works were also carried on by the building commission of the chateau (about 1530-1540); but since the chateau was inundated by high water, alterations must have been made in the completed buildings.

Note 265. Louis II of Orleans had in 1496 already had two members of this family come to France. (J. de Croy. p. 177).

After 1544, these hydraulic works were carried on by another Italian, Paul de Breignan, called Paul the Italian or Paul,²⁶⁶ who according to Italian custom also had to superintend the cattle and cheese-making. He died in 1551 without having brought the canalization to an end. This was also nev-

never entirely completed afterwards, and the consequence was, that the water remained stagnant in the moats, which were filled up under Stanislaus. Thereby the appearance of the chateau became heavier.

Note 266. Not to be confounded with Pierre Paul, called the Italian, who died in 1535 in Fontainebleau, and was employed in S. Germain.

123. Executive Masters of the Chateau at Chambord.

In reference to the executive masters of the chateau and the other persons engaged on the buildings, the following important notices occur.

In 1524, Pierre Nepveu, called Trinqueau, and Denis Sourdeau are named as master masons having charge of the building of Chambord. The one first named had worked in 1508 in a subordinate position in Amboise, and Denis Sourdeau, who was at least the executive master of the wing of Francis I at the Chateau of Blois.

In 1526, as an expert at Orleans, Denis Sourdeau is cited as master mason and stonecutter, living in the city of Blois, and having charge of the works in masonry for the king our master at Chambord. Before the year 1533, he had replaced his father as "master of the works of the county of Blois", and he died on May, 15, 1534.

On Dec. 12, 1536, Pierre Nepveu held in fee a cellar cut in the rock beneath the chateau, and on Jan. 17, 1537, he possessed a piece of ground of 4 arpents in the farm of la Rodine, likewise pertaining to the barony of Amboise. On April 25, 1538, Pierre Nepveu replaced Antoine de Troyes as comptroller.

Of Jacques Coqueau it is known, that in 1527 with Gonnyn Collombet, he stood at the head of the best paid masons. It appears that he replaced Denis Sourdeau after his death. On Aug. 27, 1533, after the demise of Trinqueau, he became the first master mason in the workshops at Chambord. In the year 1544, a contract concerning the external crowning structure of the central stairway (or the angle stairway; see Art. 122 and Fig. 133) was concluded with Jacques Coqueau, master mason of said buildings, according to the design and arrangement made by said master mason. In 1549, he was called as an expert and was designated as master mason of Chambord, and on Nov.

7 of the same year, he was appointed comptroller and master of the works of the county.

In the year 1556, Coqueau was called to Chenonceau to measure the bridge there and to fix the price for the works on it. In the same year, he worked on the design and the estimate of cost for the gardener's dwelling at Blois; he was named comptroller for the king in his city of Blois and master mason on his chateau of Chambord, receiving as master mason of the king, to have charge, make designs and estimates for the masonry and carpentry, a salary of 400 livres. Coqueau died at the end of 1569. On Jan. 26, 1570, his nephew Claude Sourdeau was appointed master of the works of the county of Blois, and in the corresponding documents it is stated, that he had supplied the place of his uncle for 8 or 9 years during his illness and infirmities.

The following is known concerning the building organization.

Francois de Pontoriant, lord of Villate, who was sent to Ferrara in 1576, was for more than 20 years superintendent of the buildings at Blois and Amboise, also of those at Chambord after Sept., 1519. He was at the same time captain of the Chateau, bailiff and governor of Blois, and he constantly traveled with the royal family. Soon after his appointment at Chambord, he was replaced by Matnurin Viart and Pierre du Douet, and he died on Sept. 11, 1521. Likewise the superintendence of the gardens of the chateau at Blois was entrusted to him.²⁶⁷

Note 267. See Groy, J. De. p. 20-21, 32-34, 37, 42-45, 61, 66, 99, 116.

Antoine de Troyes was in 1522 comptroller of the works on the Chateau at Chambord. Already in the year 1517, he occupied the same position on the Chateau at Amboise. In 1520-1521, he was clerk for keeping accounts and making payments for the repairs of the dikes and levees of the Loire and the Cher. On March 29, 1537, he undertook by contract the building of the towers and the rectangular pavilion of the donjon, and in 1537-1538 the perfect agreement of the terraces and the other buildings of Chambord, and two days after the conclusion of this contract, he resigned his former office of comptroller.

In the year 1534, Maugyn Bonneau is designated as master

carpenter of the building of Chambord. Six years later, Jacques Coqueau was "master mason, employed to build and superintend the masonry of the said edifices", Guillaume de Heurteulx was first stonecutter (master of stonecutting), and Raymond Soret kept the accounts of the masons and laborers.

In the year 1550, the master carpenter, Pierre de Soursieres, living at Blois, furnished the estimate and drawing of the carpentry required for the chapel, that the king was then completing at the Chateau of Chambord, according to this, he appears to have made the drawing and design for the carpentry of the roof.

The mason Goussyn Collombet was a veteran of the royal workshops. About 1498, he was taken from compassion by a master mason named Bonnet and was instructed by him in his trade; he came in 1519 at the age of 22 or 23 years to Blois, and he worked without interruption for 30 years in Chambord.²⁶⁸ In 1527, with Jacques Coqueau, he found himself among the best paid masons.

Note 268. See de Groy. p. 74.

Of Denis Sourdeau (1519 ?), Pierre Neveu, called Tringueau (1524-1538), Jean Gobereau and Jacques Coqueau, masters also mentioned by Palustre,²⁶⁹ according to all the best known statements, in my opinion not one deserves designation as a designing chief master. This opinion of mine is based on the following facts:--

Note 269. In *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 205. Paris. 1892.

1. Jacques Coqueau, designated as master mason, received daily 27 sous 6 d, but from 1556 as master mason of the king, having charge of, making drawings and estimates for masonry and carpentry, a yearly salary of 400 livres.²⁷⁰ From this salary and his employment it results, that he must have been given a higher position than that of master mason with daily wages of 27 sous 6 d. Since Pierre Tringueau only received the latter wage, it is to be assumed, that this was also not the position of the designing master, entrusted with the highest supervision, but that this was transferred to a personage, who probably also received a salary of 400 livres, and who is not clearly recognized now, or at least in recent times.

Note 270. See Felibien. p. 35.

2. Opposed to the assumption that Pierre Trinquenau was the designing creator of the Chateau at Chambord appears the fact, that in the last years of his life, he was comptroller of the works at Chambord, indeed in place of Antoine de Troyes, who was no longer suitable for exercising such functions, after he had in the preceding year (1537) undertaken an active part in the erection of the donjon. The position of comptroller, even as a place for life, hardly admits of being regarded as worthy of the designing and for a long time superintending a architect of the Chateau at Chambord.²⁷¹

Note 271. See de Croy. p. 79, 80.

3. Concerning this question, there seems to be indicated a comparison with what is known of the position and salary of the leading personage employed on the nearly contemporaneous building of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris. The following summary affords the points required for this.

On the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, therefore after 1532, Boccador, who made the design for it and superintended the building, received 250 livres in addition to 240 paid him by the king; Chambiges, stonecutter, mason and dorman of workmen, received daily 25 sous, and Arselin, master of works of the city and clerk to the superintendence of carpentry, received 75 livres.

At the building of the Chateau at Chambord (between 1527 and 1530), Pierre Trinquenau, master mason with charge and superintendence of the buildings, was daily paid 27 sous and 6 d, Denis Sourdeau, who had charge of the masonry of the said edifices received 20 sous, and Jean Gobreau, master mason also having charge of another portion of the said buildings, likewise received 20 sous.

The fact that the masters at Chambord here mentioned were all at daily wages and did not receive a yearly salary, furnishes indications against the assumption, that Trinquenau was the designing master. Compare the wages of 27 sous 6 d, that Trinquenau, and for a time also Coqueau received, with the 25 sous that Chambiges was paid daily, and it is probable that Trinquenau's position in Chambord was just as little that of a chief architect, as this happened for Chambiges at the Hot-

Hotel-de-Ville, who was under the supervision of Domenico da Cortona. It is further quite accurately known, that Boccador not only worked out a design for the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, but at least 12 years earlier one for the Chateau of Chambord, whose essential parts, excepting the stairway, were indeed essentially executed. Thus it is very like, that Boccador took an important part in the designing of the buildings of this chateau, and perhaps the leading one.

124. Designing Masters of the Chateaus on the Loire.

Concerning the manner in which the monuments in question originated, the different sections of mouldings afford some conclusions. The moulding profiles on the Chateaus at Blois, Bury, Chambord and Chenonceau, as well as at Amboise and Tours, frequently exhibit a general character, as if they came from the same master, from one master, whose single function and peculiarity may have consisted in lending to the works mentioned the Italian character of the new style. One might perhaps say, that we also have to do with the pupils of one and the same master, who in the style of the latter were busied on the different chateaus in a harmonious way.

If on the one hand one considers the beautiful movement and the living fullness of many of these profiles, the faultless certainty, with what power of lines, extreme delicacy and grace of projection, the successive members are connected, forming a characteristic part of the monuments in question, and on the other hand compares these results with those of the later profiles of Lescot in the famous court of the Louvre, where in spite of all nobility and of all technical perfection, one feels a certain uncertainty in the projection of the cornices and a frequently less firm connection of the members in the profiles; hence the conclusion must follow, that the profiles on the chateaus on the Loire erected by the king or his minister (Robertet in Bury), were designed and arranged from a central point, and that in the years 1515-1530, the master concerned must have been an Italian. If one conceives this central place as at first in Amboise, later in Blois, in which places Domenico da Cortona successively dwelt, this would fit very well into many relations, proved by documents to exist between the masters at Chambord, Blois and Amboise. T

This would likewise indicate a master, such as Domenico, who was a master of wood construction on both a large and a small scale (maker of chateaus and joiner), likewise a maker of models and also improviser of festal decorations for special festivals. (Compare Art. 71). Such a function of at least partial supervision would further correspond to the title of valet-de-chambre and of cabinet-maker to the queen (Art. 71), that the master mentioned here already possessed on June 5, 1512, as the owner of a house in Blois.²⁷²

Note 272. In 1528, Francis I entrusted to his two ordinary valets de chambre Pierre Paul (called the Italian) and Pierre Deshostels the closing of the contracts, according to their opinions, advice, control, as clerks to reside at our said buildings, to hasten and press their completion, superintend and estimate for them, to oversee and control the costs, the materials and the expenses, that are appropriate, and to certify to and control the same, all for the Chateaus at Fontainebleau, Madrid, Livry and S. Germain, the Louvre and Villers-Cotterets.

125. Boccador and the Court Architect's Office at Blois.

A central office fixed in Blois, from which the execution of the different profiles was carried on, would likewise suit the central functions of Francois de Pontoriant, who for 20 years exercised from Blois the supervision of the royal buildings there, as well as in Amboise and in Chambord likewise, and as Captain of the Chateau and Governor of Blois, he was in constant intercourse with the royal family and learned to know their wishes. This consequently leads to the conclusion, that the drawings for the subdivisions employed on the frequently mentioned chateaus, and even the working out of the entire designs was carried on in a kind of central royal architect's office.

But one may also assume, -- and this seems to me especially probable, -- that in this court architect's office a French master also worked together with Domenico da Cortona, or that both commenced to each prepare a separate design, and that both designs were combined together. As such a fellow-worker of Domenico, Jacques Sourdeau might have been just suitable, not only on account of the offices held by him, but since his

son Denis was found in combination with Trinqureau as the oldest masters of Chambord, and also that in 1570 Claude Sourdeau succeeded his uncle Jacques Coqueau in the superintendence of the buildings, after having represented him for years in Chambord.

Such a court architect's office existing in Blois as the "bureau" of Domenico would also correspond to the nature of a royal architect of the king, already mentioned in Art. 72. This would further explain that hitherto only two statements exist concerning models for the Chateau at Chambord; the one made by Domenico between 1516 and 1531, who then lived in Blois, the other that Felibien saw in Blois. The entirely Italian arrangement of the stairway in the latter being compared with the above mentioned facts, permits it to not appear improbable that even this also refers to the model of Domenico. It is now expressly known, that the latter was prepared at the command of the king, and that this Domenico was granted a high recompense from his secret expenses for this and other works. Therefore it is likewise probable, that the life architect of the king embodied in this model the ideas received directly from Francis I or through Francois de Pontbriant. This direct participation of the king would decidedly contribute toward explaining the unusual in all occurrences during the building of the Chateau at Chambord as well as many things in its appearance.

The preceding analysis strengthens in a high degree the conjectures expressed in Art. 73. It would be difficult to not regard the life architect of Louis XII and of Francis I as the sole, or at least as the chief designer and frequently interfering master of the Chateau at Chambord, and of the wing of Francis I at Blois. Perhaps in the court architect's office at Blois also originated the design for the Hotel de Ville at Paris, that was produced by Domenico, and which the king ordered to be executed in 1532.

4. Masters.

126. Chanoiges.

Besides the preceding architects, already occasionally mentioned in the description of the royal Chateaus at Amboise, Blois and Chambord, yet other architects are enumerated in

the following, which either belong to the more important masters of the style of Francis I, or which at least the investigation of the new school strives to bring forward as such.

a. Pierre I. Chambiges, probably Martin's son, died on June 15 or 19, 1544. It has vainly been sought to prove that he was the master of the Hotel de Ville at Paris.

In 1509, he worked on the Cathedral at Troyes, whose chief architect was Martin, and which was under the superintendence of Jean de Soissons, the brother-in-law of Pierre.

In 1519, in place of his father, he inspected the buildings of the Cathedral at Troyes, as well as later in 1531-1532.

In 1533, he worked under Domenico da Cortona on the Hotel de Ville at Paris for wages of 25 sous daily.²⁷³

Note 273. Serlio received in 1542, when he worked abroad, 20 sous for diet, besides his annual salary of 400 livres.

In 1536, as master of the works in masonry and of the pavement of the city of Paris, he inspected the fortifications.

In 1538-1539, as master of the works of the king in the bailliwick of Sens, he had from the king the order to prepare models and plans for buildings, that he intended near Hotel de Nesle at Paris for founding the College of the three Languages.

In 1539, as master of works in masonry of the city of Paris, he concluded contracts for buildings at the Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye, for all the masonry.

On Sept. 22, 1541, he closed a contract for works on the Chateau la Muette (near S. Germain), but not indeed for that near Passy, as Lance writes, also for the masonry at Fontainebleau and at S. Germain.

^{127.} Sambin.
b. Hugues Sambin enjoys especial fame in Dijon, because to him is ascribed there the both massive and interesting facade of the Church S. Michael.

Palustre does not believe that Sambin was in condition to draw this facade, whose side portals were already completed in 1537; much more only after 1564, that he could take part in the extension of the same, and especially in the decoration of the tympanum and the deep vaulting of the middle doorway. In opposition to this it is to be stated, that a contemporary of Sambin, the elder Du Cerceau, whose works at least

extend from 1533 to 1534, -- according to their stylistic development, that challenges comparison with those of Sambin, -- was indeed capable of drawing a facade like that of S. Michael at Dijon; his design for Church S. Eustache at Paris (See Fig. 156) proves this, and therefore for stylistic reasons and on account of the character of his later works, one should not too quickly exclude Sambin's authorship of the facade.

Our master is further known on account of the series of hermes composed, engraved and published by him.²⁷⁴ They already exhibit all the excesses of a luxuriant fancy in the style of Wendel Dietterlein or of certain tasteless furniture by Du Cerceau.

Note 274. Work on the diversity of terms employed in architecture reduced to order by master Hugues Sambin, architect of the City of Dijon. Lyons. 1572.

128. Bachelier.

c. Nicolas Bachelier,²⁷⁵ born June 17, 1485, died about 1572, was the son of an Italian of the name of Bachaliere from Lucca, who was a pupil of Brunellesco and settled in Toulouse about 1480. It appears that while young, Nicolas was sent to Italy, where he studied under Michelangelo and about 1510 returned to Toulouse. However little his actual part may be proved in the works ascribed to him, still it appears certain, that he was the actual and intellectual leader of the artistic development of Toulouse in the 16th century. On Aug. 24, 1555, he was designated in a direction for works on the Capitol at Toulouse as master mason or master carver of images.

Note 275. We here follow the corresponding Article of Maurice du Seigneur in Planat (Vol. 2, p. 208) without being able to test the accuracy of the statement.

The only two works certainly due to Bachelier are:--

1. The gateway of the Seminary de l'Esquille, rue du Tour at Toulouse.

2. The gate de la Commutation there, which originally formed the gate of the Capitol, and has now changed its place a second time, when it has been transferred to the Jardin des Plantes at Toulouse.²⁷⁶

Note 276. See Construction Moderne, 3rd year, p. 182.

In the succeeding tolerably comprehensive list of works ascribed to Bachelier, modern investigations are inclined to regard scarcely any of them as due to him, indeed chiefly on account of the difference of the style. Yet here as in the preceding Art., we might warn against overhasty steps, since for a master that became so old, very similar changes of style must occur, as for Du Cerceau.

As due to Bachelier may be designated:--

1. Chateau Assier in Quercy.
2. Church at Assier (begun 1545) with the Mausoleum of Galliot de Genouillnac.
3. Chateau Montal near Sant-Cere. (Begun 1534).
4. Chateau Castelnau de Bretenoux.
5. Two bas-reliefs in the Church of Grande Observance at Toulouse.
6. Bas-reliefs in the Church of Cordeliers there.
7. Figures of the inner portal of the Hotel de Ville. there.
8. Figures of Hotel de Castellan there.
9. Sculptures of the facade of Palace du Magnier there. (Also called Hotel de Lasbordes.
10. Caryatids of Palace Saint-Jaury there.
11. Altar in the nave of Church S. Etienne there, ostensibly his masterpiece.
12. Altar in Church of Peres de la Trinity there.
13. High altar and the portico decorated by high reliefs in the Church Notre Dame de la Dalbade there.
14. Bridge Saint-Rubra there, begun 1543, continued by his son Dominique, and completed in 1601 by P. Souffron.

Some assert that Bachelier died at the court of Philip II.

129. De l'Espine.

d. Jean de l'Espine, or de Lespine, born in 1505 at Angers and died there in 1576, according to Palustre was entrusted with continuing the work on the facade of Hotel de Prince at Angers, and according to Lance, he filled in this city the office of a commissary of repairs. Palustre calls him the celebrated Jean de Lespine and holds him to be the personification of the Renaissance in Anjou, so to speak.

Bell-towers (La Trinite at Angers, Beaufort-en-Valee, Les Rosiers) are chiefly due to this master; yet he likewise built

Chateau "de Vergers" in the Commune de Seiches on the left bank of the Loire.

In 1540 and 1544, de l'Espine was engaged on the domical structure between the towers of the Cathedral at Angers, on which he worked after 1533.

According to R. Dom de la Tremblay,²⁷⁷ the same master built in 1536 the courtyard and the chartrier of the Hotel de Ville at Angers with its portal in 1543, also in 1558 the audience hall and the great hall of the President there, and in 1561 and 1565, he conducted the festivities for the reception of kings Henry II and Charles IX.

130. Sohier.

Hector Sohier is regarded as the master of the beautiful and interesting radiating chapels of the choir of Church S. Pierre in Caen.

131. Other Masters.

Lance²⁷⁸ also mentions the following masters, who worked under Francis I:--

Note 278. Lance, A. dictionnaire des Architectes Francais. Paris. 1873.

Louis Caqueton; worked in 1529-1533 on the Hotel de Ville at Paris at the same time as Boccador.

Andree Colombeau; had charge in 1518 of building the Church du Brou near Bourg; Philippe de Chartres worked under this master.

Jacques Coqueau. (See Art. 123).

Antoine Fontant at La Rochefoucault.

Various members of the Francois family are mentioned in Tours; Bastien, Gatien, Jean I and Martin; Bastien Francois must have built the cloister of Church S. Martin there.

Guillaume Lissorges, called the Deaf de Bournazel, built in 1533 the portal, the gallery, and the pilasters of the court in the Chateau at Graves, he was perhaps pupil and successor of Baduel.

Pierre Palangier erected in 1514-1524 the Church and the Tower at Belmont-en-Vabrais.

Jean Paris, called Thouvenin, was employed in 1541 and 1547 as master of works in the duchy of Lorraine, and in 1541 on the building of the Palace at Nancy.

From Palustre's work mentioned below,²⁷⁹ the following list of architects is collected, without desiring to support the correctness of Palustre's opinions.

Note 279. L'Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892.
Blaise le prestre (priest).

Antoine Jovillon -- Chateau La Bastie (1535-1555).

Nicolas Godinet -- wing of Francis I on Palace Archbishop at Sens.(1535).

Mathurin Berthome -- Hotel de Ville at Niort (1532-1535).

Jehan Beaudoin -- Hotel de Ville at Loches.

Gilles Le Breton -- employed in Fontainebleau (1523-1547).

Jacques and Guillaume Le Breton -- royal apartments at Villars-Cotterets.(After 1532).

Vaultier and Gilles Agasse -- forecourt at Villars-Cotterets.(1559).

Etienne Rousseau -- apparently in Azay-le-Rideau.(1516-1524).

Charles Billard, more correctly Villard -- apparently employed on Chateau at Ecouen (1532 til about 1550).

Guillaume Pellevoisin -- later Hotel Cujas at Bourges (1555).

Pierre Lemercier -- apparently on Church S. Eustache at Paris (after 1532) and Church S. Maclou at Pontoise.

Mathurin Delaborde -- choir chapels of Church Notre Dame d des Marais at Ferte-Bernard.(1535-1544).

Jean Gendre and Jean Odonne -- completion of tower of Church at Bressuire.(1538).

Gerard Faulchot -- beginning of the building of Church S. Nicolas at Troyes.(1518).

Jehan Faulchot, son of the preceding,-- continuation of the building of this church.(1535).

Pierre Hamon -- cloister of Church des Cordeliers at Paris.(1539-1540).

Francois Marchand-- Cathedral at Chartres (after 1534); with Jehan Bernardeau, the roodloft in Church S. Pierre there.(1540-1543).

Jean Bernardeau-- see the above mentioned architects.

Martin Claustre-- Tomb of Charlotte d'Albert at la Mothe-Feuilly (about 1520).

Ligier-Richer-- Tomb of Philippine of Gueldres, consort of duke Renatus II of Lorraine at Nancy.(1543).

Grapin--see the masters of the High Renaissance(under d).

c. Moment of most charming Bloom.

(Style of Margaret of Valois).

About 1535 - 1545.

132. Transition to the High Renaissance.

Before entering upon the introduction of these steps in the development of French architecture, which is termed the High Renaissance, the intermediate phases should be considered in detail, that form the transition from the early to the high Renaissance. To make these especially prominent must be justified by artistic reasons, although this period has not yet received a special name in the usual designations of the styles in France. (Style Regency, Style Pompadour, etc.). This may therefore be omitted, since such periods, in which art has unfolded the greatest bloom, are as a rule of brief duration, perhaps for the reason, that because during the period in question no individual architectural work of the first rank was executed in the capital, its lesser works have disappeared, and only fragments of the other monuments exist, scattered in the provinces.

And yet this epoch of transition is characterized by elements, which lend to French Renaissance architecture the highest charm; the alliance of individual, fresh, creative imagination with living and conclusive application of general principles. We might therefore assign to this the designation of "Style of Marguerite de Valois" in memory of the sister of Francis I, whom the latter was accustomed to call the Marguerite of Marguerites, since the period of her influence just coincides with the same phase, as the refined tendency of her mind harmonizes with the climax of the bloom.

This period has produced two different groups of structures. In the first one, the composition still adheres to those of the early Renaissance, but it is refined from all doubtful and overloaded elements; the details indeed still belong to the early Renaissance, yet are treated in the noble spirit of the high Renaissance. In the second group, the architectural works are already treated in the spirit and in the forms of the high Renaissance (of the Style of Henry II); yet in the details everywhere appears the youthful freshness and love of ornament of the early Renaissance in the way peculiar to them.

133. Examples of the First Tendency.

Of the monuments belonging to the first group may be mentioned here: the cloister of Church des Celestins at Paris, between 1539 and 1549 and torn down in 1847, ostensibly the work of Pierre Hamon; the chapels of Church S. Jacques at Rheims;²⁸⁰ parts of Churches S. Pierre at Loudun, at Sarcelles and at Belloy; to a certain degree, the facade of the Church at Luzarches; the court of Hotel de Mauroy at Troyes and of Hotel d'Acoville at Caen, parts of the facade of Church Notre Dame at Tonnerre, but especially a portion of Church S. Pierre there; the portals at Neuvy-Santour and at Epernay, illustrated in Figs. 157 and 158; further, judging from representations, the ruins of the Abbey of Valmont near Fecamp (Fig. 88); lastly the so-called House of Francis I at Orleans. (Fig. 292).

Note 280. Illustrated in Lübke, Fig. 126.

Among the numerous drawings of this period as well as among the engravings of Du Cerceau, and especially those produced in 1540-1560, many show that the already mentioned climax in the bloom of French architecture actually existed.²⁸¹

Note 281. Among the engravings under the eyes of the author, and which are reproduced in his work "Les Du Cerceau" (Paris. 1887) are especially prominent, a dormer window (Fig. 78), which usually occurs in the series of Du Cerceau's furniture, and the drawing for a well (Fig. 84), where four jugs are placed around a central larger one.

In the realm of decoration, the phase of French architecture in question shows us, how the splendid use of ornamentation by Raphael and by Giovanni da Udine and also of the Milanese-Bramante manner, as it appears on certain parts of Church S. Marie delle Grazie at Milan and of the Cathedral at Como, could combine with the France spirit in entire harmony, how it was accepted by the latter with sparkling vivacity, without obtaining supremacy and leading into byways by overloaded and capricious conceits.

To this extremely charming period likewise belongs Du Cerceau's smaller "Livre de Grotesques" (Orleans, 1550, 1562), in which he appears to be inspired by Bramante, Nicoletto da Modena, and by masters of their time.

The style tendency of this first group of architectural works expresses in manifold ways with tolerable accuracy those in the second manner of Bramante, as this may be found in the Canonica di S. Ambrogio at Milan and in the court of the Cancelleria at Rome. But on the contrary, the second group, the corresponding Italian phase is represented by such buildings as the interior of the choir of the Cathedral at Como, the forecourt of the Church S. Maria presso S. Felso at Milan, the little facade in the court of Palace Doge at Venice by Guglielmo Bergamasco, the vestibule to the sacristy of Church S. Spirito at Florence, the facade of the Church at Abbiate Grasso, and the Church Madre di Piazza at Busto Arsizio.

134. Examples of the Second Tendency.

Among the executed architectural works of this second group, it would not be easy to name a large one of this style. Were the two capitals of the Cathedral at Toul (Figs. 136, 191), only somewhat more refined in proportions and in details, the first place would indeed be conceded to them. Elsewhere are to be named, to a certain degree, the Chapel S. Romain at Rouen (Fig. 34) and the two columns of Jean Goujon in the same city. On the Fountain des Innocents at Paris and in the court of the Louvre there, the phase in question is already overpassed.

In the domain of decorative works, reference may be made in the chapel at Ecouen to a high balustrade of the organ gallery and the press with the door in the wooden paneling, now transferred to the chapel at Chantilly; both are works of Jean Goujon. Also to be named are the latter's caryatid porch in the Louvre, the older of his doors in Church S. Maclou at Rouen and in the Cathedral there, as well as the upper frieze of the Tomb of Breze.

This phase of French architecture likewise occurs in the drawings and engravings of Du Cerceau. No executed architectural work indeed exhibits more classical cooler, and more vivid mouldings, whose members are animated by scrollwork and ornaments of unusually refined movement, than are to be found in some places of his work "Details d'Ordres d'Architecture."²³²

Note 282. See Geymüller, H. de. Les Du Cerceau etc. Figs. 82, 83 and p. 314. Paris. 1887.

d. High Renaissance.

(Style Henry II).

About 1540 (or (1545) to 1570.

135. Characteristics.

If one compares the monuments of the French high Renaissance, which might be named the classical epoch of the 16 th century, with those of the preceding step in development, they then appear as the natural results of steady logical work proceeding from the new spirit, which about the end of the 15 th century began to penetrate into French architecture from Italy. The constant increase of Italian-Antique elements and the unbroken disappearance of Gothic must lead thereto.

After the details of Italo-Antique art were first introduced, and later also the larger forms likewise, such as doors, windows and columnar orders, men gradually came to the moment, when it was sought to treat the general composition and even the design also, so far as native opinions permitted, as much as possible in the character of Bramante's high Renaissance, which dominated Italy during the first half of the 16 th century through the pupils of that master. The application of this programme to French conditions, its development with French spirit, -- these are the characteristic ideas of the High Renaissance of France.

It deserves to be made prominent, that what was accomplished in the realm of architecture was repeated in other intellectual domains. Words like the following by Henri Martin,²⁸³ might just as well relate to the development of architecture.

Note 283. In *Histoire de France depuis les Temps les plus reculés jusqu' en 1789*. Vol. 9. p. 2. Paris. 1833-1836. 4 th edition. Paris. 1846-1860.

He writes that with the reign of Henry II rose yet higher the splendor of the fine arts (letters). France had no rival in the knowledge of antiquity, the College de France and the School of Bourges for Roman Law controlled the learning of a all Europe. Robert and Henri Etienne published at Geneva their *Thesaurus* in the Latin and Greek languages.

After Alciati, the creator of historical and archaeological method, comes Cujas, the great jurist of the Renaissance, who had one social ideal, the conviction of the superiority of R

Roman and antique principles to the feudal; posterity has justified him. Roman law, modified according to the needs of a modern society and combined with the best elements of customs, is the chief element of French legislation.

By the Lombard Condon, algebra made important advances. Franz Viète from Poitou introduced letters as general symbols of magnitude.

136. Increase of Italian Influence.

Henri Martin says further, that at the court of Francis I, Italian was familiar to all, and under the influence of this language, even the pronunciation of French at once began to change. Then arose Italianized French, as Spanishized French occurred at the end of the 16th century.

Among the attendants of Catharine de Medici, the consort of the later king Henry II, Italians were found in great numbers, who were very influential at the court and introduced a multitude of Italian words into the court speech. The soldiers, who had remained long in Piedmont and Tuscany, did the same in their circles. In the domain of fortification, the Italian engineers (ingegneri) played an entirely leading part. The prolonged influence of Catharine herself, especially in the second half of the high Renaissance, was so important, that Antyenne-Saint-Paul preferred the designation of Style Catherine to Style Henry II and Charles IX, not only because she almost exactly corresponds in time with the duration of this style tendency, but on account of the personal influence of the queen and her participation, that was much greater, than that of her husband and their three sons. It was this, as Saint-Paul says further, besides a recognition of the part, which a series of superior women had played in art, as well as in the development and application of architecture, as Palladio has clearly proved.

Whichever of these designations may be employed, one thing should never be forgotten; the transformation of the early Renaissance, and the origin of the high Renaissance, were entirely completed under Francis I in the 5 to 10 last years of his reign. Under him was the design of the Louvre decided upon, and the building was begun in the year of his death.

1. Group of the five most prominent Architects.

137. Most distinguished Architects.

The French high Renaissance was embodied on the one hand by the erection of the court of the Louvre and by the school at Fontainebleau, on the other by the group of its five most prominent architects, namely:-- Jean Goujon, until now chiefly known as France's greatest sculptor, Pierre Lescot, Jean Bullant and Philibert de l'Orme. Born at the same time and heretofore almost exclusively mentioned as a painter, Primaticcio was added to them, while Serlio's influence, which was indeed very considerable, was chiefly caused by his writings. An entirely separate place belongs to Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau, unwearied in his numberless engravings and works, in which he circulated the forms of the new art in France, a according to all appearance the creator of two famous chateaus and at the same time father of two generations of important architects.

138. Increase of Italian Influence.

Although we stand before five great French architects, yet neglecting their nationality, the fact that they all completed their training in Italy is further evidence of the progress of Italian architecture in France. Whoever is more intimately acquainted with the works of Italian architects in the years 1480-1550, will everywhere recognize, that the five architects mentioned stood in intimate intellectual intercourse and connection with the pupils in the last manner of Bramante, Antonio da Sangallo, Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, Sanmicheli and Alessi, who indisputably dominated architecture in Italy until 1547. Just like these six Italians, these five Frenchmen must be designated essentially as pupils of the still so little known "last manner" of Bramante.

Also this golden period of the French Renaissance did not result so badly as its older and nobler sister in Italy, yet it was injured in its finest expression by the religious wars and the corruption of manners. To obtain an idea of the nobility and variety of the picture presented by the architecture of the high Renaissance in both countries is only permitted to the few architects, who have the time to seek out the separate and scattered fragments, and to restore them in a certain sense by comparison as well as by the help of original

designs, so far as such still exist. The Judgment of Henri Martin in his "Histoire de France" is therefore entirely just, when he says:-- "The elegant architecture of the second period of the Renaissance, the purely Italian, scarcely survived the generation of De l'Orme, Lescot and Bullant; the school founded by Francis I died with Catherine de Medici." The latter came to France in 1533 and died there in 1589.

In a peculiar way there also occurred in the same years of 1530-1536, in which the five great French masters chiefly returned from Italy, phenomena and events farreaching in religious and intellectual domains, and which penetrate deeply into the character of that epoch, and must aid in determining its fate. We refer to the appearance of the works of Rabelais,²⁸⁴ the vow of Ignatius Loyola on Montmartre in 1534, and the appearance of Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion". (Basle. 1535). In these phenomena occurring on the threshold of the high Renaissance, we not only descry the standards around which were arranged the highest intellectual interests of that period; but the two last mentioned occurrences are also the sources from which streams of blood later poured over all France, and after more than thirty years of war, placed in question the unity of the state. These contests not only drove the high Renaissance to a too sudden end, but they also cast their shadows on the succeeding century and frequently even to the present time.

Note 284. Les grandes et inestimable Croniques du grant et enorme Geant Gargantua etc. Lyons. 1532. -- 2nd edition without date. -- 3rd edition in 1535.

It is a singular occurrence, that the five famous French architects, whose labors will now be briefly described, all appear to have been born between 1510 and 1515, thus being of nearly equal age. Since it further appears, that several of them were in Italy at the same time, an alliance of comradeship must have been already formed there between them, which may have afforded opportunity for their frequently working together later. The loss of the duchy of Milan may have contributed to thereafter divert the steps of French architects toward Rome.

a. Jean Goujon.

139. Studies of Goujon and of Lescot in Italy.

The facts to be stated now permit me to place Jean Goujon as the earliest master of the High Renaissance, therefore to begin directly with the description of his work.

Jean Goujon, who was probably born in Normandy, and as it appears, died in Bologna between 1564 and 1568, is regarded as the greatest sculptor of France; but he was also an architect.

In the translation of "Vitruvius" by J. Martin,²⁸⁵ he designates himself as studious in architecture. When Martin writes to the king, he calls him therein the former architect of the Constable and now one of his own (i.e. of the king). J. Gardet and Dominique Bertin designate him in their "Epitome de Vitruve" (Paris. 1565) as sculptor and architect of great renown (de grande oruit).

Note 285. Architecture ou Art de bien bastir, de M. Vitruve, mis de Latin en Francoys, par Jean Martin. Paris. 1547. Jan Goujon studieux d'architecture aux lecteurs.

Berty asks the question, who was really the instructor of Goujon, and he is angry with Quatremere de Quincy, because the latter assumes that he must have studied the antique in Italy. If this had been the case, Berty says, that Goujon would certainly not have neglected to mention the fact in the letter found in Martin's "Vitruvius". Certainly Goujon does not do this; but it is no less true, that further circumstances made prominent in this letter prove, that at the beginning of his career, he must necessarily have studied in Italy. But since the same passage also affords proof, that Lescot likewise completed his studies in Italy, the arguments for both masters will be presented together in the following.

That Jean Goujon and Pierre Lescot also applied themselves to their first studies in Italy has been previously assumed by various writers as self-evident, yet without proof; others show with satisfaction that this was not the case. Certainly if the two noblest masters of the France Renaissance had developed their architectural style without coming in contact with the movements of Italy, it might be concluded from this, that the high Renaissance was in a certain degree an indigenous, independent and natural development from the early Renaissance in France. Nevertheless many indications in the works

of these masters are opposed to this view, and likewise to what is known to us concerning the circumstances of the development of other architectural styles.

There are chiefly two sources on which may be based the proofs in question; first a passage of his Commentary on Martin's "Vitruvius", and secondly a series of entirely characteristic examples, from which follows the direct influence of a art works in Italy by Ghiberti, Sansovino, Raphael and Michelangelo.

The passage in Martin's "Vitruvius" referred to states; "A And still today we have in this kingdom of France a Messire Sebastian Serlio, who is very industrious, has written and d drawn much on the rules of Vitruvius, and who was the first to bring to light in the kingdom such instruction". If anyone were in France, who must know exactly what such words meant, that was Goujon, the architect of the Constable, almost the earliest commentator on Vitruvius in France, and its greatest sculptor. Therefore from the passage mentioned may be deduced the following conclusions.

1. Since Serlio was the first, who made France acquainted with the instructions of Vitruvius, one was not previously in France in a position to learn the classic forms of antique architecture according to the rules of Vitruvius; but this was possible in Italy, the native land of Serlio.

2. Yet if Goujon permits it to be understood, that he knew some in France, who were able to explain these rules, they could only have acquired this ability in Italy.

3. Since Goujon names among the latter only Pierre Lescot and Philibert De l'Orme, this is a clear proof, that these two masters certainly studied in Italy.

4. The fact, that Jean Goujon wrote the Commentary on Vitruvius here considered, and who was almost contemporary with Philander, the first Frenchman, who undertook it, is indeed sufficient proof, that he must likewise have acquired the ability for this by studies in Italy.

5. The circumstance, that the Tomo of Preze at Rouen was already built in 1535 in the same classical style, that could have been adapted only in Italy through the teaching of Vitruvius, thus being at a time falling 6 years before Serlio's

arrival in France, and some years earlier, before Philibert De l'Orme began the Chateau at S. Maur, which he himself designates as the first building in the new tendency in France, this circumstance speaks strongly in favor of the authorship of Goujon, who was already the first in France to comment upon and illustrate Vitruvius. It is possible to perhaps also take the evidence for Goujon's stay in Italy from his own words at the close of the description of the Corinthian capital: "On my part, I am well assured, that these capitals are measured correctly. "

We now pass to the second source, which should demonstrate the sojourn of Goujon in Italy:-- to the influence exerted upon him by the art works there, when the middle doors of the Church S. Maclou at Rouen are first to be mentioned, and which exhibit assured characteristics of the presence of Goujon in the native land of the Renaissance. In the medallion representing the Baptism of Christ, not merely the composition, but also the pose of the Baptist and of Christ are without doubt directly taken from the group of Sansovino on the Baptistery at Florence. Even more. The treatment of the body of the Saviour, especially of the legs, even the texture of the flesh, which is so extremely peculiar and characteristic in this work of Sansovino, is reproduced in such an unequalled manner in wood in the medallion referred to, that this could not have occurred to such a degree by means of a drawing, but at most only by a photograph. It is not to be assumed, that casts of such works were then brought to France, so that in this art work must be seen a reliable proof, that Goujon was in Florence and studied most accurately the Christ of Sansovino. But on the contrary, the treatment of the trees and of the angel soaring in the air in the same medallion, the motive of the niches with figures in the borders of the leaves of the door, the small angel's heads in clouds directly recall the famous gates of paradise by Ghiberti; perhaps even the peculiarity, that in the mouldings enclosing the borders, dentils play the dominating part should perhaps indicate Ghiberti's moulding on the Urn of S. Zanobi in the Cathedral at Florence.

But Raphael's influence is not to be neglected. On the left

hand wind of the door mentioned, the figures of doctors standing beside each other on the left beneath the medallion are strongly influenced by the figures of Plato and of Aristotle in the School of Athens; likewise the upper seated woman holding the tables of the law, which recalls Raphael's Sibyls in the Pace at Rome. One of these figures to be found in the B Burial on the former roodloft of the Church S. Germain l'Auxerrois, the Burial by Raphael appears to have suggested.

On the middle door of the Church at S. Maclou, the head of Moses is apparently inspired by one created by Michelangelo for the Tomb of Julius II. Likewise is shown the influence of the Italian masters mentioned, even if with a different interpretation, in an unequivocal way in the figure of the evangelist Luke in so far as concerns the abrupt bending of the right hand, which Michelangelo himself borrowed from Donatello and employed on the wrist of his David in Florence. This apparently entirely unimportant detail is a proof, that Jean Goujon must himself have been in Florence.

By a more careful comparison must be found other recollections of figures of Michelangelo and of other masters, which like those described, prove that Goujon must have remained in Italy for a considerable time.

140. Art Works.

The earliest work of Goujon is the Tomb of Louis Da Breze at Rouen, begun in 1535. His authorship of that has not yet been proved by documents; but a number of reasons make it necessary to recognize this opinion prevailing in Rouen.

In the year 1540 Goujon made the design for a fountain and one for a portal to the Cathedral in Rouen.²⁸⁶ He was designated in 1541 as stonecutter and mason, and then executed the head of Cardinal George II of Amboise, as well as the two columns under the organ loft in church S. Maclou at Rouen. Darcel further writes, that the similarity of these columns to those of the Tomb mentioned has been emphasized, and he thinks, that those, who have seen the nymphs on the Fountain of Innocents, will admit, that certain portions of the doors on Church S. Martin must evidently be by Goujon. To the same year likewise belong two designs for a ciborium for this church.

Note 286. See Darcel in Rouyer's *L'Art Architectural en France*. Vol. 1. p. 24. Paris. 1866.

Goujon worked with Pierre Lescot as carver of images on the destroyed roodloft in church S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris, ²⁸⁷ begun in 1541, and on May 17, 1542, on account of hearing the Lutheran sermon of Geoffroy le Blanc, he was sentenced to do penance publicly in his shirt and barefooted, and to be present at the burning of the latter on Place Maubert at Paris.²⁸⁸ Before 1547 he executed the works for the Chateau at Ecouen, built for the Constable Anne de Montmorency, and he was busied in Paris on the Hotel begun in 1544, now Hotel Carnavalet. As previously stated, Goujon was designated in 1547 in Martin's Vitruvius as former architect of the Constable and then architect of the king (whose service he entered at the end of March), and he composed an illustrated Commentary on this Vitruvius.

Note 287. Goujon's name first occurs in his contract of May 18, 1544; the lost registration extends from Jan. 9, 1545. Before him, two sculptors of the school of Fontainebleau worked here: Symon le Roy and Lorenzo Noldini (Laurent Reynoldini; see Laborde, L. de. Comptes des Batiments du Roi. Vol. 2. p. 282. Paris. 1877.).

Note 288. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francaise. p. 27. 1893.

Goujon was employed in 1547-1549 on the sculptures on the Fountain of Innocents at Paris, and on Sept. 5, 1550, he closed the contract for the four Caryatids in the Louvre. In the year 1553 falls his work on the Chateau at Anet, and on May 17, 1561, he received by the arrangement of Pierre Lescot, the substitute of Goujon, 23 livres for works in sculpture on the Louvre. Goujon fled to Italy in 1562 on account of his religious faith.²⁸⁹ At all events he yet spent the year 1564 in Bologna; in the trial of the Frenchman Penis by the Inquisition (Dec. 9, 1568), he is already designated as dead.²⁹⁰ The name of Jean Goujon disappears from the accounts of the Louvre directly after the order for payment of Sept. 6, 1562, for which the reason is unknown.²⁹¹ Until the year 1884, when it was made known that he lived in Bologna in 1564, it was assumed that he perished in the night of S. Bartholemew (1562).

Note 289. See Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 30 (1884). p. 377; Vol. 31 (1885), p. 5; further, Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francaise. 1886. p. 276.

Note 290. Berty makes prominent the peculiar coincidence of this disappearance with the circumstance, that on account of his heretical faith, Jean Goujon, a worker in wood, was beheaded in the same year in Troyes. -- A de Montaignon raises the question (in *Archives de l'art français*. Series II. V. Vol. 2. p. 392) in reference to certain works executed in 1566 in Anet, whether there was not a second sculptor of this name, and he states (same work, series I, Vol. 6, p. 311), that in the registers of the Chœur of Ecouen Goujons occur, who have nothing in common with the famous master.

Note 291. The glass windows of the Chapel date from the year 1544 and the wooden wainscoting from 1548, -- both now to be found in the Chapel at Chantilly.

On the altar in the chapel of the Chateau at Ecouen (Fig. 137), now to be found in that at Chantilly, sculpture, ornament, and architecture form such an inseparable composition, that it is impossible to believe in the cooperation of two individuals, an architect and a sculptor; much rather must one assume the creation by a single master, who was both sculptor and architect. Since this sculptor was Jean Goujon with entire certainty, we also with absolute certainty stand before an architectural creation of the same master. On the lower half of the altar are the forms freer, and the capitals there are indeed unique for that period in France; they are likewise influenced by the bizarre outlines of Michelangelo. Goujon developed on the upper half of the altar the Doric order again in richer, yet more severe forms, and the enclosure of his Sacrifice of Isaac is one of the most beautiful conceivable examples of the severest and at the same time richest ornamentation of the period of the high Renaissance.

Men were indeed at first inclined to the belief, that the upper half of the altar was due to Jean Bullant, the supposed chief architect of Ecouen; yet by repeated and thorough investigations at the locality, I am convinced of the untenability of this first impression. The rich enclosure mentioned, whose style of ornamentation is allied to the magnificent windows in Lescot's court of the Louvre (Fig. 316), on which it is known that Goujon also worked without Bullant, leads to regarding the parts mentioned as examples of the style tendency of Jean Goujon.

The altar in question was completed before 1547, thus before the commencement of the court of the Louvre; for on it only occurs the baronial coronet of the constable.²⁹¹ The remains of the sculptures of the rood loft of S. Germain l'Auxerrois (1541), now in the Louvre, entirely exhibit the style of figures on the altar at Ecouen.

The repeatedly mentioned circumstance, that Jean Goujon was at first architect of the Constable de Montmorency, thus was also of Ecouen and became architect of the king, and the style likewise permits me to designate the same master as the creator of the magnificent organ loft in the same chapel of the Chateau at Ecouen, as well as of a triforium-like structure built in the round arches of a gallery in this chapel. The character of this woodwork is tolerably different from the style of Bullant, is somewhat lighter, more elegant and animated. The torus bands and the other ornamentation on the enclosure of the balustrade of the loft indicate the author of the doors at S. Maclou and those of the Chateau at Anet, of the altar and of the windows in the court of the Louvre, while the refined and animated treatment of the clearly alternating two motives of the frieze recalls the creator of the Tomb of Breze at Rouen.

Undoubtedly by the master of the altar and by the creator of the organ loft, thus by Goujon, if not the entire paneling of the chapel at Ecouen (now likewise to be found in the chapel at Chantilly) is at least that part of the same, which forms a wardrobe and contains a wonderful door. With its two Doric orders in three bays, with the pedestals shaped like consoles, with the noble treatment of forms and the beautiful relief of the ornamental panels, with the masterly mouldings, together with the warm color of the wood (chiefly Courbary wood), this wardrobe door belongs to the most beautiful creations of this kind.

From the same master, who designed this wardrobe, comes likewise all the dormer windows on the left wing of the court in the Chateau at Ecouen, perhaps also the first five dormer windows of the right wing there, though these are certainly somewhat later.

141. Style.

The peculiarities, which apparently characterize Goujon as

architect, must be a striking clearness and intelligibility of composition and of its motives; noble and charming proportions in the later and real magic in the development of the ornament and its technical perfection; in the friezes a preference for the alternation of two clearly distinguishable, but beautifully connected motives; mastery in the composition of ornaments, both in the character of simple northern natural elements, as well as in the richer style of antique ornaments, torus bands, frets, etc. It is striking, that some of his female figures recall in the treatment and the clothing the later figures of the Empire style.

In the earlier works of Goujon is predominant the influence of the Raphael-ghiberti ideal, joined with a noble and simple northern naturalness in the spirit of Colombe. Later may be recognized in his female figures the fashion of elongated form of the body, as with Salviati, Vasari, Bronzino, Primaticcio and Cellini. On several of his architectural works, which on the whole are designed in severe forms, occur some details, which may be referred to certain bizarre elements, which are to be found in certain creations of Michelangelo. As already indicated, these are already found on the earliest works of Goujon, on the Tomb of Breze at Rouen, also likewise on the second door of Church S. Maclou at Rouen, but especially in the capitals of the middle doorway in the court of the Chateau at Beouen and on the small capitals of the pilasters of the altar table in the chapel there.

Equally surprising and apparently earlier are the four powerful and slender caryatids of the portico in the former lower hall of guards in the Louvre, chiefly on account of the combination of antique dignity with modern womanliness and monumental earnestness with French grace. The style in the figures on the already mentioned Fountain of Nymphs is much more refined, personally more characteristic and also more French, consequently less Italian and less recalling Raphael and Michelangelo, than in the rooftop of S. Germain l'Auxerrois.²⁹²

Note 292. The sculptures are now to be found in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris.

The profiles chiefly employed by Goujon are designed in the

style of the last manner of Bramante, thus for example, like those of the marble windows in the Loggia of Raphael. They are also striking on account of the refined and firm connection of the members with each other. Thereby is produced in the profiles in places the character of a bronze casting or of a firmly compressed material, a peculiarity likewise to be found on the pedestals of the columns in Church S. Maclou, and similarly occasionally on the Fountain of Nymphs, in the court of the Louvre and in Hotel Carnavalet, three works on which Goujon was busied together with Pierre Lescot.

If the elevation of the Tomb of Breze at Rouen be compared with the main portal of the Chateau at Anet (Fig. 317), which is adorned by sculptures by Goujon, and which Henry II had built by De l'Orme for the widow of Breze, it will at once be found, that between the upper stories of the portal and of the Tomb exists a great likeness in composition, and the same similarity recurs on the two lower stories of the portal of the Chateau at Ecouen (Fig. 315). Goth portals originated later than the Tomb at Rouen, and we again see at both Chateaus Jean Goujon employed together with the architect of each. (De l'Orme and Bullant). If the first analogy was caused by the wish of Diana of Poitiers, who desired to emphasize in this manner the remembrance of her husband, that could otherwise be made in Anet in sarcophagus form, or if the portal at Anet must be a kind of imitation of that at Ecouen and a work of Goujon, to all appearance one here find a direct influence of this master upon Philibert De l'Orme, which must have never yet been made prominent.²⁹³ Goujon will be again returned to in treating of the four other great masters.

Note 293. For more minute statements concerning the payments for Goujon's works in the court of the Louvre, see Laborde, *L. Les comptes des Batiments du Roi, 1528-1571. Vols. 1 and 2. Paris. 1887, 1880.* -- For representations of his works, see Pottier, *A. L'Oeuvre de J. Goujon. Paris. 1844.*

142. Figures for Vitruvius.

For the frequently mentioned Martin's translation of Vitruvius, Goujon designed the figures and explained them in an address to the reader.

Among these illustrations are prominent:--

1. The caryatid columns (Plate 2) and the Persian columns, whose female and male figures exhibit a likeness to the caryatids of Goujon in the Louvre and to certain of his male figures on the older door of Church Maclou at Rouen.

2. The entablatures (Plates 2, 40 and 45) show the master as excellent in profiling.

3. The beautiful old men on the frieze of Plate 45 show the same spirit as those on the upper frieze of the Monument of Breze at Rouen.

4. In the Doric entablature and in the pediment of Plate 52 are to be found much similarity to the altar in the Church at Ecouen.

5. The wide projection and the rise of the attic base of the Doric order in Plate 35 are exactly the same as on the altar at Ecouen.

6. The form of the volutes of the Corinthian capital (Pls. 35, 44, 49 and 51), which are too narrow beneath and are merely bordered by a little round externally, like those on the Tomb of Breze and in the chapel of S. Romain at Rouen.

At least 45 illustrations are taken from the edition of Vitruvius by Fra Giocondo and Cesariano, and the perspective scenes on Plates 77 and 78 are given after Serlio.

6. Pierre Lescot.

143. Pierre Lescot.

Pierre Lescot, lord of Clagny, 1510(?)–1573, probably born in Paris,²⁹⁴ is a peculiar and not easily explained phenomenon. It is desired to know more of his training and works, in order to see how his style was formed and developed to be so great. Aside from his roodloft in Church S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris and the Hotel de Ligneris there, one stands before a kind of completed Pallas Athene, as soon as he meets us directly with his Louvre building, grand and rich and still noble, clear and distinguished. His Fountain of Innocents belongs to a later period. As Berty remarks, Lescot appears to have built little and to have less sought the opportunity to build, whether he felt himself sufficiently rich, or whether his high office hindered him from it.

Note 294. Lescot belonged to a family of the nobility of the robe (noblesse de robe), and he was the holder of the fi-

fiefs of La Grange de Marteroy and of Clagny, not far from Paris. Since he was likewise an abbot, he was often erroneously called Abbe de Clagny. His father was Pierre Lescot (of L'Ecoissais, and old Paris family), master of Lissy in Brie; his mother was Anne Daubet, who possessed a mansion in Paris and the fief of Clagny near Paris. (See Berty. p. 64 et seq.).

The most, that we know of his life, is based on a poem of Ronsard. According to this, following his early inclination to drawing, he first learned painting and after his twentieth year also geometry, mathematics and architecture; his wealth increased. Francis I loved him above all others, and Henry II wished only to listen to him, even at dinner and supper. Henry II said, that Lescot only learned from himself and therefore bore away the prize from all others; therefore he bestowed on him the order to enrich his Louvre by a larger structure.²⁹⁵ But that Lescot likewise studied in Italy was demonstrated in the preceding for the first time, and indeed in the passage (Art. 139), where the same evidence is produced for Goujon.

Note 295. See Les Oeuvres de P. Ronsard etc. Reprint. Paris. 1609. p. 985. (also Berty. p. 68).

A. de Montaiglon assumes that Lescot called Jean Goujon to the building of the Louvre, and he asks the question, when and where did the two become acquainted? At their roodloft? The Fountain of Innocents at Paris is the proof of their complete and confidential cooperation, which is manifestly based on their thorough community of feeling and of taste. Here, as in the Louvre, architecture and sculpture are so inextricably combined, that they must have been designed and executed at the same time. Even the sculptures executed on the Louvre after Goujon went away appear, as Montaiglon says, to have been created after his designs.²⁹⁶

Note 296. See Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 31. p. 6.

144. Relations to Goujon and to the building of the Louvre.

The question may further be asked, as Martin indeed does in the dedication to his frequently mentioned Vitruvius, that appeared soon after the accession of Henry II, whether Goujon can be designated as one of the king's architects, and for what reason Goujon is mentioned in the certainly incomplete

payments as sculptor in stone for the king, and why in all payments made to him is added "ordered by the lord of Clagny (Lescot) for works in sculpture executed by him"? Do these facts actually correspond to the relations of the two masters to each other and to the functions performed by each of them, or was this position merely an official pretense, behind which was concealed a different relation to Goujon, previously sentenced as a Lutheran? Was Lescot not only an excellent friend but also his pupil in the domain of architecture? If Ronsard's statement is correct, that Lescot commenced the study of architecture at 20 years, then since Lescot was only born in 1515, this beginning falls in the year 1535, thus at a time when Goujon had already designed the Tomb of Breze at Rouen as a perfect master. Did Lescot partly receive from Goujon that thorough knowledge of Vitruvius, to which Goujon calls attention, when he says that previous to Serlio's work in France, one could not acquire it there, not even in Italy? The latter circumstance permits me to assume that Goujon and Lescot himself studied in Italy.

In case Lescot himself had not been in Italy, it must necessarily be assumed that in the building of the Louvre, Goujon not only created the figures, but cooperated for all ornaments, the mouldings, and in the practical execution, for all these necessarily assume that the style-giving master had studied the Italian works on the spot. Many hold Goujon to be the real architect of the court of the Louvre; after long hesitation, I do not feel myself justified to take this step.

If Goujon himself only mentions the names of two French architects in the most important passage of his introduction to Martin's Vitruvius, Pierre Lescot and Philibert De l'Orme, so that it is thereby sufficiently shown, that Lescot was an architect in the fullest sense of the word, even if his position at court did not permit him to personally superintend the execution of the building. In this sense should the mouldings in the court of the Louvre speak for themselves. Aside from many similarities to those of Goujon, they appear, especially in the ground story, occasionally less certain in proportions, also less warm and animated in design, than those made most prominent by Goujon.

Everything said should nevertheless in nowise lessen the deserts of Lescot. For even if directly inspired by Italian works, the details everywhere exhibit the individual style in design of its French author. The characteristic of its style tendency was later developed, incidental to the representation of the court of the Louvre. The Louvre is not only the noblest architectural work of the Renaissance in France, but is likewise one of the most beautiful of the new architectural style in general.

In the three copies of the inscription on Lescot's Tomb, with the same year of his death, his age is given differently three times; therefore it is uncertain, whether he was born in 1500, 1510 or 1515; it was most probably in 1510. In the years 1541-1545 he superintended the construction of the roodloft in Church S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris, destroyed in 1745, when too little attention was paid to Goujon's cooperation, that began only in 1544. (See the description of this roodloft found by L. de Laborde.²⁹⁷

Note 297. See Berty. p. 71; further, *Memoires et Dissertations*. Paris. 1852. p. 302; also *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Vol. 30. p. 387; lastly, Laborde, L. de. *Comptes des Batiments du Roi*. Paris. 1877-1880. Vol. 1. p. 25; Vol. 2. p. 282.

On Aug. 3, 1546, Lescot was appointed architect of the rebuilding of the Louvre. He worked in 1547-1549 on the execution of the Fountain of Nymphs or of Innocents at Paris, which is treated as a loggia and likewise received sculptures by Goujon. In the year 1544 apparently falls the beginning of Hotel de Ligneris, now Hotel Carnavalet, at Paris.²⁹⁸

Note 298. According to others, Hotel of Jacques de Ligneris, president of the parliament, was erected by Jean Goujon and Jean Bullant after drawings by Lescot. (See Proth, M. Jean Goujon. Paris. 1883.

On Aug. 7, 1556, Lescot announced to the chapter of canons of Notre Dame, that on account of public service, he was soon after to be sent to Rome, and that by his office he should meet the king daily.²⁹⁹

Note 299. According to *Registres Capitulaires de Notre Dame*. Archives Nationales. II. 252. p. 222, 223. (See Berty. p. 70).

c. Jean Bullant.

145. Course of Life.

Jean Bullant, born about 1525 (?), appears to have come from Ecouen, and was probably related to, yet scarcely identical with another Jean Bullant, who in 1532 was mason of the Cathedral at Amiens and was city architect there in 1565, 1568 and 1574. According to his own statement he was in Italy to study the antique monuments there. In the dedication of his second book addressed to the duke de Montmorenci in 1564, he says, that the Constable always employed him and engaged him for the works on his Chateau at Ecouen. The latter place was his usual residence, and upon the chateau there, ascribed to him, is founded his fame.

In the year 1557, he occupied the important position of a comptroller of the buildings of the crown, but he was compelled by Philibert de l'Orme to relinquish half his salary in favor of his brother Jean. After the death of Henry II, Bullant and de l'Orme lost their places at the same time; yet after the death of Primaticcio, the former received his office again in 1570 and still held it in 1575. Little is known concerning his work between 1559 and 1570. During this period falls the publication of his literary works;³⁰⁰ on the first of these he bears the title of architect of the duke de Montmorency. In contrast with De l'Orme, Bullant unfortunately speaks in his works too rarely of himself and only with great modesty.

Note 300. Recueil d'Horologigraphie, etc. Paris. 1561.; the second part forms the introduction and is called:-- Petit Traicte de Geometrie et d'Horologigraphie Pratique. #562. -- His principal work bears the title:-- Règle générale d'Architecture des cinq Manieres de Colonnes -- enrichi de plusieurs autres, a l'exemple de l'Antique; Veue, recorrege et ougmente par l'Auteur de cinq Ordres de colonnes suivant les regles et doctrines de Vitruve -- a Ecouen par Jean Bullant. Paris. 1564 and 1568.

During the last 3 years of his life, he was very busy. After the death of De l'Orme, he became architect of the queen-mother in the Tuileries and in the Chateau at S. Maur. He was soon afterwards required to erect for Catherine the Hotel

de Soissons in Paris. As Primaticcio also died in 1570, Bullant again became comptroller of the royal buildings, and he was entrusted with the supervision of the works in Fontainebleau³⁰¹ and on the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis. He died while still residing in Ecouen on Oct. 10, 1578, one month after Pierre Lescot. In speaking of the columnar orders, Bullant will again be mentioned later.³⁰²

Note 301. From the similarity, which the Doric order in the second story with the doubled flight of steps in the court des Fontaines at Fontainebleau on the one hand, exhibits to those on the Chateau at Ecouen on the right and left of the loggia behind the terrace, Bullant must have undertaken the rebuilding of this story at Fontainebleau.

Note 302. Mention should be made of the works of A. de Montaignon in Archives de l'Art français, Series I, Vol. 5. (Jean Bullant et les Tuileries) and Vol. 6 (p. 305); (J. Bullant et Jean Goujon), as well as Series II, Vol. 2. (Les deux Bullant).

146. Chateau at Ecouen.

That Jean Bullant has heretofore been generally regarded as the builder and sole architect of the Chateau at Ecouen is based on the title of "Architect of Monseigneur de Montmorency, Constable of France," which he adds on the title page of his work of 1561, and upon a passage in the already considered dedication, which precedes his work of 1564.³⁰³ Palustre first hit on the idea of attributing the older portion of the Chateau to a master Billard. The words in the above mentioned dedication, which are given below, do not appear in any way to state, that Bullant constructed the chateau from the beginning, indeed not even that he was there at the commencement of the building; rather must the result therefrom be, that he began to work there and from that time had remained at work there. Even the title mentioned, which he bore in 1561, does not justify the assumption, that in 1542 or even in 1538 he filled the office in question. Rather must it be remembered, that as already stated in Art. 139, Jean Martin already in the year 1547 designated Jean Goujon as "the late Architect of Monsignor the Constable", and the correctness of this statement can scarcely be doubtful.

Note 303. "Monsignor, after so little solicitude required for the works ordered from me by Monsignor the Constable, who has always employed and retained me on the works of his Chateau of Ecoen, so that I might not consume myself in idleness, and further that most of the time I remained without other occupation, I busied myself in reducing -- five manner of columns, according to the precepts of Vitruvius".

The idea that a single master built that chateau between 1531 and about 1564, there passing through all phases of the development of the style in question, might indeed be assumed, if certain characteristic peculiarities of the last master, Jean Bullant, also occurred in the earlier periods. But this does not appear to be the case in the earliest epoch; the mouldings of this exhibit an entirely different artistic design; they rather indicate Jean Goujon.³⁰⁴

Note 304. On the conjecture of Palustre (see his "La Renaissance en France (Paris. 1886-1890), vol. 1. p. 211, 225, 232, and Vol. 2. p. 50, 294, 305), that a Billard or Baillard, master mason of Monsignor the Constable, built the older portions of the Chateau at Ecoen, L. Magne remarks, that the Constable then had yet other works under construction:-- the Chateau at Chantilly, a Hotel at Compiègne, the new Hotel at Paris, Rue Sainte-Avoye; Billard might perhaps have been employed on these without having been likewise engaged at Ecoen. It is proved that Goujon was at the latter. In the "Accounts of the Buildings of the King", he is frequently and perhaps correctly called Villart. We find him therein in 1548-1550,

thus after the employment of Goujon at Ecoen. Since he still bore the same title in 1550, it may be questioned, whether he might also have played an important part there before Goujon.

The different parts of the Chateau are divided among four building periods or groups.

1. The three wings around the court, excepting the four later gateways, porticos and the dormer windows, about 1530.
2. The dormer windows.
3. The various works described in the preceding Art. as by Jean Goujon, -- about 1535-1545, according to the style.
4. The two gateways, the portico behind the terrace (Figs.

(Figs. 319-321), and the adjacent facing of the facade between the small round towers, all designed and executed by Jean Bullant.

The development of the architectural style may be most easily followed on the dormer windows. The oldest of these are found on the outer facade of the middle wing, and they belong to about the same time as the external dormer windows of the wing on the left side (the chapel). These are followed in the series by the dormer windows of the middle wing and by one on the right wing, then those of the wing on the left hand, and finally the five windows of the wing on the right side. Much later and by Jean Bullant are the external dormer windows of the wing on the right hand (beyond the terrace).

In many peculiarities, for example in the treatment of the Doric order on the gateways by Bullant and on the altar by G. Goujon, appear analogies between these two masters, that may be explained by the influence undoubtedly exerted on Bullant by Goujon. This influence is the more conceivable, if as some assume, Bullant was actually the pupil of Goujon in the domain of sculpture. Bullant's most important work in sculpture was then the magnificent mausoleum in the Church at Montmorency,³⁰⁵ which the widow ordered of Bullant after the death of the Constable on Nov. 10, 1567,³⁰⁶ and which was destroyed in 1792. The "Topographie de France" in the Cabinet of copperplate engravings at Paris unfortunately no views of it.

Note 305. See Proth, M. Jean Goujon. Paris. 1883. p.14.

Note 306. See Moëne, L. Les Vitreaux de Montmorency et d'Ecrouen etc. p. 17. Paris. 1888.

For the three portal additions, Magne might assume the date of about 1564 or the last years of the reign of Henry II, the latter with reference to the emblems executed thereon (Fig. 321), that Palustre indeed sooner refers to Catharine. Perhaps they were evoked by the portal structures in the court of the Louvre, in order to lend to the otherwise rather bare court something of the appearance of the never erected, but more classic antique style.

The thought is easily understood, which Magne³⁰⁷ expressed, that of believing that Bullant only took up later the rule and doctrine of Vitruvius. In the portal structures considered,

he was able to give the Constable proofs of his classical knowledge, when by means of this addition he completed the facades of the Chateau in the Italian fashion. One might actually believe, that the influence of Italian art on Bullant only occurred relatively late, i.e., that he did not return from Italy before the building of the chateau, but that perhaps he first went to Italy in the beginning of the forties (1540), possibly while Jean Goujon supervised the building.

Note 307. See Magne. p. 13.

Two points appear to show, that Bullant had not already between 1510 and 1515 seen the light of the world, like the masters of the group in question, but later.

1. The character of his orders of columns and their ornaments. They are made rather more antique than those of his contemporaries, perhaps because he went to Italy later than they did, perhaps also because the more developed high Renaissance gave him a more objective conception of antique works.

2. Bullant's wife, Francoise Richault, had borne him nine children between June 25, 1556, and Sept. 20, 1575, and he himself died only three years later (1578).³⁰⁸ It must be concluded from this, that Bullant was not yet 41 years old in the year 1556. The assumption, that he was born in 1515, appears to be based on the otherwise erroneous belief, that the building of the Chateau at Ecouen was first begun in 1541, and that Bullant was the master of the building, from the beginning of the works; yet the latter continually becomes more improbable. His birth must rather be about 1525, for otherwise Goujon in the year 1547 would indeed have mentioned besides Lescot and De l'Orme also Bullant, if the latter had then superintended such an important construction as that of the Chateau at Ecouen, on which Goujon himself was already employed.

Note 308. See Archives de l'Art Francais. 1860. p. 303.

Magne assumes,³⁰⁹ that the building of the Chateau at Ecouen, excepting the three later portal structures, yet including the gallery leading to the Church in the village, was begun immediately after the end of the war and was executed between 1538 and 1545. He is of opinion that Palustre errs, when he computes the duration of the erection at 25 years; the

glass windows bear the dates of 1542 and 1544, the construction can scarcely have occupied more than 5 or 6 years, and it would be difficult to place the beginning of the works before 1538, previous to the campaigns in Provence, in Picardy and in Italy. The choir of the Church was erected at the same time.

Note 309. *Magne*. p. 12.

From its style, we might place the building very near the year 1530. In that year Guillaume de Montmorency completed the buildings in Chantilly; he died in 1531, and his son Aune inherited his vast estate, so that the latter must have commenced the building directly or soon afterwards.

147. Character of the Monuments.

Some illustrations in Bullant's "*Reigle generale d'Architecture*", although only inserted as woodcuts, show a very fine and also firm and elastic drawing and outlining, as for example, the Ionic capital "according to the doctrine of Vitruvius". In the same way, the drawing of three Corinthian columns on the Palatine at Rome has especially beautiful volutes and stems, as well as beautifully curved modillions and ornaments on the architrave. Accordingly Bullant was a draftsman qualified to place especial beauty in the lines of ornaments. In the profiles on the small Chateau at Chantilly, Bullant is to be mistaken for none of his contemporaries. These exhibit the very peculiar charm of a stronger and firmer treatment of certain members and at the same time of an extraordinary delicacy in the manner in which certain members project beyond others. The especially sharp prominence of the degrees and of the plane surfaces permits the curved ones to appear animated by a beautifully swelling fullness. The members of the cornice sculptured with ornaments are grouped with plain ones, so that the design of the former appears clearer and more effective, that of the plain members still plainer and firmer. Hence more than with any of his contemporaries, Bullant's ornaments and the foliage of his capitals possess something of the impersonal and yet animated beauty of the antique.³¹⁰

Note 310. Bullant complains of their poor quality and later engraved a number of plates on copper himself, among them two capitals bearing his name and the date of 1566. (Prints

from them are to be found in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris). He gives their description in part. (See Archives de l'Art Francais. Vol. 6. p. 324.

On the Chateau at Ecouen, the Corinthian capitals of the colossal order (Fig. 310) certainly do not show an entirely graceful treatment of the leaves. The Doric capitals are shaped after those of the court of the Cancellaria at Rome and those of the antique building engraved by A. Labacco, which pleased Bramante so much, and they are transferred to pilasters; in part they appear to be affected by the treatment of Goujon.

143. Mode of Composition.

But Bullant is frequently less happy in the general subdivision of his buildings. On the little Chateau at Chantilly (Figs. 117, 318, 336), the proportions of the order, the delicacy of its design and of its relief are of unique beauty, as well as the design and proportions of its windows, when viewed diagonally. But the latter are too large for the order, and the general effect is entirely unsatisfactory; they neither form a second story, nor are they proper dormer windows, and they intersect the entablature in an ugly manner. Very beautiful, especially under a good light, is the arched gateway (by the baronial coronet not later than 1547 or 1550), by its style contemporary with or somewhat later than the court of the Louvre.

The entrance into the viaduct-gallery at Fere-en-Tardenois (Fig. 107) and the side elevation of the latter exhibit the same tendency in composition. Yet this work of Bullant is in the highest degree interesting and effective, especially in its simpler though powerful treatment of the piers and the arch.³¹¹

Note 311. Anne de Montmorency received on the occasion of his marriage on Jan. 10, 1527, to Madeleine de Savoy, niece of the mother of the king, the lordship of Fere-en-tardenois as a wedding gift from the king; Bullant's gallery structure belongs to a later period.

Also it cannot be denied, that the two portal structures and the loggia of the Chateau at Ecouen (Figs. 319-321) are in composition not entirely free from the labored and the for-

forced; they exhibit a rather disturbing combination of openings, whose very different sizes are not always sufficiently intelligible, in spite of their connection with the stairway behind them. Aside from this unsatisfactory part, these compositions vividly arouse the interest of the architect, for vulgarity is far from them.

Do the labored forms on the portals at Ecouen and the illogical ideas of the composition on the little Chateau at Chantilly result from a want of feeling for the general harmony with the chosen arrangement? This may remain undecided. Bullant expresses the conviction everywhere, that none of the newly invented columnar orders deserves so much consideration in majesty, in arrangement of members, in harmony and accord, as the five orders of the ancients, and he appears to take position in this matter against the French order of Philibert De l'Orme.³¹²

Note 312. See the succeeding Art. and also the later description of the columnar orders.

The defect mentioned neither occurs on the altar at Ecouen, nor on the former entrance portal there (Fig. 315); just as little in the generally happy grouping of the masses on the Chateau at Ecouen, -- one reason more for not entirely rejecting the possibility, that the latter comes from another master.

d. Philibert De l'Orme.

149. Writings and Inventions.

Another of the five most prominent architects of the French high Renaissance is Philibert de l'Orme, already frequently mentioned, who basked the light of the world between 1510 and 1515³¹³ and died on Jan. 8, 1570. Although by most professionals, he is placed with Lescot at the apex of the architects of the high Renaissance, there yet appears in two points the greatest contrast between the latter and De l'Orme. In the group of the five masters, he is the one, who apparently displayed the greatest activity in architecture, and concerning whom we possess the most numerous statements. Like Lescot's name with the Louvre, so is that of De l'Orme inseparably connected with Palace Tuileries. The second source of his fame is formed by his literary works, at the same time also the chief source of the statements concerning his works.

Note 313. According to his book on "Architecture" (Book IV, p. 90 v), De l'Orme returned from Italy in 1536; he was already in Rome in 1533. (Same, p. 197). In other passages of the same work (Book V, Chap. 17; then see p. 182 v, 147 v), on which he wrote for 6 years, he speaks of his sojourn in Italy, as if it had occurred 30 years previously. If likewise by his own statement, he already had in his 15th year 300 workers under himself, then is this to be understood as rather a supervision, than as a technical employment in the higher sense of the word. He would hardly go to Italy before his 18th to 20th year, so that the year of his birth is not later than 1515, but perhaps is in 1512. Therefore he would be 24 years old, when he entered the service of Paul III and began to build in Lyons; one would scarcely assume that he was then materially younger.

The two most important books written by De l'Orme bear the titles:-- "Nouvelles Inventions pour bien bastir et a petit frais" etc. (Paris. 1561) and "Le premier Tome de l'Architecture de Philibert De l'Orme". (Paris. 1567).³¹⁴ The work first mentioned was occasioned by the invention of De l'Orme for constructing roofs of great span by means of timbers framed together, and it was written by command of Henry II. The second book was unique in its way in France and was to form a general work on architecture, together with the second volume, that unfortunately never appeared, in the manner of the similar writings of Vitruvius and of Alberti. Most valuable therein are the two books on stonecutting, which for a century formed the best and almost the only treatise on this subject.

Note 314. A new edition of this book with facsimile illustrations is soon (1894) to be brought out by C. Kitzet.

A third writing by De l'Orme is the memorial essay discovered by Delisle in 1861, in which he defends himself against the accusation produced by the disfavor experienced by him in 1559, and which affords many interesting conclusions concerning his works and the course of his life. It was published by Berty.³¹⁵

Note 315. In *Les grands Architectes Français de la Renaissance* etc. Paris. 1860. p. 47-49. -- This memorial will hereafter be referred to as "Memoir of Philibert de l'Orme".

150. Sojourn in Italy.

Philibert de l'Orme himself states, how exceedingly young he was, when he came to Rome and drew the antique monuments there with the assistance of ladders, ropes, excavations and laborers, to whom he daily gave 2 "Giuli". By these works he became acquainted with the later Pope Marcellus, then still a bishop, as well as with master Vincenzo Rotolano. Both requested him to no longer measure the ruins with the French royal foot, but with the antique Roman palm or with the antique foot, according to which these works were executed. It was principally antique models in the Capitol and many architectural remains in the garden of the deceased cardinal Gaddi, that De l'Orme drew.

He was so well pleased in Rome, that he entered the service of Pope Paul III and filled an office in the Church, which he calls S. Martin dello Bosco a la Callabre. By the pressure of Monsignor de Lousis, Guillaume du Bellay, and of his brother the Cardinal, he was induced to return to France, where as he says,³¹⁶ "as reward for my good service, so much poverty was caused, and I was accused of several infamies, of which I was later found innocent. they took away from me all that I had earned".

151. Return to France.

The return of De l'Orme to France occurred in 1536, and he also built in the same year at Lyons the House with the two trumpet vaults (Fig. 75). According to Destailleur, he was already called to Paris in 1537 to take up the work in S. Maur-les-Fosses, which he himself designates as epoch-making for the Renaissance.

Under Francis I, De l'Orme had twice yearly to supervise all fortresses on the coast of Brittany. He had at another time to inspect the ships on the coast of Normandy and take charge of provisioning them. Later he had to superintend the building of galleons in Havre-de-Grace, to perform service in designing fortifications during the war, and to occupy the position of a commander several times in besieged cities as captain in chief.³¹⁷

Note 317. See *Memoire*, p. 51, 58.

Francis I died on March 31, 1547, and with the accession of

Henry II begins the period of De l'Orme's greatest activity in architecture and of his highest royal favor. He appears to have been already in 1549 at the head of all the royal buildings, excepting the Louvre and the Chateau at Monceau-en-Brie, whose construction was begun by Primaticcio in the same year at the command of the queen.

Especial attention should be called to the mission received by De l'Orme in 1548; "to examine how the deceased king was served on his buildings;" for this wording is so very similar to that employed, when De l'Orme was removed from the supervision of the buildings, two days after the death of Henry II and Primaticcio called in his place,³¹⁸ so that one may almost assume such a procedure to have been an administrative custom at every accession to the throne; men have certainly desired to see in that change of persons, that De l'Orme had fallen into disfavor; he also expresses himself in that sense. Since as successor of Philibert De l'Orme -- the "most technical" of the five great architects -- was named an Italian, who was previously only known as a painter, it is then conceivable, that many have thought of injustice and of the capricious favor, which Catherine de Medici showed to her fellow countrymen. Since it will be shown later, that Primaticcio was not merely a painter and a decorator of consequence, but also a distinguished architect, and that he was thus a worthy successor of De l'Orme, the entire occurrence appears in a different light. When Bernard Palissy expresses himself concerning De l'Orme in the manner shown still in the description of the Chateau at Meudon; when one further considers the complacency with which Philibert always speaks of himself and when one finally sees, that Jean Bullant must sacrifice the half of his salary to provide a better position for Philibert's brother Jean,³¹⁹ then will it be easily conceivable, that something might lie in the nature of De l'Orme, that might entirely justify his dismissal then in the eyes of his countrymen. The reasons permitted by himself to appear can scarcely be the only ones, among them being the criticism caused by the failure to understand his new construction of roofs, and the of the new Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye. Yet as results from the following, the lessening of his almost omnipotent position w

was no actual disfavor, at least not a permanent one.

Note 318. 1. April 3, 1548, king Henry II appoints and de-
p-
utes master Philibert De l'Orme, his architect in ordinary at
Fontainebleau, S. Germain-en-Laye, Villiers-Cotterets, Yerre,
Bois de Boulogne, to see how the late king was served in his
buildings. "For that reason, he says, for the good and entire
confidence, that we have in your person, of your sufficient
sence, loyalty, and great experience in the art of architect-
ure," etc.

2. July 12, 1559, Francis II (two days after his accession)
appointed Francois Primaticcio of Bologna to the superintend-
ency of buildings and dismissed therefrom Philibert De l'Orme,
abbot of Ivry and his brother Jean De l'Orme; "Primaticcio is
appointed to visit the buildings commenced under Francis I a
and Henry II, to learn how they had been conducted and manag-
ed, and with what care, diligence, and lawfulness our said L
Lord and Father has been served". (See Destailleur, H. *Notic-
es sur quelques Artistes Francois*. Paris. 1863. p. 4, 9.--
Laborde, L de. *La Renaissance des Arts et la Cour de France*
etc. Paris. 1850. p. 558).

Note 319. Philibert's brother, Jean De l'Orme, was also an
architect and frequently had to take the place of the former,
as for example, in the inspection of the buildings in Britta-
ny (p. 143). In the year 1558 during the absence of his bro-
ther, he was designated as "master Jean De l'Orme, squire, l
lord of S. Germain, commissary deputed by the king in the mat-
ter of his edifices and buildings," and he received a salary
of 600 livres, which was deducted from that of Bullant. In
1552 Jean, as general master of masonry work for the king, w
was with the French troops in Italy (in Parma, Mirandola, Si-
ena, and in Corsica), in order "to perform service in the m
matter of the fortifications of strong places". (See Fillon
and Montaiglon in *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Paris. 1862. Se-
ries II. Vol. 2. p. 314 et seq.). Philibert bequeathed to his
brother his architectural books, designs, engravings and draw-
ings, as well as his country house.

Although De l'Orme was the architect of Diana, the rival of
the queen, Catherine de Medici did not withdraw her favor fr-
om him. She transferred to him the erection of the Tuileries,

whose foundations were laid in May, 1564. In the same year, Catherine had purchased the Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses, and De l'Orme had then to enlarge the building formerly executed by him. The queen-mother had various plans and models reserved for herself, which were found in his possession, when Philibert died.

The disfavor of the king does not seem to have reduced De l'Orme's means in any way, that one might conclude from his own words. He possessed two houses in Paris together with other property in Plaisance near Fontenay, and as his will shows,³²⁰ he died as a well to do or even a rich man.

Note 320. See Archives de l'Art Francois. Series II. Vol. 2 (1862). p. 318 et seq.

De l'Orme was successively invested with several abbeys, whose income composed the greatest part of his commissions as architect. These were the Abbeys of Jereton in Brittany, S. Barthelemy-les-Noyon, Yvray and S. Serge d'Angers. On the title page of his "Architecture" he calls himself Counsellor and Almoner of the king and Abbot of S. Serge d'Angers; the revenues of this abbey were leased for 2700 livres. In his "Nouvelles Inventions" on the other hand, he calls himself Abbot of S. Eloy-les-Noyon. As a canon he had a house in the cloister of Notre Dame at Paris.

152. Course of his Life.

In relation to the course of his life and the work of Philibert De l'Orme, the following details may be of interest.

In 1533, he was already in Rome.

In 1536, he returned from Rome to Lyons. He built there the two trumpet vaults in Rue de la Juiverie (Fig. 75). The portal of Church S. Nizier, apparently of about 1542, appears to have been ascribed to him first since 1511. At the same time, he erected in Paris the little Hotel of the banker Patouillet in Rue S. Eloy (Cite).

In 1537 according to Destailleur, or in 1542 according to D'Argenson, he began the building of the Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses near Paris.

In 1538, De l'Orme prevented the capture of Brest by the English.³²¹

Note 321. See Memoire. p. 52.

From 1547, he worked on the Tomb of Francis I.

On April 3, 1548, he was appointed architect in ordinary to Henry II for the Chateaus at Fontainebleau, S. Germain-en-Laye, Villers-gotterets, Yerre, Bois de Boulogne (Madrid), likewise for the Chateau of La Muette in Jan. 1549, with the previously mentioned commission to see how Francis I had been served in these buildings.

On April 3, 1548, the rebuilding of the Chateau at S. Leger in the forest of Monfort-l'Amaury was transferred to him, and from this date henceforth, all contracts relating to the building of the Chateaus mentioned were closed by him. Everything now passed through his hands, from the paneling begun in the king's cabinet at Fontainebleau to the fine sculptures on the Tomb of Francis I, and nothing was executed without his supervision.

On Dec. 31, 1550, terminated the contract for building the Chapel of the Goldsmiths' Guild at Paris, the Chapel of the Goldsmiths at S. Eloy (Germain Brice)³²² Rue de deux Portes, which was completed in 1566.

Note 322. Felibien says that this chapel was by Francois de la Flasche and Jean Marchand.

According to Berty, the construction of the Chateau at Anet was begun in 1552, while according to Destailleur, this building approached its completion in the year 1554. But the beginning of the erection of the Chateau at Meudon falls in the year 1553.

On Feb. 3, 1554, Philibert De l'Orme was appointed master architect and conductor general of buildings and edifices, works and fortifications of the king in his provinces and in the duchy of Brittany, and he received a yearly salary of 500 livres. On June 12 of the same year, he was permitted to allow his brother Jean to represent himself as visitor of strong places, places and chateaus, ports and harbors --- in Brittany, but without any increase of his salary.³²³

Note 323. See Archives de l'Art Francois. Paris. 1862. Series II. Vol. 2. p. 315-317.

In the year 1553 or 1559 falls the building of the refectory for the Abbey on Montmartre, and in the last named year as superintendent of the royal buildings, he reduced by 600 livres

the salary of 1200 livres, which Jean Bullant received as comptroller of the buildings of the crown, diverting this amount to his brother Jean De l'Orme.

153. Work as Architect.

On July 12, 1559, as already state, Philibert De l'Orme was replaced in the superintendency of the royal buildings by Primaticcio, and the erection of the Tuileries was begun in the year 1564.

According to De l'Orme's own statement, his work as an architect was much more extensive, than appears from the preceding dates, and would comprise the following.

In the Chateau at Fontainebleau, there was first by him the great ballroom, "near falling. Did I not fit it up well, both with paneling and with fireplace, masonry, and the addition of paintings? I do not speak of them; master S. Martin (Primaticcio) knows his fame".³²⁴ De l'Orme further created in this chateau the pulpit and the marble column in the chapel, the cabinet of the queen-mother, the cabinet and the apartment of the king in the pavilion near the pool, the great flight of steps in the lower court, and the vestibule leading to the hall of the king.³²⁵

Note 324. See Memoire. p. 54. ---"and admission of the paintings. I say nothing more. M. S. Martin knows his state." Bertz raises the question, whether by this was intended a mild scorn of Primaticcio, who had already replaced him? This does appear to us necessary; it might be the direct opposite if De l'Orme wished to say, that he was the cause that Primaticcio's painting was placed in this hall.

Note 325. The vestibule in the hall of the king. ---"as I wished to make it, and where I constructed the beams of 300 or 400 pieces, which were almost ready, and the roofs over several rooms. But since the workmen did not know how to execute this work (carpentry constructed of beams), they said immediately, that it was worthless, wherein they found themselves in a great error. They should not have so spoken, since they knew not how to proceed and understood nothing of it."

De l'Orme began the erection of the new Chateau at S. Germain; he also had to execute alone various works in the old Chateau there, the decorations on the pulpit in the chapel a

and its wardrobes, the fountains and the bridges of the queen "in consequence of my desire to perform the most humble service for her."

De l'Orme further mentions the works on Chateau La Muette near S. Germain, as well as those at S. Leger in the forest of Montfort, where he put an old residence into good condition, built a new gallery with the chapel and with pavilions, "which were found as beautiful as possible, and that was completed as a very beautiful house".

Among other works, De l'Orme ³²⁶ mentions the Tomb of Francis I, the Chateau S. Leger, the Arsenal and the Magazine (of Artillery) at Paris, the stables of Palace de Tournelles at Paris, the construction of the vaults and the completion of the Chapel in the forest of Vincennes (in the Chateau itself shortly before 1550), ³²⁷ various works (feudal labor) at Foullembert and Coussy, the beginning of the Hospital of S. Jacques du Hault-pas, a Temple in the park at Villers-Cotterets, many beautiful works in the Chateau at Anet by command of the king, and various unexecuted designs for roofing the ball-court at Monceau. (Mousseau-en-Brie).

Note 326. In Memoire. p. 59.

Note 327. See Berty, A. Les grandes Architectes Francais etc. p. 30. Paris. 1860.

In his "Nouvelles Inventions", De l'Orme also speaks of the following works executed by him in the Chateau La Muette:-- the curved roofs over the staircase pavilion and over the chapel, the roof of great span at the centre, the two last pavilions there on the road from S. Germain to La Muette (the r roofs?), the roof of the Chateau at Limours for Diana of Poitiers, the latter chateau itself, ³²⁸ and the leaden ornaments over the chapel of the king at Fontainebleau.

Note 328. Nouvelle Inventions etc. Edition of 1626. p. 296: "the carpentry for madam the duchess de Valentinois at her Chateau of Limours, which he had built."

Under Henry II, De l'Orme executed on the Chateau of Madrid the upper stories on those sides on which there was no terracotta, the use of this on the exterior and in combination with masonry did not especially please him, as he writes.³²⁹

Note 329. In Architecture. Book IX. Chap. 7. p. 266.

The duke de la Tremouille recently found ³³⁰ in the archives of the Chateau at Usez two designs (variations) for its facade, which are signed by Philibert De l'Orme.

Note 330. As M. Lucien Maigne informed me recently.

The chief works of De l'Orme will be further examined later. Meanwhile some things may be said here concerning two of the chateaus built by him:-- the Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses, on account of the importance ascribed to this building by De l'Orme himself, and the artistically more important Chateau at Meudon, on which he is entirely silent.

In his Architecture, ³³¹ De l'Orme says on the occasion of the description of the Chateau at S. Maur, "the author brought to France the art of good construction". From this should one believe, that he attributed to himself no small merit in this domain, although the passage mentioned appears to merely treat of a new method for designing the proportions of the Attic base, which he introduced in the construction of the Chateau mentioned. ³³² But in the frequently mentioned Memoire (p. 54), he frankly takes this merit to himself.

Note 331. Foot Note 314.

Note 332. "But such a barbarous fashion was abolished among workmen on account of having found a better way, that I showed them and brought into France more than thirty years since without any glory or boasting."

The Chateau at Meudon (Figs. 239, 344), Philibert De l'Orme built at the command of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine; he took possession of the necessary lands in 1553. ³³³ Likewise by him is the grotto (Figs. 127, 243, 246), which rose at the side of the Chateau, and whose beauty was famous, as a series of writers narrate; yet he does not mention it in his writings. Bertz ³³⁴ explains this silence by the mishap, that occurred here according to Palissy's expression of the "God of masons."

Note 333. See Destoilleur. p. 7.

Note 334. See Les grandes Architectes Francais etc. Paris. 1860. p. 25.

Palissy writes:-- "I know that there is in our time a French architect, who has almost permitted himself to be called the god of masons or of architects; he could so much the more do this, since he received 20,000 livres in benefices and knew

how to have himself well received at court. It sometimes happened, that he boasted himself able to raise water by means of pumps or other machines as high as he wished. Such bragging gave occasion to a great lord to desire to raise water from a river to a much more elevated garden, which he had in the vicinity. The expense of this was so great, that it was found in the records of the comptroller to amount to 40,000, francs, although the entire affair was never worth anything.³³⁵

Note 335. The lead pipes burst under the pressure of the water, and those made of brass filled so much with sand, that they must be taken out to clean them. (See *Les Oeuvres de Bernard Palissy*, published by Anatole France. Paris. 1880. Discours admirable. p. 171.-- Further, Audiat, L. Bernard Palissy etc. Paris. 1868. p. 271).

That Palissy here had in view De l'Orme and the Chateau at Meudon is confirmed by another passage. "If the architect of the queen, who delayed in Italy and has rummaged in this country, to whom the authority and the supreme command over all the workmen of the said lady was entrusted, had only possessed some natural philosophy without a complete education, then would he have built a wall or arcade in the valley of S. Cloud and have easily brought the water from the bridge there to the walls of the park." ³³⁶

Note 336. *Discours admirables*. p. 181.

Pere Rapin speaks in his poem ³³⁷ of the gardens at Meudon, likewise of the useless excavations for water by the architect and of the despair of the owner.

Note 337. See Audiat. Book III. p. 272. Poem on Gardens.

154. Tendencies in Style.

In the artistic works of De l'Orme, several tendencies succeed each other:--

1. One more Italian, in the spirit of the students of the last manner of Bramante.
2. A freer tendency, more in the French spirit.
3. An endeavor to compose according to definite principles.

In a series of his creations, rather in those produced before 1560, there frequently appears a severity entirely in the spirit of Peruzzi, A. da Sangallo, Sansovino, or of Sanmiche-
li. But on the contrary, there occasionally occur in the Tu-

Tuileries entirely capricious forms, like those by Alessi on Palace Marino at Milan, for example in the window balustrates of the court facade, which appear as if "suspended" (Fig. 46), and in the treatment of the attic, that are recognized as symptoms of the transition to the third phase of the Renaissance in the 16th century.

155. Italian Tendency.

De l'Orme admits in several passages, that he followed Italian models.

For example:-- "I have arranged above the doorway a little terrace or a balcony after the Italian style, as arranged on several palaces in Rome, Venice and other Italian cities; one passes from the apartment directly through the window upon such a terrace or such a balcony, in order to be in better air and to take pleasure in the surroundings." 338

Note 338. See Architecture. Book VIII. Chap. 6. p. 239, and the illustration on p. 239 v.

De l'Orme also speaks of the Italian architects of his time. He finds, for example, that their custom of giving to the pedestal of the Tuscan order one third the height of the column is exaggerated; one fourth pleases him better.

To the creations in the Italian tendency belong among others, the House at Lyons (Fig. 75), the Chateau at S. Maur in its first shape (Fig. 126), the Tomb of Francis I, the portal of the Chateau at Anet (Fig. 317), and the Temple in the park at Villers-Gotterets (Fig. 195).

De l'Orme's creations frequently permit recognition of the study of the works of Bramante.

In the cryptoportico of the Chateau at Anet, the arrangement of the plan is permeated by the study of certain arrangements in the designs of Bramante and of Raphael for S. Peter, the Vatican, Villa Madama, etc. The stairway plans in the exedras at both ends repeat the former stairway of Bramante on the Nicchione at Rome:-- convex and semicircular below, concave and semicircular above. Likewise in the garden at Anet, on the right of the entrance, this stairway form of Bramante is again employed. The external portal recalls the treatment of the Doric order employed on the Tempietto at Church S. Pietro in Montorio.

The circular chapel at Anet, enlarged as a Greek cross, is related to the innumerable designs produced in the first half of the 16 th century by the pupils of Bramante, on the basis of his design for S. Peter, for the chapel in Palace S. Biagio etc.

One may even say in one case, that De l'Orme was admitted to confer upon his creation that highest grace, which Bramante exhibited in his last works in Milan, in the court of the Cancellaria at Rome, and in the piers of Church S. Lorenzo in Damaso. This was in the removed triple arcade beside the staircase in the court of the Chateau at Blois.

De l'Orme developed in this, in the proportions of the arched openings, the entablature, the treatment of the shafts, the three-quarter columns, in the relief of their four bands on the drums, in the graceful Doric-like capitals with an elegant row of leaves on the necking of the column, in the magical fineness of the abacus of perfect thickness, projection, and refined connection with the entablature, that equally mysterious as ravishing beauty, which unites the animated freshness of youth with perfectly ripe fullness.³³⁹

Note 339. Henry II decided in the year 1551 "to make in Blois certain reparations of the new main building of the Chateau of Blois". These consisted in constructing anew all partitions in the wing of Francis I. It is possible, that this work was connected with the building of the arcade of Philibert De l'Orme. (See de Croy. p. 57).

However beautiful was also the arcade on the garden facade of the Tuileries in its proportions, it still lacked something of that perfected Bramantesque harmony, such as shown by the arcade at Blois, and which has perhaps been but once attained since in France, namely by Duban in the court of Hotel Pourtales at Paris.

156. Freer French Tendency.

That De l'Orme, aside from his reverence for the antique, and the severer Italian tendency, understood how to likewise move with a chiefly free tendency in his creations, is first shown by his conception of the spirit in which the study of antique works is to be practised.

He writes:-- "In brief, I have never designed columns nor

ornaments, that exhibited the same proportions, not even in the same (columnar) order. I say this frankly and confirm it by various examples on ancient monuments, so that those desiring to practice architecture may not only rely upon the multitude of the antique buildings, that they have measured, but may rather learn to know proportions and dimensions of the buildings, which they have to build, according to the kind and to the arrangement of each building.³⁴⁰

Note 340. In Architecture. Book VI. p. 127 v.

but that freer tendency also appears in the "French Order" (Fig. 46) and in the still freer treatment of the coupled columns, concerning which reference may be made to the Chapter on the Orders; also in the Chapter on the House; De l'Orme's own house is a further example of this tendency.

The true French endeavor to be original in certain domains before all else appears in De l'Orme, as in the elder Du Cerceau, sometimes in the design of very inharmonious treatment, as for example, in one of his enclosures of a doorway.³⁴¹ In a dormer window³⁴² with inverted flying buttresses with Ionic capitals at the sides, he takes the first step toward the "inclined columns" treated later. The animatedly built but not entirely happy external portal at Anet will be mentioned later (in the Chapter on Gateways). In the chapel of the chateau there (Fig. 193), the manner in which the lintel beneath the entablature and the latter itself are brutally stopped at half the height of the arched window, appearing as if in scorn of the nature of the antique architectural forms,³⁴³ although the introduction of these antique forms was indeed then most strongly recommended. Peculiar and almost quixotic appears in the same chapel the manner in which each of the windows on the exterior just mentioned have arranged a second one inside the external window enclosure, farther back and moulded on the window sill. The doorway in the interior of the chapel is better treated;³⁴⁴ the pilasters at the sides are replaced by consoles, which support a freely treated entablature with modillion frieze, and a richly sculptured wooden balustrade.

Note 341. See Architecture. p. 257.

Note 342. See the same. p. 256.

Note 343. This might have been avoided if the entablature had not been extended upon the ends of the transom bar.

Note 344. Illustration of this in Rouyer, E. *L'Art Architectural en France depuis Francois I jusqu'a Louis XIV etc.* Text by A. Darcel. Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pl. 26.

Entirely in opposition to the preceding caproces is another art tendency, of which De l'Orme states, that he pursued it in a later period:-- namely his endeavor to compose on the basis of "Biblical laws and sacred members". In the succeeding pages (in the Chapter on Proportions), this will be more fully mentioned.

157. Details.

The members in De l'Orme's mouldings are often deeply and sharply carved with ornaments, when the raised portions retain the smooth surface of the original member almost without any modeling, and they therefore lack the expression of noble modelling. Besides the use of foliage in the style of classical models, De l'Orme frequently employs leaves, whose interspaces rise from a second series of flat leaves placed behind them as if glued there. (Compare the lantern of the chapel of the Chateau at Anet). To emphasize the inclined caps of certain sarcophaguses, there are not infrequently three different kinds of leaves placed over each other. In the composition of ornaments and emblems, De l'Orme shows great certainty and much taste, as on the drums of the orders on the Tuileries. The different members of his mouldings are sometimes combined together in a very refined way. They were in part more animated in the Tuileries, than are those of Lescot in the court of the Louvre; even if not nobler, the proportions of the different members to each other was frequently so, and the general movement was in particular more correctly obtained.

In view of the delight manifested by De l'Orme in his treatise on the art of stonecutting, there must be mentioned here the excellent execution of the chapel of the Chateau at Anet, which will be mentioned later.

158. Artistic Nature.

If we finally turn to the artistic nature of De l'Orme, he then appears in almost every respect as the model of the true architect. By means of the practice of superintendence famil-

familiar to him from childhood, he was full of experience, possessed an imposing mass of technical knowledge, was enthusiastic in the art of stonecutting (art of drawing) and for construction had the creative activity of genius. Likewise in artistic respects was the gift conferred on him to design beautifully and to produce forms full of animated feeling and refined taste. Finally, De l'Orme was not satisfied with what might be learned as a "pupil" by industry and good instruction, rather did he desire to become a "master" in his profession, to penetrate the innermost nature of architecture, and to fathom the truth of form as well as the laws of its beauty.

Men are usually justly surprised, that in addition to his extensive architectural labors and the frequent and long journeys of inspection, which he was compelled to undertake under peculiar conditions, that it was possible for De l'Orme to write two extensive works, but this surprise becomes greater, when one finds with what literary studies he busied himself and what writings he also had in preparation.³⁴⁵

Note 345. See the following Chapter on the Architects.

Berty believes that he perceives therein a blameworthy endeavor for the "rational", instead of the feeling of tranquilizing beauty. We are of the opinion, that certain unskilful things justly mentioned by Berty in nowise have their cause therein, but are much rather to be explained, as De l'Orme among others did not recognize with sufficient clearness the actual esthetic side, which certain of the Biblical precepts employed by him might contain. He found no support in them for this reason, even if he allowed himself to be delighted by a certain rashness in composition and by Gallic enjoyment of the novel at the cost of principle. How little slavishly "rational", -- in the meaning of Viollet-le-Duc and his pupils, -- De l'Orme sometimes believed himself daring to be, as soon as it became necessary to place the chief emphasis more on the whole than the parts, the fact appears, that on the Chateau at Anet, on the great gallery extending before the chapel, he gave to the chimneys for decorative reasons the form of dormer windows, as he himself writes.³⁴⁶

Note 346. In Architecture. Book VIII. Chapter 20. p. 258 v.

We shall return to Philibert De l'Orme in several of the following Chapters.

e. Jacques I. Androuet Du Cerceau.

159. Rank of Du Cerceau.

The birth of Jacques I, who is always meant in the following pages whenever Du Cerceau is mentioned, cannot have taken place later than 1510 or 1512. Every trace of him is lost after 1584.³⁴⁷

Note 347. We refer to the uncritical work of Collet Pere. *Notice historique sur quelques Architectes Français du XVe Siecle.* Paris. 1842; - further to Berty, A. *Les grandes Architectes français.* Paris. 1860:- also to Destailleur, H. *Notice sur quelques Artistes Français etc.* Paris. 1863. -- The results of these works as well as those of Jal, Charles Read and many others, together with much new material, are collected in the author's monograph, *Jes Du Cerceau, leur Vie et leur Oeuvre etc.* (Paris. 1887).

The position occupied by Jacques I, the father of all the Du Cerceaus, in the group of the five great architects, is entirely different from those of his associates. After frequently overlooking even in the middle of this (19 th) century the existence of the three younger Du Cerceaus and ascribing their works to the father Jacques I, men passed later to the other extreme. Many, who were unable to find the proof that Jacques Androuet, the father, had ever built anything, adopted the opinion, that he probably was merely an engraver on copper, and that the title of "Architect to the King", that he bore was indeed merely an honorary title. Since I succeeded in proving that Du Cerceau was thoroughly an architect, and that one is compelled to award to him the authorship of two of the most important chateaus of the 16 th century, those at Verneuil-sur-Oise and at Charleval, yet it cannot be denied, that our decision is rather based upon the impression of the writings of Du Cerceau, than upon his architectural monuments. The circumstance, that neither one of the two chateaus mentioned now exists, and moreover that only the smallest portion of that at Charleval was executed, adds no little thereto.

160. Architectural Structures.

Jacques I is not alone to be regarded as the designer and architect of the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise in its first

form as designed for Philippe de Boulainvilliers, but also as the creator (in 1575 or soon afterwards) of the design as changed for the second possessor, the duke de Nemours; the royal Chateau at Charleval is likewise by him. The constructing masters of the chateau first mentioned were Jacques Androuet's son-in-law Jehan Brosse (father of the famous Salomon de Brosse) and Androuet's own son Baptiste.³⁴⁸

Note 348. The various reasons for this statement are contained in the author's previously mentioned Treatise on the Du Cerceau and may be read there.

By the development of its plan and of the beautiful garden arranged in terraces, the building at Verneuil belongs to the most important chateaus begun then, which were not royal. The treatment of the angles by means of two pavilions, as they occur in the first design of Du Cerceau (Fig. 271), was indeed omitted in the second design; still his grand nephew (?) Salomon de Brosse again adopted this in his chateau. The building seems to have been entirely completed only under Henry IV; he had it restored by one of the sons of Jacques I Du Cerceau for Mademoiselle d'Entragues, Marquise de Verneuil, favored by him. It fell out worse with the other chateau design of Du Cerceau, that for Charleval; this can be designated as one of the most beautiful chateau plans of the 16th century in France. (Fig. 232).³⁴⁹

Note 349. See Seymüller. Les Du Cerceau etc. Paris. 1887. p. 99.

The reasons that required Du Cerceau the father to be regarded as the designer of the plans for the Chateau at Charleval are on the one hand based on the drawing of Jacques I for this chateau discovered by me, on the other on the following documentary passage:-- "Jacques Androuet, called Du Cerceau, architect, 200 livres. -- Baptiste Androuet, called Cerceau, architect at Charleval, the same pension that he used to have:-- 400 livres."³⁴⁹ By this statement found by Jal in a list of pensioners of Henry III in the year 1577, it is entirely decided, that 5 years after the purchase of the lands it was already usual for Baptiste Du Cerceau, the son of Jacques I, to receive an annual salary of 400 livres. But the amount of this salary is a certain proof, that Baptiste could be in that

village only the royal architect of the chateau.

This fact, together with the previously mentioned, carefully executed drawing by the father of Baptiste, -- Jacques I Du Cerceau, -- which represents the design for a central or side pavilion on the entrance side of the Chateau at Charlevall,³⁵⁰ and which is entirely different from that engraved by himself in his "Les plus excellents Bastiments de France (Paris. 1576), is a no less certain proof, that Du Cerceau the father had prepared designs for the building before its commencement, which indeed are different from his engraved plans out still are related to them. We are therefore under the necessity of assuming, that the splendid design for the Chateau in question was either by Du Cerceau the father alone, or that it was worked out by him conjointly with his son Baptiste. The latter supervised the execution alone, or perhaps with the respective Jacques Du Cerceau, whose name directly precedes his own. It is hard to decide, whether he must be brought into connection with the Chateau at Charlevall in the previously mentioned list, and whether Jacques I or his son Jacques II is thereby meant. It would have the appearance in the first case, that Du Cerceau the father was then little occupied with work for the royal court, and that he was perhaps pensioned for the publication of his works, or that his participation in the execution of his design was less than that of his son Baptiste.

Note 350. Reproduced in Geymüller, Les Du Cerceau, Fig. 47; also see further p. 83, 95, 96, 100, 103, 135, 216.

Du Cerceau says himself,³⁵¹ that the work of restoring the chateau at Montargis was entrusted to him by Renee of France. By him indeed were all works, "for repairing the neglected and ruinous chateau, for beautifying it and enriching it with some new buildings, for providing the gardens and other conveniences", -- all after the year 1560.³⁵²

Note 351. In Les plus excellents Bastiments de France. Vol. 2. Paris. 1578. (In connection with the description of the Chateau of Villers-Cotterets. -- Jacques Besson, whose plates were engraved by Du Cerceau, designates the latter in Book 1 of his "Instruments Mathematiques" (Orleans. 1569) as "Architect of the King and of Madame the duchess of Ferrara".

Note 352. M. Jules Bonnet, biographer of Renee, most kindly wrote to me on Feb. 29, 1892:-- "I have recently found among my papers a document, which proves that the chief expenditures of the Chateau of Montargis by Du Cerceau occurred in 1569, six years before the death of the duchess of Ferrera". The death of my friend followed three weeks later and prevented him from communicating anything further to me, and Madame Bonnet has yet been unable to find this note among his papers.

Whether the erection of the choir of Church Madeleine at M Montargis, which is likewise ascribed to Du Cerceau, was actually in part or perhaps wholly by him, I could not determine with certainty.³⁵³

Note 353. See Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau etc. p. 73.

Du Cerceau published his first important writings in Orleans from 1549 to 1551; he had there his atelier. A house at No. 6, Place de la Vollaille, exhibits the manner in which he must have built another, No. 17 Rue Bretonniere, about 1535-1540, judging from his drawings of between 1540-1550. But my observation is not strengthened by a tradition or document of any kind.

According to Lance,³⁵⁴ Du Cerceau assisted in the works for the entry of Henry II and Diana of Poitiers into Orleans on Aug. 1, 1551. From the style comes the possibility, that the grotto built in the park at Gaillon, called the Maison Blanche (Fig. 248), is by him. Finally, according to a verbal communication of M. -. de Montaiglen, the former ballroom and the chapel at Villers-Cotterets, now Depot de Mendicite (Alms-house), might be works of Du Cerceau, as well as a narrow, straight and dark stairway in the court on the right thereof.

Note 354. Lance. Vol. 2. p. 121.

With the publication of the book "Livre des Edifices antiques Romains", dedicated to his patron, Prince Jacques of Savoy, duke of Genevois and Nemours, we lose all traces of our ancient master. It has been believed, that on account of his Huguenot faith, he withdrew with his protector, the second possessor of the Chateau at Verneuil, to Savoy and died there. Others have spoken of a flight of his son Baptiste, who in 1585 as a Huguenot abandoned his house in Paris and fled to Henry IV. But since the royal accounts record the salary of

Baptiste until his death in 1590, this flight is in nowise proved. If it occurred at all, it might finally refer to the flight of his father, and his disappearance without traces might rather be thus explained.

The sons of Jacques I, Baptiste and Jacques II, as well as his grandson Jean, the son of Baptiste, all of whom reached the highest places as royal architects, will be mentioned later.

161. Later Influence and Peculiarities in Style.

In certain compositions of Du Cerceau, the fact is of quite particular interest, that he employed or invented forms, that are like prophesies of forms, which were to first occur in the later periods of Louis XIV, or even under the Empire. This circumstance can in nowise be explained in that certain results of the engravings of Du Cerceau exerted an influence long after him and were considered. It rather appears to me that a proof of my conception of the development of French art lies in this, according to which the latter forms from 1500 until our time three truly modified, yet recurring periods of development of the same style tendency, that of the Renaissance. Men will then easily understand, that in the corresponding phases of these three periods similar modes of feeling, ideas, and forms must recur, even if in a different style-tone, and consequently could also produce in part similar art forms.

The influence exerted by Du Cerceau on later masters is seen in the Chateau at Blois among others, on the building of Gaston d'Orleans, on the arrangement of the trophies on the dormers of the middle bay, where like the intersection of umbrellas thrown together in disorder, they are attached to the circular pediment, indeed in a manner that occurs in numerous engravings and drawings by Du Cerceau in a very characteristic way and only in his works.

One can say that in yet another form has Du Cerceau the father influenced French architecture; by his sons Baptiste and Jacques II as well as his grandson Jean on the one hand, and on the other by his son-in-law Jean Brosse, and especially by the son of the latter, Salomon de Brosse, and his grandson P Paul.

By the marriage of Jean Brosse with Julienne, the daughter

of Jacques Androuet, and by the call of the former to the charge of the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise designed by his father-in-law, there arose for the three generations not only close relations between the cousin architects of both families, which contributed to the bestowing of the position of royal architect on them repeatedly; but one may also assume, that manifold style elements and architectural ideas of the elder Du Cerceau survived in his sons and nephews, in this way contributing to influence later monuments. Thus may it be assumed, for example, that the arrangement of two pavilions occurring at each angle in the first unexecuted design of Du Cerceau for the Chateau at Verneuil influenced the Chateau at Coulommier by Salomon de Brosse.

It can be further ascribed only to the building of the Chateau at Verneuil, that as Read expresses himself,³⁵⁵ this place became a real nest of architectural families, all Huguenots. For besides the Du Cerceaus and the De Brosses, there may be found in the community registers the Mestiviers and the Du Rys. It is uncertain then, whether the latter were drawn to Verneuil by the erection of the Chateau or were natives, which were trained in the building trade, just by the building of the Chateau by Du Cerceau and Brosse.

Note 355. In the Art. "Salomon de Brosse" in *La France Protestante*. 2 d edition. 1881. Vol. 3. p. 5, 162.

162. Different Publications.

The works published by Du Cerceau must here be somewhat more fully considered for various reasons. Together, they form a true monument, that can scarcely find its equal elsewhere. Combined in the works of a single master, it may be said that they afford an entirely clear representation of the three phases of the style of the Renaissance in France during the 16th century in which Du Cerceau took part, the sources from which they came, their development, the gradual transition and in part the influences, which they exerted meantime. They likewise reflect the endeavors of the artist world of the time, as well as the desires, demands, and opinions of the public.

The publications under consideration primarily have in view to extend in France most widely the forms of the Renaissance,

which Du Cerceau had thoroughly learned in Italy, and to free his native land from a partial dependence upon Italian workmen. To this end he utilized not merely his own studies or compositions; he frequently was satisfied by giving merely French editions of the Italian, Flemish, and even a German series of engravings, which he circulated from Orleans and Paris, where he successively had his atelier. Bramante, Fra Giocondo, Rosso, Primaticcio, Caraglio, Salviati, Leonard Thiry (Leon Daveu), Nicoletto da Modena, Virgil Solis from Nuremberg, and Wredeman de Vries sometimes furnished the models or the subjects for his engravings.

The activity developed by Androuet in this way, the great number of his works, the diversity of the fields comprised in them, appear almost incredible. He was an architectural designer of the first rank, when he executed the finest lines or shading with pen and brush on paper or parchment, or when he used the etching needle on the copper plate!

The earliest engraving is of the year 1534 and his last work is of 1584. During these 50 years, the master himself etched or caused to be etched in his atelier at least 1930 plates with 2843 illustrations in volumes, series, or in separate plates. From the same period are known 15 volumes of original drawings with 845 sheets, drawn on paper or parchment. Among all these plates are to be found only 14 plates from the certainly numberless sketches, that Du Cerceau certainly made during his stay of about three years in Italy, and these are in the possession of the Royal Library at Munich.

The publications of Du Cerceau not only apply to the architects or to those branches of art, which are in direct connection with architecture, but they comprise the entire scope of art in that time. They supply architectural forms, backgrounds, frames and architectural groups for paintings, stained glass, tapestries (arras), reliefs in stone and the noble metals, illustrations for books, goldsmiths' works etc., which became necessary after the Renaissance permeated all the fields of the applications of art. They likewise furnish the elements of the representation of the very favorite scenes from classic antiquity in forms, that men now also desire to treat as antique. In the two volumes of his repeatedly ment-

mentioned work "Les plus excellent Bastiments de France", Du cerceau has represented a series, -- so to speak, -- of standard, partly destroyed and partly never executed, chateaus and palaces of the early and the high Renaissance, thereby creating an architectural and historical document, a true memorial of the greatest importance. One will scarcely err in assuming that by his writings and other publications, he exerted on French art in many respects a far deeper and more lasting influence, than did his four great French contemporaries by their architectural works.

The general character as well as the different tendencies of Du Cerceau's publications have been fully described in Chapter VIII of my frequently mentioned monograph, and I have there given for the first time a list of all line engravings now known, with the still most complete bibliography on the basis of the previous labors of Destailleur and others, accompanied by critical notes. Therefore in this place reference may generally be made to the work mentioned, and indeed so much the more, since the limits of this volume do not permit a thorough examination of a great part of the writings of Du Cerceau.

Very many of Du Cerceau's engravings as well as several of his series or volumes actually never received from him a name nor a title page; others merely give an address to the reader. Different engravings frequently have received brief notes written with a pen, probably by Du Cerceau himself or in his atelier, such as it was then customary to place on original drawings. As a result of this, there has arisen in Paris generally a conventional designation for many of these plates or series, that is convenient, but readily affords opportunity for errors. Finally in the doubtless most complete collection of Du Cerceau's engravings, that of the Cabinet of Copper Plate Engravings, the former owner, the architect Callet, entirely without critical sense, placed on the engravings quite fanciful titles and dates, invented by himself, that deceive the uninitiated and lead them into error.

Concerning the mode of execution, Du Cerceau's engravings may be divided into line engravings, i.e., into those with bold lines but without modeling produced by hatching, and into

the far more numerous kind, that exhibit such hatching. The architectural works represented in the line engravings frequently bear the character of the Early Renaissance (Style of Francis I); many examples of them are found, which are lightly worked, evidently to impart to them more the appearance of original drawings and thus satisfy the demand for the latter. Incised freely and swiftly in the varnish of the copper plate by the etching needle, they actually exhibit the freshness of a pen drawing, or the rapid representation of an architectural composition by the architect himself; thus, for example, in my monograph are the large cartouches of Fontainebleau (Fig. 20) and the Palace of Guardianship at Bordeaux (Fig. 30). Several, like the door dated 1530 (Fig. 19), show the transition from the early to the high Renaissance.

With reference to their purpose, I have arranged the works of Du Cerceau in three groups:--

1. Those in which the human figure plays the chief part.
2. Those containing objects from the domain of art industry.
3. Those of purely architectural character.

In the second group are especially prominent, as being very interesting to architects:--

a. Fragments antiques from Leonard Thiry (Leon Daveu) from Antwerp.

b. Les Vues d'Optique, Aurélie (Orleans. 1551)., erroneously regarded as copies from Michele Cuccini.

c. Les petites Vues, copied from the Variæ architecturæ Formæ of Veredmann Vriese from Antwerp.

d. Modeles pour Orfevrie, especially the orfevrie au trait (p. 182, 235; Figs. 75, 77, 96).

The works of exclusively architectural character at first show antique ruins, beginning with the ancient:--

e. Praecipua aliquot Romanae Antiquitas Ruinarum, a reduced copy of the work published in 1561 in Venice by the Vicentine Battista Pitoni.

f. The Livre des Edifices Romains. (1534. Shows the chief buildings of the city of Rome in their best period, as then represented.

g. The Monuments Antiques, generally combined in one volume with the Arches of the year 1560. (Destailleur pelieves,

that they are copied after Hans Blumen from Frankfort-a-M. (Zurich, 1558); I have proved that the engravings are by Du Cerceau the elder).

n. The Gateways with the inscription "Quondam fuit Ingens Ilion 1534" and "Multa Renascentur que nunc cecidere".

i. The Triumphal Arches, -- Arcs -- 25 exempla Arcuum. (Orleans, 1549).

k. The arcs et Monuments Antiques. Jacobi Androuetti Du Cerceau. Liber Novus. MDLX.

Other works treat of the architectural orders.

Religious architecture is not largely represented. Besides separate plates are to be mentioned:--

l. The series Les Temples (also called Les moyens Temples) Jacobus Androuetius Du Cerceau -- Templa -- Aurelia. 1550, interesting, particularly as a partial repetition of much older Italian compositions.

m. The Temples et Habitations fortifies, also called Petits Temples.

For secular architecture are to be mentioned in the first rank five works, which we give with their running titles:--

n. Petites Habitations ou Logis domestiques, without title, from the style between 1540 and 1545.

o. Cinquante Batiments tous differents, properly Livre d'Architecture de Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, containing the plans and drawings of fifty buildings etc. (Paris. 1559) or with the Latin title; De Architectura Jacobi Androuetti Du Cerceau Opus. Lutetiae Parisiorum. 1559.

p. Le "Second Livre d'Architecture," by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, containing several designs of fireplaces, dormer windows, doorways, fountains, wells, and pavilions, for enriching both the interiors and exteriors of all buildings, -- ten different tombs. (Paris. 1561). -- The Latin edition has the title:-- De Architectura Jacobi Androuetti Du Cerceau Opus Alterum. Parisiis. 1561.

q. Livre d'architecture pour batir aux Champs -- properly; Livre d'Architecture de Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, in which are contained various designs of plans and elevations of buildings for lords, gentlemen and others desiring to build in the country. (Paris. 1572).

r. Finally, the work intended to be in three volumes on the architectural monuments of France, which constitutes his chief title to fame. There appeared of this:--

A. Le premier Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France. 1576. It contains:--

1. Maisons royales; Le Louvre, Vincennes, Chambord, Boulogne (called Madrid), Creil, Coussy, Folemborg (called the Pavilion), Montargis, Saint-Germain, La Muette.

2. Maisons particulieres; Vallery, Verneuil, Anssy-le-Franc, Gaillon, Maune.

B. La deuxieme Volume des plus excellents Batiments de France -- Paris. 1579. It contains:--

1. Maisons royales; Blois, Amboise, Fontainebleau, Villers-Cotterets, Charleval, Les Thuilleries, Saint-Maur, Chenonceaux.

2. Maisons particulieres; Chantilly, Anet, Escouen, Dampierre, Challaeau, Beau-Regard, Bury.

C. For the intended third volume, Volume des Monuments de Paris, which was never executed, five plates exist, namely:-- the Fontaine des Innocents; the Bastille; the Batiment construit recemment entre le petit-pont et l'Hotel-Dieu; the Pont Notre Dame, and the Perspective of the interior of the great hall of the Palace at Paris.

There may further be mentioned here two facades of gabled houses in the style of Francis I, frequently designated as Les Maisons d'Orleans; one bears the inscription:-- "Post Tenebras Sper oluc em::." ³⁵⁶ They evidently belong to the era of the gateway dated 1534. The large original drawing of Du Cerceau for the third facade in a similar style, likewise dated 1534, I discovered in London and have reproduced later. (In Fig. 289).

Note 356. Represented in Lübke. Geschichte der Renaissance en France. 2 nd edition. p. 237.

Attention should further be called to the Compositions d'Architecture, five separate and rare plater without apparent connection, two of which are dated, Aureliae. 1551.

Lastly are mentioned the following works in the domain of decoration.

Livre des Grotesques (Grandes Grotesques). Paris. 1556. -- Only two examples of these with the title page are known.

Grotesques (Petits Grotesques). 1 st edition. Orleans. 1550; 2 nd edition. Paris. 1562.

Grands cartouches de Fontainebleau and Petits Cartouches,- without title page.

2. Group of the Italians and the School of Fontainebleau.

163. School of Fontainebleau.

It was already pointed out, that on the one hand the springing forth of French architecture during the period of the Renaissance and the development of its youthful stage until the year 1530 or 1535 without a direct participation of Italians on French soil appears as a psychological and artistic impossibility, and that on the other from the standpoint occupied by it about the year 1535, the path of development over which French Renaissance architecture had passed, would be entirely conceivable psychologically and artistically without further colonies of architects. This is conceivable, since French architects and the natural taste were now sufficiently developed and had received a sufficient germ of the new spirit, to henceforth bring from Italy itself, what had been previously brought therefrom by Italian masters and sculptors. For the latter is just what the five previously described great masters did, when they trained themselves in such thorough manner by their studies in Italy.

But history shows that their train of thought was not realized. For in the School of Fontainebleau, we also have for the second phase of the French Renaissance an equally important colony in the heart of France, just as a similar one existed in the first phase on the Loire, and which deserved to bear the name of the School of Amboise.

This apparent contradiction between what may be considered conceivably possible and what actually occurred, may indeed be explained, that the first assumption would indeed be permissible, if it concerned only the external stone architecture, but that for the internal architecture and the decoration, even in little northern Franconia, this second intense focus of Italian culture was a compulsory necessity. Without the latter, there would not have been laid the first foundations, upon which progress in architecture was to be based. But th-

this new basis of the modern, i.e., of the Italian conception of art, in contrast to the mediaeval Gothic, consists exactly in the restoration of that harmony between the spheres of work of the three sister arts, without which the Gothic conception of objective perfection, foreign to the Gothicists, could not have been striven for. It was intended to help to their rights again those art feelings, to which correspond sculpture and painting, to recall them, -- so to speak, -- to the too strongly Germanic-masculine, ever imitative architecture. It was designed to show, that "gentilezza" is just as indispensable in the circle of the three graces or of the sister arts, as in the family circle. For this reason, painters and sculptors play the first parts in the school of Fontainebleau; therefore in this portion of the history of architecture must be mentioned some masters of the sister arts.

Considered from a higher historical standpoint, aside from all its defects, the school of Fontainebleau in nowise was so unfruitful in results or so injurious, as believed now by many of the French party. Who can indeed assert that among the seed, that Francis I and his Italian masters then sowed, there were not good seed grains, which with slow but sure germination bore fruit in art only in the 17 th, 18 th and 19 th centuries, and in part still bear those, which no Frenchman may disclaim?

The Italian masters, which Francis I called to Fontainebleau, developed there an extremely zealous activity, that became the "School of Fontainebleau". Its influence on the development of French art is justly held very important; yet many errors have resulted therefrom. While the true nature of this influence has not always been understood, it is frequently extended to cases in which it did not exist. The consequence is, that in recent times writers with the tendency of Palustre have again underestimated this influence, or they have believed it did not exist, and thus have denied it.³⁵⁷

Note 357. Bonaffe writes (in Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1875. p. 394): -- "That the Italians have played a considerable part in France since the school of Fontainebleau, no one thinks of disputing; but must one through idolatry allow them to already enter on the scene at the true beginning of our Renaissance

and ascribe to them its initiative? --- I confess, that however tolerable may also be my admiration of the incomparable masters of the Italian Renaissance, yet it does not go so far as to distort history in their favor. -- ~~Now~~ show us the Italian stamp on the earliest works of the Renaissance".

In an article in "Temps" (Feb. 9, 1891), it is said on the occasion of a "reunion of the fine arts societies of the departments":-- As for painting, it clearly shows that our artists were attached to the realistic traditions of the Flemish school and could take nothing from the Italians, who had reached the last period of refinement. That is why the school of Fontainebleau remained sterile among us, and like tropical birds in temperate climates, its masters passed away without posterity". (cited in Courajod, L. La Sculpture Française avant la Renaissance classique. Paris. 1891. p. 5).

I believed for a long time, that the actual influence chiefly occurred in the domain of internal architecture and decoration. Only gradually could I establish, that Primaticcio erected buildings of the highest worth, and that Serlio exerted a very great influence, although he appears to have built out little. It is therefore necessary to more fully consider the works of these two masters, while the labors of other artists belonging here will be described in the Chapter on "Interior Decoration". But since it occurred that Rosso Fiorentino likewise became effective in architecture, I may therefore briefly refer to him here.

f. Il Rosso (Giovanbattista).

164. Rosso as Architect.

Rosso was born on March 8, 1494, in Florence and is designated in the French accounts as Roux de Rousse or de Roux. He came to Fontainebleau about 1530, and he was the head of the Italian colony there until his death in 1541. He is chiefly known as a painter and sculptor. Yet he should not be overlooked as an architect, for Vasari says of him:--³⁵⁸"nell architettura fu eccellentissimo straordinario". According to the words used by Vasari, Rosso first commenced a gallery or inferior court in Fontainebleau, and one may conclude that he undertook its construction as architect, for it is said of him:-- "Yet he constructed over it not a vault, but a ceiling

with a very beautiful subdivision". This can only refer to the Gallery of Francis I, that also agrees with what Vasari properly says of the bizarre stucco decoration on the walls. Therefore it would not be impossible for the external architecture with palasters on the upper story of the gallery of Francis I and the attic with dormer windows to have been by Rosso, in case the latter belongs to the era of the erection of the eastern wing.³⁵⁹

Note 358. In *Le Vite de piu eccelent Architecti* etc. Edition of 1880. Vol. 5. p. 156.-- Vasari mentions a triumphal arch for the entry of Leo X into Florence, a model of the throne of Solomon, and various designs for Arezzo and the vicinity, among them a Chapel of the Fraternita. In Fontainebleau, the king made him (see Italian text).

Note 359. We will return to this later in connection with the construction of the Chateau at Fontainebleau.

Beitle, the present architect of Fontainebleau, ascribes to Rosso the Grotto des Pins and its construction to Fantuzzi. To me likewise this grotto appears without doubt to be based on an Italian design by Rosso or Primaticcio.³⁶⁰

Note 360. See the later notice of this grotto under g, as well as what is said of grottos in the Chapter on Gardens.

At the entry of the emperor Charles V into Fontainebleau (end of 1539 or beginning of 1540), Rosso had charge of one half the festal decorations and Primaticcio of the remainder. The arches, colossus etc. by Rosso were the most beautiful, that had until then been seen in this country.

It is important to make prominent the architectural talents of Rosso and of Primaticcio, since it would then be almost entirely natural for works of purely Italian character (like the Grotto des Pins) to be produced before the arrival of Serlio in Fontainebleau (1541); Palustre, on the contrary, might from this circumstance represent such works as produced by Frenchmen.³⁶¹

Note 361. In the incomplete documents, Rosso is first mentioned in the Letters Patent of Francis I (May, 1532). (See *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Vol. 3. 1853-1855). The fact, that he was only appointed as "painter in ordinary for the excellent and great industry, that he has in that art," signif-

signifies nothing here, since Primaticcio is likewise not mentioned in the documents before 1559 as architect.

Rosso decorated many rooms in the Chateau at Fontainebleau with paintings and stucco-work, several of which were destroyed by Primaticcio and replaced by greater.³⁶²

Note 362. Molte camere, stufe, e altro sanzo. (See Vasari. Vol. 5. p. 169, 170).

g. Francesco Primaticcio. (Le Primatice).

165. Primaticcio as Architect.

Here indeed for the first time must be made the attempt to closely examine the work of the famous painter Primaticcio as an architect, and to rate it in this connection. So far as I know, this side of his work has been but superficially mentioned, like a sporadic phenomenon, which one is not right certain is to be taken seriously. Therefore it is not surprising, that his appointment to the highest architectural office in France, to be superintendent of the royal buildings, astonished many, and to others appeared as a crying injustice. Then certainly was lacking until recently to the conception of the individual personality of Primaticcio as architect of the connecting chief portion, which is likewise the corroborating element. To have added this is the merit of Theophile Huillier.

This neglect may indeed have also resulted from the fact, that of his three principal architectural works, two have long since disappeared. One of these, the Chateau at Monceaux-en-Brie, was ascribed to a different master, so that men were not quite confident in awarding to him the authorship of the Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc. A fourth work by him, indeed belonging to the domain of decoration, the Gallery of Ulysses at Fontainebleau, likewise no longer exists.

166. Course of his Life.

Francesco Primaticcio was born in 1490 at Bologna and died in 1570 at Paris. He worked from 1525 as a painter and stucco-worker under Giulio Romano at Mantua, and he was called to France in 1531 to execute similar works in Fontainebleau. By his activity and his skill in the arrangement of festivals, he attained great fame with Rosso, after his death being the real head of the famous school at Fontainebleau. In the French

documents and the accounts of the king's buildings, he is alternately called master Francisque de Primaticis of Bologna, or the Abbe of Saint-Martin, or Saint-Martin, Francisque Primadicy, or merely the said of Bologna, and lord of Bologna.

By his teacher Giulio Romano, Primaticcio was initiated into all the mysteries of the magic of color and stucco decoration, which Bramante and Raphael had again employed in the Loggias and in Villa Madama at Rome. He also unfortunately adopted many capricious elements, such as began to develop themselves in the works of Giulio, Perino del Vaga, and other pupils of Raphael after his death, and which form a chief characteristic tendency in the so-called cartouches at Fontainebleau and in the decoration there. (For example in the Gallery of Francis I). The latter is indeed a work of Rosso, who as a pupil of Michelangelo contributed still more dangerous elements.³⁶³ Meanwhile Primaticcio did not remain free from mannerisms, and in the exaggeration of the lengths of his figures, he follows the same tendency as Vasari, Salviati, Bronzino, Benvenuto Cellini, Du Cerceau and other Frenchmen. Indeed with the present views of many artists and connoisseurs, Primaticcio is regarded as the representative of declining Italian art, by which the genius of France was infected for many years. Lübke could not decide to accept, that the clear design of the Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc could be by such a master, and we see Palustre grasp at fantastic hypotheses of legendary imagination, merely in order to not be compelled to recognize Primaticcio's authorship of the Mausoleum of the Valois, which he finds worthy of Lescot.³⁶⁴

Note 363. Must not this opposition of the tendencies of Raphael and of Michelangelo, transferred to France among their pupils at Fontainebleau, have contributed to produce the slight appreciation, that Primaticcio had for the works of Rosso?

Note 364. See Gazette des Beaux Arts. 1894. Jan., Apr. Oct.

In such and similar decisions, one forgets too readily, that at a court, at which the duchess d'Etampes and Diana of Poitiers were so powerful, was not exactly suited for imparting to artists morally pure inspiration, ennobling the imagination. Therefore it is well to remember on the other hand, that the severe Poussin was accustomed to say, that he knew of nothing.

better adapted for educating a painter and for firing his genius, than the Gallery of Ulysses.³⁶⁵ It is likewise to be considered, that in the three principal architectural works of Primaticcio mentioned, a systematic severity was developed, that as the exterior of the Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc almost borders upon Huguenot tastelessness or Spanish coldness.

Note 365. See Mariotte's *Abecedario* in *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Vol. 4. (1857-1858). p. 212.

From the course of Primaticcio's life otherwise, the following dates should be of interest.

In 1532, he was sent to Brussels on account of the cartoons of the tapestry of Scipio Africanus.³⁶⁶

Note 366. See Laborde, L.de. *Comptes des Batiments du Roi*. Paris. 1877-1880. Vol. 2. p. 366.

On July 2, 1533, he commenced (with Nicolas Bellin, called Modesne) the paintings in the chamber of the great tower at Fontainebleau.³⁶⁷

Note 367. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 94-95.

In April, 1536, he was designated as conductor and divider of the said works of stucco and painting in the room of the queen, and he received 25 livres monthly.³⁶⁸

Note 368. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 98.

Between 1537 and 1540 (in October), he cleaned the four paintings of Raphael, that belonged to the king.

In 1539, he was designated as painted and valet de chambre of the king, and he received an unusual salary of 600 livres.³⁶⁹

Note 369. See Laborde. Vol. 2. p. 366.

At the beginning of the year 1540, Primaticcio was sent to Rome by Francis I, "to draw several medals, paintings, triumphal arches, and other exquisite antiquities existing there, which we desire to see, to also select, and to know those that we can recover there and accept".³⁷⁰ The king indeed ordered on Feb. 13, 1539 (1540 new style), the payment to him of 675 livres as compensation for traveling expenses.³⁷¹

Note 370. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francois*. 3rd series. Vol. 4. (1888).

Note 371. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 193.

Rosso died in the year 1541. Primaticcio was recalled and took his place. He brought Vignola to Fontainebleau and also

at least 133 chests with marble figures and forms, among them being those of the Laocoon, of Tiberius, of the Apollo Belvidere, of Ariadne, etc.³⁷³ There is further mentioned in this year his paintings and stucco-works in the salon of the king, near his chamber, also those in the salon, the chamber, and in the steam-bath (etuve) under the great gallery (Francis I), and lastly those in the ballroom. (Gallery of Henry II).

Note 372. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 193.

Note 373. In his "Address given at the 14 th reunion of the Societies of Fine Arts of the Departments", Mantz allows Primaticcio to return in 1543, on the basis of the statement of Benvenuto Cellini.

In case the letter of Feb. 8, 1545 (1546 new style) be genuine, that Francis I wrote to Michelangelo, and which the Abbe of S. Martin de Troyes was to carry to the artist, then Primaticcio was sent to Rome a second time. Yet since this letter came from the estate of Wicar, it is not impossible that the latter may have invented the letter and even have written it.³⁷⁴

Note 374. Published in Archives de l'Art Francais. Vol. 9. (1857-1858). p. 37.

On Jan. 21, 1559, Primaticcio was placed at the head of all architectural works and other undertakings of Catherine de M Medici.³⁷⁵ Patents are dated on July 12 and 17 of the same year, in which the king confirms his appointment as superintendent of the royal buildings.

Note 375. See Memoires de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris. Vol. 3. p. 250.

On Jan. 20, 1563 (new style), Primaticcio drew up his will in S. Germain-en-Laye, shortly before a new journey to Italy.³⁷⁶

Note 376. The original is to be found in Bologna and is published in Goye's "Carteggio". Tommaso Sandonini conjectures (in Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. 31 (1885), p. 20), that Primaticcio perhaps made this journey in company with Jean G Goujon, or soon after the latter.

In Mariette's "Abecedario",³⁷⁷ the following are mentioned as works of Primaticcio; the paintings in the former chapel of Hotel de Guise at Paris, and in the chapel of the Chateau of Fleury near Fontainebleau, an open garden cabinet with the

story of Pomona and of Vertumnus in the Garden des Pins at Fontainebleau, and the drawing for the Grotto des Pins there, a variation of which was engraved in 1545 by Fantuzzi.

Note 377. See Archives de l'Art Francais. Vol. 4. (1857-8). p. 29.

167. Architectural Works.

First by Lhuillier's discovery attested by documents,³⁷⁸ that Primaticcio was the architect and executive master of the great royal Chateau at Monceau-en-Brie (Fig. 116), did the fact again come to light, that Primaticcio had also developed an important activity as an architect. As soon as this is settled, one cannot hesitate for a moment, that the master of the Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc (Figs. 103, 264, 265, 326), who was certainly an Italian, is also to be seen in Primaticcio. By this becomes properly understood the fact, that in the building accounts he was mentioned as the first architect of the Tomb-Chapel of the Valois at S. Denis (Figs. 21, 106, 197, 213), retaining this position until his end, and at the same time he is finally decided to be the designer of this very interesting mausoleum.

Note 378. See Journal Officiel de la Republique Francaise of April 19. 1844. p. 2135. (Reunion des Societes des Beaux Arts des Departements at the Sorbonne in 1884):-- further, L'ancien Chateau Royal de Monceau-en-Brie in Reunion des Societes des Beaux Arts. Paris. 1884. p. 246.

The Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc is considered one of the most interesting works of the French Renaissance, and by the severity of its architecture it takes a peculiar position among contemporary monuments. It was already completed externally in 1546, thus at the time at which the construction of the court of the Louvre was commenced; it arose at the same time with De l'Orme's Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses and perhaps likewise with the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau. This Chateau is one of the earliest, perhaps even the earliest of the larger buildings executed entirely in the style of the high Renaissance; it stands much higher in the treatment of the plan, than all contemporary works of French masters.

Almost contemporary (1549) with the court of the Louvre and scarcely of smaller dimensions, almost contemporary with Mich-

Michelangelo's renewal of the use of a colossal order on the exterior of the Church S. Peter in Rome (1547), Primaticcio likewise introduced the same into France, when he employed it on the exterior of Catherine's famous Chateau at Monceau-en-Brie. By such a grand example and by the accenting of this other tendency in the architectural conception, he certainly created a powerful impression.

In the domain of domical construction, the Mausoleum of the Valois was an architectural composition as prominent in its way as Lescot's court of the Louvre. If everything in the engravings of Marot and others be not deceptive, then Primaticcio designed and began to execute here a domed building, beside which neither France nor Italy could have placed anything of its kind. In the art of the development of the plan, Primaticcio shows himself as a true architect. Plan and section show that from Giulio Romany he had received quite other instruction, than in mere stucco and fresco decoration. (See Arts. 50 and 51).

168. Activity as Superintendent.

In order to give an idea of the activity, that Primaticcio developed as superintendent of the royal buildings, the words of one of the quietest Frenchmen, most competent to decide, are here given. For Destailleur writes:--³⁷⁹ "The appointment of Primaticcio in 1559 as superintendent of the royal buildings marks an important date: the time at which an Italian, who had become firmly placed in France, began to exert a direct influence." He adds thereto:-- "In 1559 the Renaissance produced its masterpieces; it must then enter on the path of its decline."

Note 379. In *Notices sur quelques Artistes Francois etc.* Paris. 1863. p. 9.

These words reproduce the views held until about the year 1860, but require extension in two-fold respects. First, the Italians were already no less busy from 1495, than at the time of the high Renaissance; the results of their participation were only less similar to the works of their native country, than later. Secondly, the labors of Primaticcio himself as architect scarcely or not at all contributed to the decline of the high Renaissance.

Had Primaticcio even built only his two chateaus, this would already have been sufficient to prove, that his appointment as superintendent was no really unjust preference. But another circumstance is added, which allows this to appear more clearly. If one considers, that with the exception of Jean Goujon, the five great French masters were only architects in the rather exclusive and almost tyrannical significance of Gothic and were not like the Italians (Palladio excepted) artists in the broader sense of the word, it is easily understood, that in a society like the one, which from the conditions of the period did not need to regret the Gothic, out which first of all experienced the need of harmonious grace, the more many-sided and warmer mode of design of the Italians entirely permitted him to appear especially suited, without injustice to others, for the highest position that Primaticcio occupied until the end of his life, except that something is known of the complaints of the natives.

The question would be asked in any case, why this highest office was not transferred to Lescot? This can be but partially answered by referring to Primaticcio's more general activity in art. He was a thorough artist, always prepared for work, while perhaps Lescot, of noble birth and position, experienced no desire for the disquiet, the frequent journeys and the other toils, that were connected with the office of superintendent.³⁸⁰

Note 380. Perhaps also the position of architect of the Louvre, i.e. of that chateau from whose donjon depended all the fiefs of France, was such as to endow him with a special rank. This position was not made subject to the superintendent, at least not during Lescot's lifetime; this last fact may indeed be explained by Lescot's especial merit.

To afford a better understanding of the function, that Primaticcio had to exercise as superintendent of the royal buildings, to throw more light upon his fitness for that office, and to make possible a correct decision concerning his creative part in several buildings under him, some extracts from the accounts of the royal buildings are given in the following.

a. In his patent of appointment of July 12, 1559, he is designated as master Francois Primaticci, councillor and also-

almoner in ordinary to the king, and as Abbe of S. Martin de Troyes. In consequence of his great experience in the art of architecture, it further states, of which he has afforded abundant evidence several times on different buildings, the king entrusts him with the inspection and the maintenance of all his buildings, further with the completion of all architectural undertakings already commenced, as well as with the charge and direction of all those, which he may hereafter undertake, -- with the exception of the Louvre. Likewise shall he complete the Tomb of king Francis I, make all contracts, and have all check measurements made, -- all this in the place of Philibert De l'Orme and of his brother Jean De l'Orme, with the same salary as those two together received, hence 1200 livres yearly.³⁸¹

Note 381. See Laborde, L. de. Comptes des Batiments du Roi. Paris. 1877-1880. Vol. 1. p. 334, 398, 401; Vol. 2. p. 14.

b. In the order for payment of Nov. 14, 1559, it is stated, that the buildings in Fontainebleau, S. Germain-en-Laye, La Muette in the forest of S. Germain, and others are placed under the charge and leadership (these two words include the technical part of the superintendence) of Primaticcio.³⁸²

Note 382. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 397.

c. By the patent from Francis II of July 17, 1559, is given to Primaticcio the "charge and superintendence" of all royal buildings, those begun as well as those to be rebuilt, with exception of the building of the Louvre: he further has to undertake the office of comptroller in conjunction with Francois Sannat.³⁸³ The payments that the comptroller had to make, show that among other things his work entirely corresponded to that of the modern verifier (verificateur) in France; for he had to revise the estimates of cost and the building accounts and to control the execution of the building. If a special higher official was associated with Primaticcio in this function of control, it is more evident, that the other and more comprehensive function of the latter was one of artistic design and supervision; this is moreover contained in the words, arrangement, conduct, direction and superintendence. It must indeed be admitted here, that the words arrangement and superintendence are constantly employed in an entirely differ-

different sense, that of administration, so that in case of many persons to whom such an office was entrusted, it is uncertain whether one has to do with actual architects, unless other and more decisive details are mentioned.

Note 383. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 401 et seq.

d. As an example of the two-fold sense in which the word "ordonnance" is employed, the following passage from the year 1569 may be given:-- "Other expenditure made by the present treasurer on the order (ordonnance) of master Francois Primaticis de Boulogne, Abbe of S. Martin de Troye, almoner and superintendent of the buildings of his majesty, for the construction of a great gallery and pavilion built anew in his Chateau of S. Liger, and the masonry work there done under direction (ordonnance) of master Philibert De l'Orme, Abbe of Ivry.³⁸⁴" In the first case it signifies Primaticcio's order for payment, in the second De l'Orme's architectural design and arrangement.

Note 384. See Laborde. Vol. 2. p. 173.

Another appellation, which might lead to errors, is that of commissary general. In an account from Aug. 12, 1563 to Apr. 15, 1570, Primaticcio is designated as master Francisque de Primadicis de Bollongue, Abbe of S. Martin, Commissary General, in the matter of the said buildings,³⁸⁵ and likewise in the last account of the year 1576.³⁸⁶ Hence "Commissary" here appears to denote the same as superintendent of all the royal buildings; yet directly thereafter a Seigneur de Rosting is also mentioned as Commissary of all the buildings of the king, and indeed with the same yearly salary as Primaticcio, namely 1200 livres.³⁸⁶

Note 385. See Laborde. Vol. 2. p. 177, 197, 198.

Note 386. See Chronique des Arts. Paris. 1895. April 20.

If one now examines the before mentioned accounts in reference to the work of Primaticcio as architect, then appear at least the following with complete certainty as works designed and superintended by him:--

a. The Tomb Chapel (Mausoleum of the Valois) at S. Denis, designated as Sepulchre of the Kings and Queens of France in the accounts.

b. The Tomb of Henry II therein.

c. The Monument to receive the heart of Henry II.

d. That for the heart of Francis II.

e. The garden hall in the queen's garden at Fontainebleau.

f. Probably many other works in Fontainebleau, that may perhaps be indicated in the description of that Chateau.

On account of the incomplete and merely fragmentary character of the accounts under consideration, which we still possess, many works of Primaticcio are certainly not mentioned at all or in words, that permit belief in the authorship of a merely executing master. With the works not enumerated is a now also counted the beautiful rusticated gate, which was built in 1562 outside the moat, that then intersected the Court of the White Horse; this was later removed and now forms the ground story of the so-called Baptistery of Louis XIII, which serves as the entrance to the oval court. For the second can the apostle in the chapel at Anet be taken as proof, and which was painted in enamel at Limoges, and which from the accounts is held to be the design of Michel Rochetel.

The great activity of Primaticcio in the domain of internal decoration will be further described in the appropriate Chapter.

h. Sebastiano Serlio.

169. Course of his Life.

Sebastiano Serlio was born at Bologna and lived from 1475 till 1554. He was already 66 years old, when he emigrated to France and closed his life there 13 years later. Serlio was the first one, who published the monuments of ancient Rome and with them some works of Bramante. During an era like that of 1537 and 1540, when the eyes of all architects in Europe began always to be directed more strongly towards Rome, this fact sufficed to explain the epoch-making effect of these publications. They coincided with the advent of Serlio into France and with the beginning of the high Renaissance there. This alone suffices to explain the important impression made by Serlio upon many Frenchmen; but it must also afford opportunity to place his work in France in a clear light.

According to the thorough biography, which Charvet³⁸⁷ has devoted to the Bolognese architect and author, it will suffice in this place to discuss the question, whether as Palustre assumes, Serlio was a nullity, merely an incumbrance, or whe-

whether, as long believed, he exerted an actual influence upon his contemporaries in France.

Note 387. Charvet, L. *Sebastien Serlio*. Lyons. 1869.

Serlio came to France at the end of 1541. With his wife and children, he first received a dwelling in the Palace des Tournelles at Paris,³⁸⁸ and was immediately employed on the Palace at Fontainebleau. This appointment was made by the king on Dec. 27, 1541, under the designation of "Bastiannet Serlio, painter and architect from the country of Bologna". His office bore the title of "painter and architect in ordinary in the matter of his said edifices and buildings in the said place of Fontainebleau, for which the said lord has retained him". His annual salary was to be 400 livres, and he had 20 sous for diet, when he was on journeys of inspection.

Note 388. See *Sebastiani Serlii Bononiensis architectura liber septimus*. Frankfort. 1575. p. 98.

On the ground of the office that Serlio held in Fontainebleau, there have been earnest attempts to attribute to him as many parts of the Chateau there as possible.³⁸⁹ of the portions now remaining, when one decides merely from the point of view of style, only the Grotto des Pins and the old portions of the gallery of Francis I, as well as of the court of fountains, can be designated as due to him. The accounts of the royal buildings nevertheless show, that these portions were mostly executed before the arrival of Serlio in Fontainebleau and therefore come from Rosso or Primaticcio. Just as little does the style of the peristyle in the oval court permit one to think, that Serlio conformed to French conditions. The architectural confession of faith of an Italian artist of 1540, especially of one such as Serlio, who was partly a theorist, does not permit the assumption of compromises, as were possible for the masters of the earlier generation, of the transition and early Renaissance periods. At that time any compromises of Serlio would have exhibited a different character from that expressed on the peristyle under consideration.

Note 389. By the baptismal register of the parish of Avon Fontainebleau, Charvet has determined the presence of Serlio in Fontainebleau on the following dates: Nov. 2, 1542, July 18, 1544, and Feb. 22, 1553 (1554 new style?). On the first

and last dates, his wife was a godmother; on the second Serlio himself a godfather. Nov. 14, 1557, his wife was so again; she is designated as the widow of the deceased master Sebastiano, and on a similar occasion in 1560 as Francoyse Pallande the Italian woman.

The well known pathetic and humble complaint of Serlio, that while he still dwelt continuously in Fontainebleau, he was not asked for the least advice,³⁹⁰ refers to the gallery of Henry II and to the alterations made in its intended arrangement in 1547, when De l'Orme was appointed superintendent. But does not this entirely exclude the possibility, that between 1541 and 1547, during the life of Francis I, he may have still been entrusted with the same works in Fontainebleau. Had these been of any importance, Serlio would have hardly been silent, aside from his modesty; for he says much of what he would have done in place of the gallery of Henry II, had his advice been asked.

Note 390. See his Book VII, p. 96, 97. Original text.

The statements concerning Serlio to be found in the accounts of the royal buildings are very few. This valuable collection is moreover, as before stated, preserved to us in such uncommonly fragmentary condition, that entirely positive conclusions may be derived from them, but they never admit of negative conclusions, when these accounts are silent, unless these are based on definite facts from other sources. The little, that is stated in the accounts concerning Serlio, is the following.

He received on a day not more definitely stated (between 1541 and 1550) 96 livres, 12 sous and 6 d, for leather skins from the East, which he had purchased for Fontainebleau.

On a date not more definitely fixed, the painters Francois and Jean Dotier, Germain Musnier, Michel Rogetel, Barthelemy Dyminiato (da Miniato) and Battista Bagnacavallo were paid for painting figures on eight smaller doors, apparently of a small wardrobe in the cabinet of the king, "under the supervision and charge of master Sebastian Serlio, architect of the king".³⁹¹

Note 391. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 172-174, 180, 203-204; "for the work on the two small "huissets" of cabinet work of a small wardrobe in the cabinet of the king".

In the later thorough description of the chateaus at Fontainebleau, St. Germain-en-Laye and Ancy-le-Franc, reference will be made to the influence exercised by Serlio on those buildings, as frequently asserted.

170. Architectural Works.

Of the buildings, which certainly were by Serlio, one at present is only able to specify the gateway of Hotel de Ferrara in Fontainebleau built by him, a round arched arcade with massive rustication and accompanied by two Tuscan half columns with entablature and pediment, the plain shafts of the columns are subdivided by four rusticated bands and connected with the bosses of the wall; the entablature is likewise plain and is intercepted by the five uppermost voussoirs; the three middle ones of these are treated in block form and extend up to beneath the cornice. The proportions and the fresh treatment of the rustication recall the latest manner of Bramante. The three great voussoir blocks were indeed a motive for likewise ascribing to Serlio the three rusticated arches of the Grotto des Pins, one of the few parts of the chateau at Fontainebleau, which actually have an Italian character; yet this is decidedly based on an error, since they originated before the arrival of Serlio, and as previously stated, were either by Rosso or Primaticcio.

After the death of Francis I in 1547 and as a result of the appointment of De l'Orme, Serlio lost his office, but he remained awhile at Fontainebleau in the House of the Cardinal of Ferrara and then went to Lyons, it is believed, in 1548 to the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (of Ferrara). During his stay of six years there, among other work he prepared designs for a Chateau Romarino with four angle towers for southern France and for the "loge du Change" at Lyons. But the latter and perhaps both designs were not executed.

In the year 1552, Serlio took part in the work of the decorations for the entrance of the Cardinal of Tournon into Lyons, when he was designated as "master Sebastiano Bolognese, Italian engineer".³⁹² He died in Fontainebleau in 1554, where he had just recently returned.

Note 392. See Charvet. p. 91.

171. Influence of Serlio's Books.

171. Influence of Serlio's Works.

Indifferently whether the earlier views concerning Serlio's architectural work be correct or not, the influence of this master upon French architecture was in one respect very important, namely by his writings. Jean Goujon makes it expressly prominent in Martin's translation of Vitruvius, as already stated in Art. 139, that Serlio was the first one in France, who placed the instructions of Vitruvius in the proper light. Bernard Palissy only mentions thrice in his extremely interesting writings (1563) authors, who wrote on architecture, thus naming only Serlio and Vitruvius, the former once beside Du Cerceau. Yet more important is the evidence of Philibert De l'Orme, who prefers to speak of himself above all others, as it is well known. In the year 1567, he omits to give the representation of the Colosseum at Rome, that he had measured, since "master Sebastian Serlio had printed it in his book, where any one may see it with several other beautiful antiquities, yet with everything in very good arrangement. He was the first to give ~~xx~~ to the French by his books and drawings a knowledge of antique buildings and of several very beautiful designs, while he was an upright man, as I have known him, and of very good spirit, for having published and cheerfully given what he had measure, seen, and drawn after the antiquities; and as to the question, whether the measures are everywhere correct and legitimate, I refer to those with good judgment, since they have seen them in their places." 393

Note 393. See De l'Orme, Philibert. Le premier Tome d'Architecture. Book VII. Chap. 1. p. 202 v.

172. Nominal Influence on the Louvre.

Besides this more general influence exerted by Serlio through his writings, there is yet to be mentioned, that which proceeded from him toward the building of the Louvre. Claude Perrault, the builder of the colonnade there, says,³⁹⁴ that the influence of Serlio and his instructions were so useful to the French, that it made it possible for Lescot to present a design, that was preferred to that of Serlio. According to this, Serlio probably prepared a design for the Louvre, and that the fact that the design of Lescot pleased the king better than that of Serlio, is still no proof that the latter w

was not also a good work, or afforded opportunity to treat S Serlio disdainfully as a creating architect, as is done by many. What Rivoalen recently asserted of the influence of the illustrations in Serlio's book upon the architecture of Flanders and of England, is in the same way true of his influence upon many French masters just in the period of the commencing high Renaissance, where men finally went so far as to no longer translate the forms of the antique and of Bramante's architecture of Italy into capricious ideas, but they began to wish to prize them for their objective beauty. Likewise by the answering of questions, like those proposed by Goujon (See later the orders of columns and the Doric capital) and by direct instruction, such as he gave to Philander, Serlio likewise had opportunity to exert his influence.

Note 394. In Perrault, Cl. *Architecture générale de Vitruve; réduite et abrégée*. Paris. 1674. -- He writes in the preface (see the *Rev. gén. de l'Arch.* 1887. p. 135), that when the king Francis I invited from Italy Sebastian Serlio, to whom he gave the charge of the buildings of Fontainebleau, our architects profited so well by his instruction, "that for the project of the Louvre, the design of a Frenchman, the Abbe de Clagny, "was preferred to the design of Serlio." As a marginal note, Perrault writes here; Jean Goujon, Parisian and M. Ponce.

Note 395. See Planat. Vol. 6. p. 357. (Art on English Renaissance).

i. Other Italian Masters.

173. Della Robbia.

Besides the three prominent architects previously mentioned, there are yet to be named some other masters coming from Italy.

1. Girolama della Robbia, member of the famous Florentine family of artists in terra cotta, came to France about 1527 and deserves mention on account of his labors in that country for at least 35 years, as well as for the various forms in which these occurred. Appointed by the king as sculptor with a salary of 240 livres, at first in company with Pierre Gadier from Tours and after his death with Gratian Francois, they executed as master masons and contractors the masonry and stonemason's work of Chateau Madrid in the Bois de

Boulogne. As sculptor and enameller to the king, he designed and executed the enamelled terra cotta decoration in the same Chateau; he undertook the execution of certain figures for the monuments for Henry II and for the heart of Francis I, and designed by Primaticcio. How far this master may be regarded as the architect of the Chateau Madrid will be discussed later; reference is also made to the conograph mentioned below.³⁹⁶

Note 396. Cavalucci, J. & E. Molinier. Les Della Robbia et leurs Oeuvres. Paris. 1884.

174. Scibecq.

2. Master Francisque Scibecq, called de Carpy, is designated as cabinet-maker in ordinary to the king, living at Paris in 1548, and as an artist in wood already in 1532 when he had a yearly salary of 400 livres, so that he held a very important position. He was often employed at this time in Fontainebleau, in S. Germain, in Vincennes and on the Louvre, and the wooden paneling in the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau was also by him. His contract is interesting, which was made in 1548 with Philibert De l'Orme concerning a pulpit and the balustrade between the choir and nave in the chapel of the Chateau at S. Germain, wherein it is stated, that the capitals are not to be Doric, as in the attached drawing, but must be Corinthian.

175. Domenico Fiorentino.

3. Domenico del Barbieri or Domenico Fiorentino,³⁹⁷ also known under the name of Ricoveri, is termed by Vasari the most capable of Rosso's assistants; he was a splendid draftsman and was employed in very varied ways at Fontainebleau, Meudon, and Joinville, but above all at Troyes. Just in case of this master does it appear now the school of Fontainebleau extended itself over other parts of France. In 1549, he combined with his son-in-law in executing the roodloft in Church S. Etienne at Troyes, which was considered his masterpiece, but was destroyed during the revolutionary period. In the succeeding year with Jean le Roux, called Picard, he undertook for Joinville the Mausoleum of Claude de Lorraine, founder of the house of Guise, of which only two caryatids are now preserved in the Town Hall at Joinville.

Note 397. See Babeau, A. Dominique Florentin. Memoir read

at the Sorbonne. Paris. 1877; also Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 28. p. 333.

j. Some French Masters.

For the period of the architecture of France under consideration, there are also to be mentioned some masters belonging to that country.

176. Philander.

1. Guillaume Philander or Philandrier, born in 1505 at Châtillon-sur-Seine pupil of Serlio, became in 1533 a canon of the Cathedral at Rodez and worked on its completion, especially on the Coronation and on different parts of the interior; to him are ascribed the best houses at Rodez. In 1545 at Paris and in 1552 at Lyons, he published the translation of Vitruvius and died in 1563.

177. Chambiges.

2. Pierre Chambiges II was probably the son of Pierre Chambiges I and grandson of Martin Chambiges; it cannot be decided whether he was to be regarded more as architect or rather as contractor. He was designated as a carpenter in 1575 in relation to the possessions of his wife at S. Quentin; on the contrary, he was in 1599 and in 1602 a sworn official of the king in the office of masonry at Paris. He was further mentioned in the year 1613, and he died in 1615 at a great age. It is assumed that he could only be the same "Chambiche", who according to Sauval's statement commenced the little gallery of the Louvre.(1566 or 1567).

178. Masters of the Grappin Family and Others.

3. According to Palustre, the extremely interesting portions of the facade of the Chateau at Gisors must be by Robert Grappin, his sons Michel, Jacques, Jean I, and his grandson Jean II. By the same authority, to the Grappin family are also to be ascribed parts of the Churches at Vetheuil, Magny, S. Gervais and Montjavoult.

4. As builders of the tower over the intersection of Church S. Pierre at Coutances (Fig. 183), Palustre names Richard Vatin, Guillaume le Roussel and Nicolas Saurel. He likewise designates Nicolas Ribonnier as the architect of the Chateau at Sully and of that at Pailly.

5. The masters of the early Renaissance, Hugues Sambin (s

(see Art. 127) and Nicolas Bachelier (see Art. 123) must also be again mentioned here, since it is not to be assumed, that they attained to the bizarre style of the last years of their lives without having passed through a severe phase; in this style Bachelier indeed produced (1555) the splendid Hotel d'Assezat at Toulouse.

6. According to an inscription of the year 1560, Jean de Beaujeu appears to have been architect of the facade of the Cathedral at Auch.

7. Finally, in accordance with the time, mention must be made in this place of the works of Bernard Palissy; yet from their character, they will only be described later.

3. Course of Development and Character of the high Renaissance.

179. Tendencies.

The general characteristics of the high Renaissance have already been given in Art. 135. It now remains to say something of its course of development, and also concerning the phenomena, that served as the means of its evolution, the paths through which it passed, and finally about the influence of the high Renaissance upon the later architecture of France.

In every historical description and artistic estimation of a style, the portrayal of the period of its highest perfection presents special difficulties. One is here continually confronted by the greatest masters and the most perfect works. To rightly estimate both, in so far as this is possible, in order to express in words what is first of all the problem of the formative arts, -- it would in the first place be necessary, that one should be himself a great master or one of equal birth, himself a creative spirit. How seldom this occurs, perhaps even never, needs not be said. The difficulties are now still greater, since we stand in a phase of predominating subjective conception of art, and because this intellectual tendency has more labor as a rule, to be just to the masters and works of that highest period of bloom. Both these blossom only when the free creative fire of the artist is entirely in harmony with the inmost convictions and inspiration, intimately united with the eternal objective laws, thus freely disclaiming a certain art and manner of freedom with the most

complete convictions, and acquiesces in a limitation of its own ideas and fancies in favor of the highest aims.

Note 398. See Fig. 32, a reproduction after Israel Sylvestre. Vol. 1. p. 159.

The portrayal of the highest works accomplished by the French architecture of the Renaissance naturally is only found in the whole of the present volumes. Therefore only the chief tendencies and characteristics can be mentioned here, that are necessary for a better orientation now.

Among the phenomena, that served as means or tools for the development of the high Renaissance, there are to be made prominent:--

a. The more native tendency developed from the early Renaissance itself.

b. The tendency brought from Italy in complete form by Frenchmen, like the group of the five great architects.

c. The school of Fontainebleau in which are found two tendencies, to be carefully distinguished, namely:--

1. The entirely free and capricious tendency of the internal decoration, bearing in itself many evidences of decadence.

2. The severe tendency of Primaticcio in architecture itself and in its development; the writings of Serlio and others contributed substantially to this.

These three main tendencies act contemporaneously beside each other. Chronologically, and especially in reference to the internal decoration, the school of Fontainebleau exists complete. As a moral or psychological lever, it was certainly effective in a far greater degree, than is often believed today.

Yet another phenomenon must be mentioned, namely:--

d. The tendency of Bernard Palissy, which also exhibits elements of Huguenot esthetics. It is so unique in its way, that it will even be difficult to find for it an entirely appropriate designation. This tendency did not contribute to the formation what is generally understood by the words high Renaissance, but it belongs to a complete portrayal of the entire picture and of the artistic intellectual tendency of that period. For it is of especial importance to clearly represent, that even in this phase of the purest and most inte-

intensive Italian-Latin influence, there prevailed an opposed tendency, whose existence is of very great value for the better understanding of the later phases of French architecture. Even if this were only extremely weak, it would be so much more worthy of consideration, because it was caused by a personality as Bernard Palissy at that time, then unique in French art. The art tendency exhibited by him in his unfortunately destroyed works and in part still more in his writings, is so peculiar, that it alone equals the programme of an entire school. Even more, his ideals form one of the extremely rare expressions concerning an esthetic style, that from its internal nature must be termed Protestant-Huguenot.

Note 399. Fig. 33 is a reproduction from Berty's *La Renaissance Monumentale en France* etc. Vol. 1. Paris. 1864.

180. Further native Development of the Early Renaissance.

In the native art tendency one sees, so to speak, how on French soil the early Renaissance was transformed into the high Renaissance, and the latter was derived from the former. It first of all here concerns how the proportions of the supporting parts of the building became ever more severe and were represented in the sense of the antique columnar orders. The masters, who were busied in this way, must indeed be considered as artists, who were entirely entrusted with the forms of the style of Francis I, and who now also made the antique and the Italian high Renaissance their own, whether this was in Italy itself or by means of Italians, who had come to France.

As an example of this tendency is presented the ground story of the Hotel de Ville at Paris (Fig. 32).³⁹⁸ It is unknown to me whether there exists in France a still earlier example of so pure an order of columns with especially beautiful swelled and fluted shafts, as that developed here after 1532 by Boccador. The columns, which Lescot had begun 15 years later to construct in the court of the Louvre, are indeed treated more classically in their capitals, but scarcely more beautifully. The arcades of Boccadoro also have beautiful proportions and one may see by the mouldings, that the master of this architecture had learned nothing in France.⁴⁰⁰

Note 400. To console himself for the fact, that on the Ho-

Hotel de Ville the authorship of Boccadoro has survived the attacks of persons holding his views, but because he is unable by his theories to explain these forms used by an Italian, Palustre asks (in *L'architecture de la Renaissance*. Paris. 1 1892. p. 229) whether Boccadoro may have first studied architecture in France?

Note 401. Fig. 34 is a reproduction from Berty. Vol. 2.

One should then conclude from this, that if Domenico da Cortona employed less mature forms and mouldings on his window pediments, this was not because he was unacquainted with them, but because the public taste still demanded the fanciful forms of the period of Francis I.

An entirely similar treatment of the facade with projecting columns is shown by a contemporary short facade in the former Chateau at Chantilly,⁴⁰² (built between 1527 and 1532), as well as by the beautiful court in the Chateau at Mesnieres (in Normandy).

Note 402. Represented in Du Cerceau, J. *Les plus excellents Bastiments de France*. Vol. 2. Paris. 1579; also in Geymüller. *Les Du Cerceau etc.* p. 223.

A greater progress is shown by the Chateau at Bournazel. (Fig. 33).³⁹⁹ If its different parts be compared with each other (Figs. 33, 104, 287), it may be seen, that a development of the high Renaissance from early Renaissance ideas also occurred here. In the northern side of the court represented in Fig. 33, the forms are already altogether those of the high Renaissance, but on the contrary the proportions are still depressed and heavy.

A similar appearance may be observed on the facades of the former Chateau Madrid near Paris (Fig. 31), especially in the forms of the windows, ever becoming purer upwards, and similarly on the court facade of the old Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye (Fig. 35), although in an entirely different spirit, and on a portal of the Chateau at Assier.

Note 403. Fig. 35 is a reproduction from Hodier, Taylor, De Cailloux (*De Gesema, De Courcelles and others*). *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*. Paris. 1820-1863. Vol. on Dijon.

Similar tendencies follow in the domain of church architec-

architecture. In this direction, reference is made to Figs. 151, 152, 158, 177, 178, 181 and 183, especially if the interiors there represented be compared with the exteriors, much like the Gothic. Finally may also be considered in this sense the tower at Bressuire (Fig. 312), the middle and upper parts of the facade of Church S. Michel at Dijon and of the Church at Luzarches.

It even lies in the nature of this tendency of the "growing" high Renaissance on French soil, that it truly and frequently bears the character of a transitional phase, at least at its climax, already mentioned under the name of the style of Marguerite of Valois. If reference be made here to other steps of such a transition, this is done in order to more plainly emphasize the various sources, that have contributed to the development of the high Renaissance, and to call the entire attention of the reader to the lack of homogeneity in its character.

In order to better show how the upward aspiring tendency acted at the same time as the tendency of the school of Fontainebleau, already tending by caprice toward decadence, that of the internal decoration, the illustrations of Chapel S. Romain (Fig. 34⁴⁰¹) were reserved for this place, and which were previously mentioned in Art. 134. The comparison of Figs. 34 and 35⁴⁰³ shows how great was the difference between two contemporary style tendencies. There can scarcely be conceived a greater contrast, than that between the noble elevation and the fresh inspiration of the early Renaissance master of Chapel S. Romain, who had now, so to speak, entered entirely into the high Renaissance, on the one hand, and the bizarre forms of the assuredly contemporary Well (of 1543) at Dijon on the other, that belongs to the tendency now in the lead.

181. Italian Tendency introduced in complete form.

Aside from the influence of the school of Fontainebleau, which will in nowise be lessened, one may assume that the chief contest, which assured in this period the victory of the high Renaissance in France, was fought out by those Frenchmen like the five great masters, who had gone to Italy themselves and had remained there long enough to return to their native land as Italian-trained architects (chiefly in the last mann-

manner of Bramante). The principal works of these five important artists was previously mentioned; it suffices here to emphasize the varied character of their works by a few examples. With this purpose, let there be recalled merely the importance of the two chateaus of De l'Orme and of Primaticcio, that at S. Maur-les-Fosses and the one at Ancy-le-Franc.

Among the Frenchmen, who after 1530 wandered to Italy and especially to Rome, there were those who did not care for the last manner of Bramante, so little known to us, but who were also interested in the earlier works of this master, as for example, in his cancellaria at Rome.⁴⁰⁵ Fig. 37⁴⁰⁶ certainly exhibits on the upper story of the small House at Arcueil the influence exerted by the style of that Roman building. Likewise may one decide concerning the flat pilasters of the second story in Fig. 38,⁴⁰⁷ which represents that wing in the court of Hotel d'Assezat at Toulouse, which extends along the street, while in the ground story the architect has resorted to the last manner of Bramante for bolder relief.

Note 405. Recently in an erroneous way, it has been attempted to take away from Bramante the authorship of the Cancellaria.

Note 406. Reproduction from Sauvageot. Vol. 1.

Note 407. Reproduction from Berty. Vol. 1.

Figs. 144 and 327 present other examples of the same tendency, to which also belong portions of Church S. Pierre at Tonnerre, even if the latter may be of later date. The House beside the Pavilion of Rue du Tabourg at Orleans rather permits in the treatment of its windows the conjecture of a model like Palace Vendramin-Calergi at Venice. In Fig. 39,⁴⁰⁸ the two first buildings on the right show mature compositions of the high Renaissance, whose pure style is clearly prominent among other buildings, since they either still belong to the early Renaissance or represent less happy attempts to independently design "antique" buildings. In the building farthest to the right may be seen in the upper loggia reminiscences of the forms of vestibules in some designs for S. Peter at Rome.

Note 408. Reproduction from the Volume marked:-- Ed. 5.

g-res in the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris.

The earliest work of the true high Renaissance known to me,

which was produced by a French master, is the Tomb of Breze designed by Jean Goujon, partly executed under his supervision, which was begun in 1535. From a somewhat earlier date came some of the internal decorations at Fontainebleau superintended by Rosso and Primaticcio; some of these were already gilded in 1534. To the year 1536 belongs the House at Lyons (Fig. 75), that Philipert De l'Orme built in the year of his return from Italy. The chapel on the northern side of the Cathedral at Vannes, first mentioned by Palustre (See Art. 50), must have already been completed in 1537. The Fountain S. Lazare at Autun was constructed in 1540-1543.

If among all the works of the high Renaissance one seeks for those creations, which possess in the highest degree those peculiarities, that form the aim of the Renaissance itself, i.e., perfection in both the harmony as well as in the beauty of proportions, of members, and of details, it seems to me that one will always finally feel drawn to Lescot's court of the Louvre. This is superior to all else by the general composition and the harmony between the architecture and the sculpture by Jean Goujon, both ornamental as well as that of figures. In a more modest degree, but perhaps with a yet more delicate harmony, the same two masters worked together on the Fountain of Innocents at Paris; Fig. 40 ⁴⁰⁹ exhibits the original arrangement of this fountain, whereon the loggia, intended for festal entrances, properly plays the principal part. A higher degree of development characterizes the works of Goujon already mentioned in Art. 140, which formerly were to be found in Ecouen, and are now transferred to the chapel of the Chateau at Chantilly, the altar and in greater measure the chapel grille with its gate.

Note 409. Reproduction from Blondel, J. *Architecture Française*. Paris. 1752-1756. Vol. 3. p. 306.

132. Severer Antique Tendency.

Here and there are to be found works requiring especial mention, since they are proofs, that some masters preferred to adhere more closely to the antique. This especially appears chiefly in the use of the so-called *thermae* motives, consisting of two columns supporting an entablature over three intercolumniations, above which extends a single round arch, partly

to relieve the loading, partly as an architectural motive.

A very pretty example of the employment of this motive is afforded by the wardrobes of the baptismal chapel in the Cathedral at Troyes. (Fig. 41 ⁴¹⁰). Its occurrence is here the more striking, since it is here introduced at so small a scale, indeed for love of the esthetic principle found in its combination of forms. This is an attempt to solve the so difficult problem, to produce an elevation with fixed subdivisions with antique elements within an arch, as this was frequently attained by tracery in the Gothic style in such a beautiful way.

Note 410. From a photograph by Lancelot at Troyes.

On one of the court sides of Hotel de Mauroy at Troyes is made in a similar spirit and with tolerably good results, an attempt at a triple subdivision of the windows by means of columns above which rise arches. In Church S. Martin at Laon, but especially in the Cathedral there, several chapel grilles, among which is that of the baptismal chapel (1555), exhibit various and in part very pretty variations of this employment of colonnades at small scale.

Another and certainly later example of the *thermae* motive, that still belongs to the time of Henry IV, may be seen in Fig. 42 ⁴¹¹, the plan of a chapel for the Louvre; this occurs on a design for connecting the Tuileries with the Louvre and was by the same author, after whose design was executed the former Pavilion de Flore.

Note 411. From a design in the Collection Nestoilleur, now in the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. ve, Fol. 147-148.

Finally, it may be stated, that the antique tendency under consideration, already touched on under Bullant in Art. 148, is expressed in varied character on the entrance gateway of the Chateau at La Tour d'Aigues represented in Fig. 19 and on the song of rejoicing illustrated by Fig. 311. Fig. 43 ⁴¹² exhibits this antique tendency in detail, and a return to it will be made later.

Note 412. From a photograph without name.

To make possible a better survey of the phase of the high Renaissance in question, the following chateaus may be named.

Vallery, built for Marshal S. Andre, compared with the Louvre by Du Cerceau.

Mesnieres; the rear wing of the court, 1540-1546.

Oiron, the continuation in the period 1542-1550 by Claude.

Bournazel, about 1545, one of the most complete chateaus of the 16 th century.

Palustre further names the following chateaus of the time of Henry II:--

Landifer.

Graves, built by Guillaume Tissorques, pupil of Baduel.

Pibrac, erected about 1540 in the style of the school of T Toulouse.

Uzes, with a facade ascribed to Philibert De l'Orme; it was rather the work of a Provençal.

Rouissillon, built by Cardinal Bourbon.

In the Spanish free County, Palace Granvelle at Besancon, 1532-1540, already with the orders superposed.

Finally, the interesting group of Hotels at Toulouse, especially Hotel d'Assezat.

183. Church Architecture.

For ecclesiastical architecture in France, the conditions at the time of the high Renaissance were as unfavorable as possible. The religious wars already cast their shadows before them. The inspiration of gothic architecture had also already provided for all needs, and it is comprehensible, that here in the fatherland of Gothic more than elsewhere, men held fast to the arrangements of the latter. Therefore far more than in Italy, the conditions were lacking, which would have made it possible for the high Renaissance to endeavor to realize what it was capable of in the service of religion, as well as a style for interiors.

We see no single building, that even most distantly may be compared with Church S. Eustache at Paris, belonging to the early Renaissance. Those which exist are chiefly only interesting to architects and then merely as general undertakings, not as true works of religious architecture. Most are chapels, and if they are domical structures, as a rule they repeat one of the subordinate domed interiors in one of Bramante's designs for Church S. Peter in Rome, whether directly taken from these or from other Italian architectural works, themselves imitated from parts of these designs. Still many interesting phenomena in this domain are described in the following;

for a church facade, reference may be made here only to that of the Cathedral of Auch with two towers above a vestibule.

By far the most beautiful of these domed buildings was the Mausoleum, which Primaticcio erected after 1560 in S. Denis, and which is known under the name of Sepulchre of the Valois; this was previously mentioned in Art. 50 and will be described more fully later. The plan of the upper story is here repeated in Fig. 44⁴¹³ and the section through the structure in Fig. 45.⁴¹³ (Also see Fig. 213.

Note 413. Reproduced from *Oeuvre de Jean Marot*. Vol. 1. 1 104 & 105.

184. Details.

In the matter of details, the severer tendency strove to shape them in such forms as are connected with the colonnades and arcades of the orders of Roman architecture and of the Italian high Renaissance. Yet examples are not wanting, which are more stimulating to the imagination of architects, and in which the endeavor is made to translate an arrangement peculiar to Gothic or early Renaissance into forms occurring in the high Renaissance. Thus for example, the machicolations and a balustrade in the Chateau at La Courteniere have occasioned the interesting treatment shown in Fig. 43.

185. Free Tendency of the School of Fontainebleau.

The well in the court of the Prison at Dijon, originating in the year 1543 and represented in Fig. 35, shows that the school of Fontainebleau did not remain without any influence at all, as believed in many places. It exhibits the entire series of animated and bizarre forms, of capricious fancy and love for overrich ornamentation, which compose the character of the cartouches and the borders in the gallery of Francis I and those of the internal decoration, which come from the school mentioned. It may likewise be seen from Fig. 63, and especially from Fig. 359, how in the church at Tillieres between 1543 and 1546, the same cartouche style occurs in the midst of a still half Gothic decoration of the vaults.

Another and earlier example (1540) of the entirely similar capricious Italian cartouche style is to be found on the very ruinous Well, that Jean Goujon constructed in the angle of the facade of Church S. Maclou at Rouen.⁴¹⁴ This well, compa-

compared with Fig. 187, the altar in the Church at Ecouen, presents for Goujon the same appearance, that one likewise meets with Primaticcio, namely, that the same master may be very severe in architecture proper, and at the same time in works of chiefly decorative nature, he may yield to a rich and capricious imagination.

Note 414. A. de Montaignon (in Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 30. p. 382) believes, that since the execution was so crude from the beginning, that aside from the very carefully written documents, this fountain could scarcely be attributed to Jean Goujon. Yet only the ruinous condition has given opportunity for this belief. I have still seen a bit of the enclosing moulding thereon, which is sufficient to do honor to Jean Goujon.

186. Severe Tendency of the School of Fontainebleau.

The architectural monuments belonging to the severe tendency of the school of Fontainebleau were previously discussed in Art. 166. Those are the three principal creations of Primaticcio: the chateaus at Ancy-le-Franc and at Montceau-en-Brie, as well as the Sepulchre of the Valois at St Denis, and further on the external architecture of the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau, the same elements, which determine the later character of the court of the fountains. The combination of severity in the external architecture found here as in the architectural borders in the interior with a much freer procedure in the decorative portions forms just one of the characteristics in French architecture in several of its phases, that are yet to be brought under consideration.

It was not given to every master to manage happily and animatedly the simple and severest classical forms. Whoever does not regard the meaning innate in every form, but will experiment freely with such completed and fixed forms, can be but half satisfied; in this is always to be sought a danger in the use of classical forms. Fig. 36 presents an example of how a master, who had more admiration for the new forms than understanding of their nature, employed them in the solution of a new problem. Awkwardness in the classical period no longer possessed the definite charm, which frequently dwelt in the naive experiments of the early Renaissance.

187. Further Tendencies of the Style.

To complete the representation of the diversity in the phenomena of the high Renaissance, those special style tendencies are to be finally named, on account of their importance, which are to be combined in Chapter 7 under the following names.

- a. The Ideal architecture.
- b. The Neo-Rustica.
- c. The Colossal Order.
- d. The series of pediments as a crown for a facade.
- e. The composition with the "rhythmic bay" of Bramante.
- f. The brick architecture.

4. Influence of the High Renaissance upon the later Architecture of France.

188. The High Renaissance as the Aim of the Renaissance.

In the preceding, the high Renaissance is designated as that phase of the style, which is the fulfilment of the end pursued from the beginning of the Renaissance, either consciously or unconsciously. In it terminate all the different tendencies, that have already been mentioned. On the other hand, it will appear, that in this phase lie all the sources of the later successive tendencies and phases of French architecture until the present day. The high Renaissance is like the treasury of all the attainments of so joyous, so undoubting, so animated and effervescent a form of endeavor, the early or young Renaissance.

189. The High Renaissance as a Source of the later Development.

In the high Renaissance and since the year 1550, -- perhaps only since the year 1560, -- exists complete, one may well say, the instruments of French architecture until the present day, -- certain applications to iron construction alone excepted. Only in the spirit in which this instrument is handled, further in the emphasizing of certain of its elements or in the more or less complete development of the one or the other of the three chief intellectual tendencies, and finally in the proportions in which these elements are combined, are the later architectural phases following the high Renaissance originated, and do they differ from each other.⁴¹⁵ This is ind-

indeed an important fact, not sufficiently and perhaps not at all made prominent. It contributes in a high degree to illustrate the circumstances of the connection in the later architectural phases in France.

Note 415. This explains the difficulty, to which Destailleur once called my attention, in sometimes distinguishing from each other, which are common to phases in different periods.

Such a conception cannot appear so very strange. The capacity for producing usually a true "climax" in any art tendency, i.e., a relative maximum, presupposes such a considerable amount of artistic talent and of intellectual power, that it is only logical, when one sees ~~matured art principles~~ strongly influence the succeeding periods during a longer or shorter time, whether in the same form, or as forces that produce definite contrasts.

190. Divergent Effects of the two principal Tendencies.

The later and new successive phases result, when more closely considered, from the divergent effects of the two great principal tendencies in the architecture of the high Renaissance, whose remains are presented in Art. 87 as one of the most interesting phenomena of French architecture. With a kind of regular alternation prevails first the more severe and then again the more free tendency. The two currents, which already existed in the school of Fontainebleau, nevertheless again stand in the most intimate connection with the two great currents, which are to be plainly recognized in Italy itself; the severer, led by Bramante, and the freer, introduced by Michelangelo. Both currents, so to speak, may be regarded as the branches of the same stream of the history of civilization.

191. Subordinate Tendencies.

Besides these two main currents of architecture proper, there are also subordinate currents, similar to the side branches or canals of rivers, and which flow in the same direction. Their effect especially extends to sculpture and painting; but thereby they affect not only the decoration but also the entire spirit in the conception and treatment of the architecture itself.

e. Late Renaissance.

e. Late Renaissance.

(Style of Charles IX and Henry III).

About 1570-1595.

192. Origin.

Just as the development and maturity of the French Renaissance had been caused by the fact, that the early Renaissance had ever become more completely permeated by the clear, beautiful and regular forms and principles of Bramante's Italo-Antique architecture, just so arose the "Late Renaissance of the 16th century", the freer and in part more capricious phase of the Renaissance, or also the period of partial and temporary decay. All these statements are correct; for now was the high Renaissance ever more and more imbued with a predominating "free conception of art", such as was to be observed in the school of Fontainebleau, and which was termed in the preceding pages the free style or that of internal decoration. One frequently recalls the character of the works of Galeazzo Alessi at Milan.

193. Criticism.

In the criticism of the freer and later phase of an art period, one is exposed to a twofold danger: first, that in the name of regularity one may condemn expressions of artistic freedom, that are not only entirely justified, but have also actually created beautiful art works; secondly, the danger that from the point of view of the precious gift of artistic freedom, one attempts to justify ideas, feelings, solutions, and forms, that only exhibit artistic feebleness, impotence, bad taste, moral and artistic errors. In a word, one too easily confuses freedom and decadence; one easily condemns too quickly new elements, that might be the guarantee and the pre-sage of a new, even if a different climax of art.

In this new phase likewise is French architecture a faithful reflection of the political and moral life of that period, at least in certain of its phenomena. A brief glance at the history of the time is therefore appropriate.

1. Historical Review.

194. The Religious Wars.

The late Renaissance, or the last phase of the first period of development in French art, is the epoch of the religious w

wars. The latter began in the year 1562 with the massacre of Vassy, and scarcely came to an end with the taking of Paris in 1594. Thus France preceded Germany with the type of a more than thirty years' war. Concerning its course will be given a few brief statements from French writers, especially from Henri Martin.⁴¹⁶

Note 416. Martin, H. *Histoire de France* etc. 4th edition. Vols. 9 & 10. Paris. 1856-1860.

Martin writes:--"The character of the last Valois and of their mother was the one real activity of the intellect and of the imagination in the midst of the ruins of every principle and of all morality, as in Italy during the period of decadence. -- Catherine had every attribute of the intellect, combined with every vice of the heart". Catherine, almost seventy, died on Jan. 5, 1589, a few days after the murder of the Guises.

As long as Catherine lived, the art of the Renaissance continued at a certain elevation, and her part in the building of the Tuileries will be mentioned later. Her son Charles IX possessed from birth the most splendid gifts of intellect and of imagination, and he was less inclined toward vice than most of his family. He had a strong love for the arts of form, as well as for music and poetry; his own poems exhibit more taste and naturalness than those of Ronsard. A truly shocking training had debased his entire moral feeling, and "he suffered from the fiendish influence of his mother".

Martin further says:-- "Taste, art and literature remained on the surface of this obscene chaos. Henry honored the poet Ronsard, and like his mother required the arts to prostitute themselves to his vices. His court was a mixture of bigotry and of loathsome immorality, combined with a remnant of chivalry, tainted with vice, yet bold, thirsting for adventure, even to weariness. Under Henry III, everything was a lie; to the mind, the heart, the judgment; his customs were childish and capricious even to extravagance; they betrayed monstrous inclinations; the caprices of an aimless and ruined power of imagination prevented him from showing persistence in any plan. Nothing in the history of France presents the slightest analogy to the court of Henry III. One must recur to the most

demoralized period of Roman antiquity to find such a mixture of excess and turbulence, of delirium and bloodthirsty levity. The court had become a focus of prostitution and at the same time a den of assassins. Likewise in the royal army existed a frightful anarchy. Its pay was withheld; therefore it devastated the country in an even more merciless way than the foreign troops of the Huguenots. The finances of the Valois were exhausted to such a degree, that they could neither maintain the unfinished palaces, support the artists, nor encourage the arts." Henry III gave to a favorite the bishoprics of Grenoble and of Amiens, "so that he might make his profits thereon". "He sold the former for 30,000 francs, and the latter was purchased for 40,000 francs by a court lady, to sell again at a profit.

2. Diversity of Tendencies of the Style.

195. Beginning of the Decadence.

The assertion of Destailleur, that the decadence in art began with the appointment of Primaticcio as superintendent in 1559, seems to be not quite correct. This opinion comes from the time when it was believed, that Primaticcio only worked in the overloaded and capricious style of the cartouches at Fontainebleau, and when it was not known, that he had also pursued a severe tendency, especially in the domain of architecture. It would be more correct to say, that a current of decadence had commenced much earlier, namely with the beginning of the school of Fontainebleau (soon after 1531). This movement began in Italy approximately with the death of Raphael, and especially with the exaggeration of certain forms already occurring in the Loggias of the Vatican at Rome. But in architecture proper, the Tuileries of De l'Orme, commenced in 1564, already contain many elements of caprice, while the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis by Primaticcio, commenced in 1560, is one of the buildings of the entire Renaissance in France, most severe in its style.

196. Overloading of Forms.

One of the first ways, that contributed to the corruption of the pure style, was the overloading with capricious forms. It is again Philibert De l'Orme, who affords an example of this in the Tuileries. Here occur (Fig. 47 ⁴¹⁷) two or three pediments inserted in each other, as Michelangelo employed on

the doorway of the Laurenziana at Florence, in the original design for the attic-like half story. On this side of the court further appear the window parapets furnished with iron ear-like hooks at the sides, as if suspended. The window lintel, which is twice as high as the architrave, cuts into the latter together with the frieze. The entablature above the doorway is apparently concealed, but is really intersected by an inscribed tablet extending its entire height.

Note 417. From an original drawing by J. Du Cerceau in the British Museum at London.

197. Deterioration of Imagination.

A second reason for degeneration in art is to be sought in the exaggeration and in the overgrowth of the imagination. The real intellectual activity and the imaginative power of the last Valois and of their mother may have contributed to this phenomenon, or may have caused it. Taste for the beautiful may scarcely be retained in the midst of an extraordinary immorality, which finally misled and debased the heart.

Among the engravings of the elder Du Cerceau, several compositions and series afford an especially favorable opportunity for observing the ever increasing invasion of the high Renaissance by this tendency of the late Renaissance. The overgrowth of the imagination manifests itself in many of his drawings and engravings by the superfluous number of members, by their overrich or unquiet, even tasteless treatment, by the disregard of scale between the different members in reference to their original purpose, and also frequently by the great number of animals and human forms, which in more or less constrained poses fulfil structural or ornamental functions, by the prevalence of fanciful animal figures, and by the unnatural positions of the latter and of the figures of men. Even offensive are the errors of the imagination in a series of designs for bedsteads, which belong to the last period of the elder Du Cerceau. The original and normal forms, that may be deduced from a "structural" bed, are too completely abandoned in favor of forms, which represent animal creations in unnatural positions.

An unpleasing and exaggerated eccentricity is likewise to be seen in a design, which the elder Du Cerceau prepared for

the semicircular building, that was to be erected on the terrace below the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise between two small pavilions.

One of the fields, in which the deterioration of the imagination first appears, is that of the cartouches. Their scale was exaggerated; the number of their projecting, angular or scrolled points became greater and more complicated; two or even three cartouches were frequently placed about or over each other etc.

Even in the great Palissy, severely moral and animated by the reformed Christianity, is expressed the tendency of the imagination, even more in him than in any other. Yet his imaginative forms must bear as much as possible the character of "natural wonders", just as his reverence for nature as the creation of God, permitted him to employ realistically in his decorative works objects directly shaped after nature, such as fishes, plants, shells etc.

Already in the year 1563, Palissy writes;⁴¹⁸ "I know that every error, that has become a custom, every delusion and every folly, is held to be a principle and a virtue; but I will not permit myself to be influenced thereby, and I will in no wise be an imitator of my predecessors, except in those things according to the appointment of God. I see such great abuses and ignorance in all arts, that it appears as if all order had been perverted for the most part".

Note 418. In *Le Recepte veritable*. La Rochelle. 1564. Paris. 1880.

198. Early Appearance of Eccentricity.

The bizarre already appeared in several cases at a tolerably early time in the works of the high Renaissance, the treatment of whose details is otherwise sharp and good. This appears to be a peculiarity, that is exhibited by a group of buildings at Toulouse, that apparently bears the character of Nicolas Bachelier; bizarre and richly animated decorative arrangements are executed in sharp and beautifully treated details.

The windows of Hotel Lasbordes at Toulouse, overloaded with animated, capriciously bizarre hermes figures, may be partly placed in the time of Puget, if the detail and the character

of the treatment would not indicate the middle of the 16 th century. Fig. 47 ⁴¹⁹ shows, how on this building are employed the bizarre enclosures of the school of Fontainebleau on the external forms, as for example on the windows, where they compose an entirely capricious mixture of decorative forms and figures.

Note 419. From a photograph by Miesement in Paris.

In other cases, this is eccentricity of certain structural members and ornamental arrangements, which crowds itself into a facade, severely designed for the main part, as for example, the hermes figures and orders of the former Maison Blanche at Gaillon.(Fig. 248).

199. Less severe Proportions.

In very many compositions by Du Cerceau, alike in the drawings and in the engravings, one recognizes in the elongated female forms ⁴²⁰ and in the garlands of fruits employed, treated in a degenerate mannerism in the spirit of Giovanni da Udine, the influence of the Italians in Fontainebleau and an inclination toward the dropping of severe proportions. The design of Du Cerceau, the fatter, for the gallery of the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise (Fig. 48 ⁴²¹) exhibits in the coupled caryatids the shocking exaggeration of the human figure to even 10 heads in height, which was then much favored, and further a colossal lion in the circular pediment above them, which is in no sympathetic scale with the former. Also should be mentioned further the facades of Du Cerceau on the Chateau at Charleval (Fig. 119) with their hermes figures beside the colossal order, and extending through one and a half stories.

Note 420. The irksome nymphs of Benvenuto Cellini at Fontainebleau were equally stiff and long-legged, and they were finished in 1544.

Note 421. From Du Cerceau, J. Les plus excellents Bastiments de France etc. Paris. Vol. 1. 1576.

200. Sharper Accentuation of Contrasts.

In this late period of the Renaissance further appears the endeavor to more sharply emphasize contrasts. As a first pertinent example may be mentioned the inner side of Du Cerceau's front wing in the outer court of the Chateau at Charleval (Fig. 120), where the arrangement of doorways, arcades, windows and

niches in the alternating system of two different bays connected together by a colossal order scorns all horizontal homogeneity. Further is cited the arrangement of the rusticated voussoirs in the lintels and round arches of the windows and niches, producing an animated contrast, in Du Cerceau's design for the Chateau at Charleval. (Fig. 132). Lastly is recalled the rich City Hall at Arras (1572), which possesses in the third story twisted columns, overrich dormer windows and triple windows in the middle building, that extend higher than the cornice of the entablature of the intermediate piers.

201. Permanence of good Peculiarities.

Beside such results of exaggerated caprice, which were adapted to lead to decadence, it is only just to also allude to the existence of indications of progress. Thus for example, the composition of the ground plan and the general design of the Chateau at Charleval by Du Cerceau are by far the most complete, which had then been produced, and it is indeed striking, that the last known of Du Cerceau, the latter, exhibits a firm adherence to the most severe tendency in art, namely the appearance of his "Livre des Edifices antiques Romains" in 1584. (See Art. 162).

An entire portion of the composition is sometimes entirely kept within severe forms and good detail, while other parts are composed with freer elements. An example of such a mixture is to be found in Toulouse on the doorway of the garden facade of a house in Rue Fermat (Fig. 49⁴²²); in spite of the indeed somewhat bizarre and capricious enclosure of the oval window, the elevation is animated, yet not without a certain fineness of some lines and refinement of certain forms. Especially individual is the animated elevation of the Tower of Corduan, kept in the masses in the spirit of the early Renaissance, but whose subdivision is conceived in the forms of the high Renaissance, while in the details of overloading here, and the caprice in certain proportions of the pilasters to each other, is betrayed the late Renaissance. (Fig. 314).

Note 422. From Doly's *Motifs Historiques d'Architecture* etc. Paris. 1869.

202. Other Examples.

Finally, the following chateaus and other buildings belong-

belonging to the period of Charles IX and Henry III, are mentioned as examples.

a. Chateau at Kerjean, also a fortified chateau.

b. Chateau at Lanquais, a magnificent example of the time of Charles IX (according to Palustre).

c. Chateau at Lauzun, begun on a great scale in 1570, but unfinished (according to Palustre).

d. Chateau at Sully, apparently commenced in 1567 by Nicolas Ribonnier.

e. Chateau at Joigny, begun in 1569; only the middle building and one pavilion were completed.

f. Chateau at Louppy, built in the second half of the 16th century on a great scale (according to Palustre) by an architect from Germany.

g. The former City Hall, now Palace of Justice, at Besancon, built in 1582-1585 by Hughes Sambin.

h. The long wing of the City Hall at La Rochelle, completed in 1607 by an unknown master.

i. Magnificent wardrobes in the chapel of the Palace of Justice at Dijon, executed in 1582 by Samoin.

j. The vestibule to Palace of Justice at Dijon, belonging to the time of Charles IX, and probably by Nicolas Ribonnier. (According to Palustre).

3. The Masters.

203. Small Number of Masters.

In mentioning the masters engaged in the late Renaissance, it must first be remembered, that in this period artists were still preeminent, who had already developed their work in the high Renaissance, or even in the time of the early Renaissance, like Jacques I Du Cerceau, Hugues Sambin and Nicolas Bachelier, Pierre Lescot and Jean Bullant both died only in the year 1573. Of Du Cerceau, the father, it is unknown when he died, as already stated in Art. 160, but his volume on the Monuments of ancient Rome appeared in 1584. Bernard Palissy was approximately his contemporary and only died in the year 190.

The number of masters, whose names are mentioned in the frequently quoted works of Lance and of Palustre, is striking enough; only two of them deserve more thorough consideration;

Palissy and Baptiste Du Cerceau. According to time, Palissy might have been mentioned with the five great architects of the high Renaissance, as the sixth of those masters. If this is first done in this place, the reason for it is, that the freer tendency of his spirit is better suited to the freer current during the phase of the late Renaissance, and further to the circumstance, that this pure and noble form is the more clearly relieved against the background of depravity during the epoch of Henry III, like a shining star, that hopefully indicates better times.

a. Bernard Palissy.

204. Manysidedness and Perseverance.

This master was at the same time architect, glass stainer, potter, geometrician, surveyor, physicist, chemist, geologist, farmer, gardener, and author, of the first rank. In this many-sidedness of genius in his works he stands alone, and is therein to be compared to Leonardo da Vinci, but in the originality of his conceptions with Rembrandt. In his only known signature, Palissy designates himself as "architect and inventor of large figulines to Monseigneur the Constable. (Feb. 1. 1564).⁴²⁴

Note 423. Figulines (from Latin figulus, a worker in clay, or from figulinus, i.e., of clay), Palissy calls his glazed terra cotta figures, which are not to be confounded with figurines, little figures or statuettes.

Note 424. See France, A. Les Oeuvres de Bernard Palissy e etc. Paris. 1880. p. 27.

For sixteen years, Palissy with heroic perseverance continued his experiments in pottery, during which the garden fence, the floors and the tables were thrown into the kiln to produce the required heat, and this made him the most popular artistic figure in France. But had Palissy created his glazed pottery alone, he would have found no mention in these volumes. The manner of composition, style and scale of colors of these works remain rather cold; but the greatness of his soul and his energy, his manly independence and the depth of his Christian faith, on the other hand make him one of the most interesting and astonishing artistic natures. In this investigator of true genius, original thinker, discoverer, even a prophet in the domain of the natural sciences and of agricul-

agriculture, there unwillingly arises a comparison with Leonardo da Vinci. As in his case as well as that of Palissy, one is surprised at everything that aroused his intellect at the same time.

Palissy indeed stands alone among all French masters in regard to the originality of his esthetics; in his two books are to be found in various places statements, which likewise produce a comparison with Leonardo, since both united art, science and practice in the same person.

Finally as a writer, Palissy is indeed a master of the first rank, and the noble praise paid to him in this domain by Lamartine is not exaggerated.⁴²⁵ The descriptions in his "Jardin delectable" and his "Ville forteresse" must remain in the history of art as unique as are those compositions themselves. Perhaps Palissy should be regarded as the prophetic creator of the English garden and park designs.

Note 425. In Audiat (p. 220, from the *Civilisateur*, July 1852) is found the following passage:-- "It is impossible, it is impossible after reading his writings, to not proclaim this poor worker in clay as one of the greatest writers in the French language. Montaigne does not excel him in freedom, J. J. Rousseau in pith, La Fontaine in grace, Bossuet in lyric energy. He dreams, meditates, weeps, describes, and he sings like them".

Modern physics, chemistry and geology owe him much. He founded in France the public lecture, and his cabinet of natural objects,-- his little academy, as he terms it, -- was open to every lover of science and amateur; it was therefore the first museum of natural history. As a zealous Huguenot, on account of his faith, he was at last imprisoned in the Bastille, and he died there in 1590 from want, starvation and maltreatment.

205. Course of his Life.

Palissy appears to have been generally known under the name of "master Bernard of the Tuileries", perhaps because the supervision of his kiln built there required his constant presence, and therefore he lived there from time to time. S. Gerand Langrois mentioned him in 1592 in his book, "Le Globe du Monde"; "master Bernard Palissy, heretofore governor of the Tuileries".

According to the most reliable among several different statements, Palissy was born in the year 1570 in the diocese of Agen, and he appears to have been taken to Saintonge while still quite young. He first learned glass-making and glass-staining, wandered over nearly all France, where he made the most varied observations, and he then settled in Saintes.

In 1539 or 1540 on seeing a glazed bowl, there arose in him a desire to discover the making of a "white glaze", whose production was originated by Luca della Robbia, and which had remained a secret of the della Robbias. Meanwhile he was alternately a glass-maker and glass-stainer, a geometrician and surveyor.

In 1544, Palissy was entrusted with a land registry survey of the salt marshes in Saintonge.

In 1546, he was converted to Protestantism.

In 1548, there arose a rebellion in Saintonge, which was suppressed by the Constable de Montmorency. The latter thereon became the protector of Palissy, and placed at his disposal a part of the money required for the building of his workshop; the Constable likewise ordered from Palissy the glazed grotto for Ecouen.

In 1562 as a zealous Huguenot, he was sent to prison by the Parliament in Bordeaux. The Constable procured for him a patent as "inventor of rustic figures to the king", thus freeing him from the jurisdiction of the parliament, as being then an appertaining to the king.

In 1563, Palissy was still working on the grotto for Ecouen, and published in the same year his book "La Recepte veritable".

In 1565, he was presented to the king and Catherine de Medici at Saintes by the Constable.

In 1566 or 1567, he removed to Paris in order to begin for Catherine the famous glazed grotto of the Tuileries.

In 1570, the four glazed bridges leading to the island in the grotto were not yet completed.

In 1575-1584, Palissy gave public lectures (conferences) in Paris on scientific topics.

In 1580, he published his book "Les Discours admirables".

In 1590, he was thrown into the Bastille during the League, rescued by Mayenne from the death of a martyr, and as already-

already stated, he died in 1590 in prison from cold and poverty, after he had reached the eightieth year of his life.

b. Baptiste Androuet Du Cerceau.

206. Position.

Baptiste, elder son of the famous Jacques I Androuet Du Cerceau (see d, 1, e, Arts. 159-162) was at latest born between 1544 and 1547, and he died in the year 1590. He early attained high distinction, and was without doubt held to be the best architect in that time of Henry III; for after the death of Lescot and Bullant in the year 1573, Baptiste became the successor of the former in the erection of the Louvre, and the successor of the master last mentioned in the building of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis. His participation in the design of his father for the magnificent Chateau of Charles IX at Charleval, the superintendence of the construction of which he must have had from the beginning, was already mentioned in Art. 160.

On Dec. 28, 1576, the king had entrusted the building of his Chateau at Ollainville near Arpajon to a lord of Nyvellon. The words "charge and conduct of his building" may as well refer to an official as to an architectural function;⁴²⁶ but when on Oct. 17, 1578, Baptiste was placed at the head of this building in the same words, this can only in his case refer to the real architectural control, and it may well be assumed, that he is the creator of this architectural monument. Unfortunately nothing further exists of this extensive architectural activity of Baptiste, -- with the exception of the Bridge pont Neuf at Paris ⁴²⁷ designed and commenced by him, -- by which one might form an idea of his artistic gifts and of his style. That he enjoyed a part of his training with his father is as good as certain; whether he was himself in Italy is not known.

Note 426. In the "Comptes des Batiments du Roi" (Vol. 1. p. 36), there occurs in the royed brief of Nov. 13, 1577, the following passage: -- "By which the king has committed to masters Aymard Nicolay, Benoist Milen, and Francois de Nyvelon, the charge and control of his house of the Chateau of Ollainville". These words leave no doubt that to the last was given only the official charge of the building.

Note 427. concerning the interesting execution of this Bridge and for many other things relating to Baptiste, I refer to my already frequently mentioned monograph:-- Les Du Serceau etc. Paris. 1887.

207. Course of his Life.

In 1575, he was received in the guard of "45 gentlemen in ordinary" of Henry III as the sole Huguenot. According to the words used by the duke of Nevers, "yet he had made more designs for monasteries, churches, chapels, meeting-houses and altars, than any other in 50 years".

In 1577, he received at the Chateau at Chambord the same annual salary of 400 livres, that he had been accustomed to receive there (since 1572?).

On Sept. 25, 1578, as already stated, he became the successor of Lescot at the building of the Louvre, and on Oct. 17 of the same year the successor of Bullant at the building of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis, as well as architect of the royal Chateau at Ollainville. In the same year, he began the construction of the Bridge Pont Neuf at Paris.

In 1584, he was designated as architect to the king, and in Nov. of the same year, he purchased the site for his house in Paris.

In 1585, he was valet-de-chambre of the king and orderer in general of the buildings of his majesty, apparently with 6000 livres salary.

On apr. 21, 1586, he arranged the measurements at the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis.

In 1586, he is designated as the "nobleman Baptiste Androuet, lord du Serceau, royal councillor, his architect-in-ordinary, commissioned by his majesty to ordain all the works of the buildings and edifices of his majesty, and the expenses that may properly be incurred".

On Sept. 18, 1590, after Baptiste's death, Pierre Biard was appointed as successor to his office of architect, and superintendent deciding on the cost of the buildings of the king, lately held and exercised by Baptiste Androuet Du Serceau, vacated by his death, with a salary of 600 crowns.

On the site acquired in 1584 near the Pre-aux-Clercs at Paris, Baptiste built for himself a beautiful house, which must

have been destroyed during the disturbances of the League. For on account of his Protestant faith, he apparently resigned all his offices in 1585. Likewise in a manner not sufficiently certain, there is mention of the flight of Baptiste, which must have occurred in 1585;⁴²⁸ yet this does not seem reconcilable with the fact, that Mayenne, chief of the League in Paris, only on Sept. 18, 1590, nominated a successor to the office held by Baptiste, "now vacant by his death".

Note 428. According to Palustre, this occurred in 1587, by reason of what statements I know not. The fact that on Nov. 12, 1587, the king entrusted to Jean Nicolai the superintendence of the Chapel, that the king was building in the Church S. Denis for the sepulchre of the late king Henry, may perhaps permit the conclusion, that Baptiste no longer had charge of the building. Otherwise the function of Nicolai there might be merely an official one. (See Comptes des Batiments du Roi etc. Vol. 1. p. 42).

The wife of Baptiste was named Marie Raguidier or Rueguidort. She sold the house of her husband in 1602 to his brother Jacques II, whom with Jean I, son of Baptiste, we shall find as royal architects of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

c. Other Masters.

208. Other Masters.

Of the period of Charles IX and Henry III, the following masters are further named in the already frequently mentioned "Dictionnaire des Architectes Francais etc." by Lance.

a. Arnaud Dubit, as architect to the king of Navarre, received in 1565 a yearly salary of 32 crowns.

b. Herve Bourlard, architect to the king of Navarre, was in 1563 architect of the Chateau at Pau, and he built in 1580 a fountain in the garden of the Chateau at Nerac.

c. Jean Wast must have constructed for Charles IX the main stairway in the second story of the Louvre; the statement that in relation to the stonecutting of the oval staircase in the Tuileries at Paris he helped Philibert De l'Orme out of difficulty, who was indeed very skilful in this specialty, and that he afterwards left him in the lurch, must be accepted with caution.

d. Guillaume de Chapounay was about 1570 "comptroller gen-

general of the buildings of the Tuileries with an annual salary of 360 livres.

e. Matthias Tesson built in 1572 the gateway of the City Hall at Arras near Rue Vinocq.

f. Charles Bullant, a nephew of Jean Bullant, worked in 1573 under the latter on the tombs at S. Denis, and he placed himself in 1582 with other architects in a series for taking up the work on the Mausoleum of the Valois there.

g. Nicolas Duchemin began in 1574 the building of Church Notre Dame at Havre; the choir was completed in 1585 and the nave in 1587.

h. Jean Bonnaud, architect to the king, received in Nov. 1572, 100 livres "on account of his daily service".

i. Florent Drouin was designated in 1581 as "master mason" of the duchy of Lorraine and was sent to Rome to bring therefrom the plan of the Church degli Incurabili, because it was desired to construct it after the model of Church Benedictine begun at Nancy in 1626.

j. Cl. P. Leroy began in 1581 with the building of the Chateau at Eu, which Henry of Guise (Le Balafre) had built on the ruins of an earlier chateau; only the right wing and one half the rear wing were then completed; Leroy died on Nov. 10, 1582.

k. Louis de Foix was born at Paris about 1550 (?), and was called by Philip II to work on the Escorial near Madrid; he returned to Paris in 1579, executed the new harbor at Bayonne and in 1585 began the erection of the Tower of Corduan. (Fig. 314).

l. Alexandre Carnot delivered in 1585 the model "with round knob" for the termination finished in 1604, of the bell tower of the Church at Villefranche-de-Rouergue.

m. Palustre names in his "Architecture de la Renaissance" only two masters of the period in question in addition to those otherwise mentioned; Guillaume Crete and Thomas Olivier; both built from 1580 to 1598 the side aisles of the Church at Argentan.

f. Period of Henry IV and his Influence on the 17 th Century.

209. Necessity of a connected Presentation of the historical Review.

With Henry IV, we have come to that period of French architecture, which most French writers no longer regard as belonging to the Renaissance style, as we saw in Art. 5. Nevertheless, we shall show that this view is scientifically incorrect, and that all phenomena in the domain of the main current of French architecture until the present day are merely different phases of development of the Renaissance style. With Henry IV, we have reached the end of the first and the beginning of the second period of development.

The second period of development of the Renaissance however presents perceptible and important differences from the character of the first. Its general appearance is more uniform. the difference between the characters of the three chief phases, i.e., of the styles of Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV, are partly less striking to the eye, than between those of Francis I, Henry II, and Henry II, of the first period of development. This permits the giving of a review of the historical events, that influenced architecture in sequence at the entrance upon the second period, instead of as before, separately for each different phase. The review therefore becomes briefer and more convincing.

210. Defective Knowledge of this Period.

The epoch of Henry IV is that portion of the history of French architecture, whose accurate criticism appears most difficult. "The history of French art at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th", writes Lamonnier,⁴²⁹ "is still obscure. Not merely because historians have scarcely occupied themselves with it, but on account of the uncertainty of the period, and because it is difficult to comprehend the works and to determine their character". The statement of so skilful an expert as Lamonnier concerning the ignorance regarding the period of Henry IV is especially valuable, as it aids in explaining the erroneous opinion concerning the position of that period and the succeeding phases with reference to the Renaissance style. For it is indeed most important for understanding the following 150 years, as well as for the knowledge of the relation of this second period of development of Renaissance architecture to the first. This appears to be indeed the key to the latter question.

Note 429. In Limonnier, H. *L'Art Français ou Temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin*. Paris. 1893. p. 41. -- This testimony of Limonnier, Professor of History at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, is especially valuable. On account of its sterling qualities and the endeavor to impartially weigh all the elements, his work cannot be sufficiently recommended for the study of the period from 1600 to 1660.

A series of reasons at least partially explain this apparent indifference to the arts of the period of Henry IV, as well as the incorrect views caused by the imperfect knowledge of it, and which were already mentioned in Arts. 5 and 19.

First is the assumed lack of masters, who were really great or at least had opportunity to demonstrate to later periods their importance, when their functions frequently consisted of continuing works commenced by other architects.

Second is the French custom of designating the different phases by naming them after their kings. Thereby on the one hand was the difference too strongly emphasized, the connections too greatly weakened, and too brief epochs are considered. On the other hand, distorted pictures are produced by these dislocations. Important portions of the phases are placed in false bounds and in incorrect surroundings. The architectural representation is obscured.

The historical description of the development of the styles and their scientific estimation are led astray in this case, because since only the undisturbed reign of Henry as king is considered, and not the entire period of the Huguenot contest, whose personification, so to speak, was the king of Navarre. Just the period of Henry IV has thereby especially suffered, while the important, interesting and so characteristic appearance of Salomon de Brosse was transferred by the murder of the great king into the assumed sphere of his widow and of his young son, where it was scarcely intelligible, and was assumed by many as somewhat enigmatical.

A third reason must be, that Henry was at first a Protestant and afterwards became a Catholic. Earnest Huguenots still fill the second period of the king with melancholy. Many Catholics are not in sympathy with his great role as head of the Huguenots. Since his conversion resulted from policy, it

does not appear sincere to them.

Fourth, the defective understanding of this period results from the indescribable chaos into which France fell during this epoch. From the night of St. Bartholemew, which coincided with the marriage of Henry and the daughter of Catherine de Medici, until the entry of the king into Paris (1594), the chaos became ever more frightful, and this indeed scared away historical investigators.

Finally must be true, as I believe, the judgment of Henri Martin,⁴³⁰ that it was impossible under the old monarchy to write the "history" of France, the lack of an impartial history, the want of which is lamented still in France, contributing to the explanation of the defective knowledge of the period of Henry IV.

Note 430. In *Histoire de France*. 4th edition. Paris. 1855-1860. Vol. 12. p. 140; vol. 15. p. 353.

1. Epoch of Henry IV; the Huguenot Wars, the League, and the Fusion Policy of the King.
(1562-1628).

211. Period of Henry IV.

The period of Henry IV is one of the most important, perhaps the most important in the history of France after the fall of ancient Rome and the epoch of Charlemagne. Then France had to decide on what position it should take in regard to the Reformation.

When I designate as the period of Henry IV the entire duration of the Huguenot strife, I hope by this classification to make possible a better understanding of that epoch. I likewise hope to be able to better indicate its influence upon the second period of the Renaissance and their development and connection.

Such a classification and grouping appear justified, since it contains as a basis the entirety of an intellectual movement, which has been of fundamental importance to the destiny and the arts of France until the present day. It permits in the religious domain, in which all feeling continually attained to its highest expression, the production of other contemporary endeavors, that likewise contributed in determining the character of the architecture.

It likewise appears justifiable to extend the term "period of Henry IV" over the entire epoch of the Huguenot contest of 1562-1628 and after his actual reign. As a friend and pupil of Coligny, so to speak, he was in connection with the beginning of the movement; after 1568, he took part in it personally; from 1589 to 1610, he was the head and the focus of everything. He further himself successively belonged to both confessions of faith. A Huguenot Catholic or Catholic-Huguenot, Henry was the most national of all kings of France. To have understood a fusion policy and to have carried it out until his early end remains the noblest crown of his fame.

212. Diversity of the Matters in Controversy.

When the storm of misfortunes was released upon the religious domain, there was combined with the contest of the Huguenots for freedom of conscience a multitude of other elements, questions and principles. The following phenomena were mutually opposed to each other in general.

a. The Protestant reaction against Rome to the contest of the Huguenots against the Catholics.

b. The reaction of the great nobles against the absolute monarchy.

c. The reaction of municipal freedom against absolute monarchy.

d. The reaction of the peasantry against the nobility.

e. The dynastic questions of succession; herein the Catholics and the Huguenots were frequently united against the combined Catholics and Spaniards; then fought with each other to the pure monarchical principle of hereditary succession, the Catholic principle of a Catholic king, and the republican principle.

f. The question of national unity or the division of France into large independent principalities.

These conflicts arrayed themselves against the constantly increasing Italian tendency in art, after the awakening of a northern national feeling.

213. Anarchy.

From these conflicts arose the most frightful anarchy. The outburst of the League in 1585 was the counterpart of the great Huguenot movement of 1562. Its watchword was the disinn-

disinheritance of the king of Navarre as a protection against a Huguenot king and the fall of the favorite. It surrendered the interior to the ultramontanes, the borders and the exterior to Spain; the democratic party in it became even antinational. The great men of the League, like those of the Huguenots, again desired to dissolve the great unity of the French state in order to be able to raise their governments into independent principalities. Foreigners likewise believed in the dissolution of French unity.⁴³¹

Note 431. Already in 1573, William of Orange wrote to the king; "You are on the brink of ruin, your state is open on every side, torn like an old house; --- This throne belongs to whoever will take it". Spain believed in the dissolution of France after the death of Henry III, Venice in the formation of municipal republics; the grand duke of Tuscany offered to the king to buy Marseilles in case of the dissolution of the kingdom.

The Jesuits opened the contest against the beginning theory of the "divine right of the king".

About 1592, there existed no less than eight pretenders to the French throne, among them the king of Spain and his daughter, in whose favor he sought the abrogation of the Salic law. In the Protestant party republican tendencies constantly appeared, and they endeavored to organize themselves, sometimes in the form of a federation of cities, sometimes after theocratic or Swiss models, or even as a republic of Protestants and Catholics combined. The plebeians despised the nobility, mistrustingly watched their pastors, or regulated their visits to the chateaus.

Paris, which closed its gates for ten years against Henry III and Henry IV, was ruled by three or four parties:-- Mayenne, the council of Sixteen, the Legate of the Pope, and the Spaniards with their garrison. It demanded republican institutions under the protectorate of the Pope, of the king of Spain, of despotism incarnate! Besieged from time to time by its legitimate king, it was relieved by the duke of Parma, who held the Netherlands for Spain. Paris looked neither for Spanish help, while the king had no capital other than his camp and battlefields. To appease the fanaticism of the bes-

besieged Parisians, the government was apparently compelled to fabricate trophies of booty and tales of combats.

"From one end of France to the other", writes H. Martin, "every one was busied in making war in his province, and every canton was the scene of incessant strife".

A description of this diversity of interests was necessary, in order to better explain the variety of the tendencies and the foreign influences, with which we meet.

a. Government of Henry IV and of Sully.

214. Conquest of Anarchy.

Thus were the circumstances under which Henry IV again re-established the monarchy after twenty five years of war. Even after his entry into Paris, the difficulties were enormous. As H. Martin says, Henry was compelled to repurchase France in detail from a thousand petty kings, produced by the hydra of the civil war. The king himself had no shirt, while financiers like ~~Thas~~ Zamas, the Cenamis, Jerome de Gondi, the intendants or farmers of the king, filled their coffers. From Henry III, the administration of the finances was an organized robbery.

215. Henry IV.

As a personality, Henry IV was the most important king, who sat on the throne of France from Charlemagne to Napoleon. The youthful pupil of Coligny, heroic, rash, filled with love for hand-to-hand combats, he had as much genius as a commander as keen insight into the politics and administration of his country. "Henry of Navarre", says Martin, "had one of those rare and wonderfully organized natures, strong and elastic as steel, which nothing could crush or surprise. Under the pressure of necessity, always master of the situation, constantly increasing and inexhaustible means were found".

Infinitely superior to the Valois and the Guises in all essentials, he was inferior to them in relation to elegance and personal dignity. Compared with both of the other Henrys, he almost appears as a military adventurer among princes.

Yet Henry was everything but unsusceptible to the joys of life. Full of affability, kind feeling and sparkling spirits, as Martin says, pleasure was a real occasion of importance, indeed one too great. In spite of his genius, the king had

all the passions, which ruin a private man and even overburden a monarch; woman, play and building. This makes the financial undertakings of Sully only still more astonishing. The minister sighed over the 1,200,000 crowns, that Henry expended annually on his pleasures, for which Sully would have been able to maintain 15,000 infantry. He further spent 1,800,000 crowns for furniture and jewels.

With Henry IV, the religious wars came to an end, and the political commenced; they returned to France the leadership and the European position, that the former had taken from it. An inborn reorganizer and founder of foreign politics, Henry was the most French of all kings of France; he always had the idea of the nation before his eyes. The character of the government by Henry and by Sully was that of order, steadiness and regularity.

The advancement of France in the 12 years of the government of Henry and of Sully was enormous. The king required from the latter in 1609 a general report on the condition of France, upon what this ought to be, and what remained to be done, on the needs and the means of the country. The plan of this report proves the farsightedness of this great prince.

The France of the 17th century rests on the shoulders of Henry of Bourbon. As he prepared the way for Malherbe, Corneille and Racine, so likewise Richelieu and Louis XIV supported themselves upon Henry IV, yet with the difference, that he was not overshadowed by his successors. They were mightier, but not greater than he.

With the Huguenot Sully begins the series of four great ministers, to whom France in the 17th century owes an important part of the position, that it has today.

Maximilian de Bethune, baron of Rosny, later duke of Sully, in character rude, obstinate, haughty and selfish, possessed an imperturbable self-confidence, rapidity of decision, and impetuosity in act. To his calculating spirit, termed "stinginess" by the court was joined the spirit of order, of frugality, and of good administration. Selfish, but incorruptible, his ungracious rudeness was a virtue for the work assigned him in clearing away the forest of abuses. Until the last a Huguenot, he was entirely devoted to Henry.

After 1597, Rosny won the upper hand and then successively became:-- in 1599, superintendent of finances and master of the great roads of France, in 1600, grand master of artillery, then superintendent of buildings and fortresses, in 1606, duke of Sully and perr of France.

Prime minister in reality, though indeed not in name, he had exclusive control of the finances and the internal administration, and while he was arranging the war and navy departments, he could carry out his plan of reform, determined on after 1593.

b. Foreign Policy of Henry IV and his mediating Spirit.

217. Henry's Mediating Spirit.

One must distinguish two phases in Henry IV. One should not be suppressed because the other exists. We have first the Huguenot phase, then the Catholic, or more correctly, the mediating phase of the Catholic Huguenot.

Henry of Navarre and Elisabeth of England were by their political genius, as by their energetic endurance, the two chief opponents of Catholicism.⁴³² They were in the first rank of the powers, who prevented the victory of the Roman-Spanish spiritual tendency and the inquisition over all Europe. The conversion of Henry IV succeeded by the mass on July 25, 1593, joined anew the bond between church and state at the expense of the secular power. A man of Henry's stamp does not belong to the class of bigoted converts. After his "conversion", he was not blind to all he did not see before. He remained the supporter of a portion of the Protestant spirit.

Note 432. "Necessity, which is the law of the time, makes me say to some one thing, to others a different thing." These words of the king explain many things! To the landgrave of Hesse the king said in 1602, that he thought to again make public profession of the Reformation before his death. He constantly assured the Catholics of his Catholic zeal. (see Martin. Vol. 10. p. 521).

Henry IV stood between an intolerant majority and an indomitable minority. Nothing had caused him more sleepless nights for five years past, than the affairs of the Huguenots. On April 12, 1598, he finally issued the edict of Nantes, which ended the great period of religious wars in France.

218. Henry's Spirit of Toleration.

Henry Martin makes it prominent, how strongly the king had, what was yet unknown in Rome as in Geneva, the spirit of noble human tolerance. On the points, which separated the two confessions, he perhaps never reached personal convictions. But he may have felt, that both camps fought for certain principles, without which the individual or the state cannot eventually remain healthy. Hence his policy of fusion. It was the source of many compromises. Its form was not always equally as noble as its purpose, says Martin. The advance of France during the brief undisturbed period of the rule of the king, the lamentation for his death left the hope of success to appear entirely justified.

219. Compromises between King and Minister.

Concerning the compromises mentioned above, Henry Martin and others make prominent the contradiction existing between the founding of manufactures of articles of luxury on the one hand and the sumptuary edicts on the other. From 1594 to 1606 there followed successively four such edicts, which forbade the placing of silver and gold on clothing. He believes in a kind of transaction between the king on the one part, Sully and the parliament on the other. The use of silk was permitted, and the ordinary use of silver and gold fabrics, which had risen to a great height under Henry III, was prohibited. In fact it frequently appears as if such a transaction formed an element of his fusion policy, as if the king desired to accord with the feeling of the Catholic majority, while to his friend and great minister Sully, as a severe Huguenot, was entrusted the advocacy of the spirit of his associates in his former faith and contests.

After the king permitted in 1603 the return of the Jesuits and took Father Cotton as his confessor, he likewise believed that he must do something important for the Huguenots. In opposition to the edict of Nantes and the agreement made with the Parisians in 1594, he permitted them to preach in St. Maurice near Charenton, two leagues distant from Paris. The Temple of Charenton was one of the focuses of Protestantism.

The influence of the fusion policy and of its spirit upon architecture will be mentioned later.

c. Henry's Measures for the Elevation of the Arts.

220. Bond between Artists and the Government.

Henry's grand reorganization of all forces strongly influenced the character of the new period of development. Not too much can be said of the forming of an official bond between the artists and the government. He thereby strengthened the close relations, that had prevailed from the beginning of the Renaissance between kings and artists and gave them a definite form. These have exerted a determinative influence upon French art until this day.

221. Master of the Louvre Gallery.

Henry completed in great part the Louvre gallery in order to create dwellings for a considerable number of artists and workers in art industries. He thereby freed them from the restrictions of the corporations, to place them in continual touch with the court, and in this way to arouse and perfect their taste.

This organization of those dwelling near the king, of the greatest in the kingdom and of the artists under one roof, must have been unique. It deserves the most careful consideration and explains many things, even at this day. We shall have to recur to its results and show the way in which Louis XIV also speaks of this creation.

222. Elevation of Art Industry.

In the assembly of commerce and industry in 1604, the king strove for a general reform of the corporations. Industry was then very much depressed, not only in consequence of the religious wars, but on account of the lax application of the rules, that guaranteed good and honest workmanship.

For the further elevation of the arts and industries, the king hit upon the following measures. There was founded in the Louvre a conservatory for models of machines and inventions for arts and industries. He called into being the famous tapestry manufactures of the Gobelins and of the Savonnerie, which were to surpass those of Arras. He ordered in 1602 the manufacture of gilded leather hangings; the head of a manufacture of golden fabrics established at Paris in 1603 was ennobled and made an officer of the royal house with exclusive privileges for 12 years. After 1599 the gardens of his chate-

chateaus were planted with mulberry trees for the raising of silkworms. Agriculture flourished greatly under the lead of the Huguenot Olivier de Serres and by the influence of his works. Everywhere was disclosed a new source of production and of wealth.

223. Activity in Architecture.

Immediately with the restoration of his rule in Paris in 1594, the king permitted the arts to take part in the restoration of the kingdom. A series of stately buildings was erected between 1595 and 1610, and even more important designs were prepared. His great architectural works at the royal C Palace of the Louvre, in Fontainebleau, in S. Germain-en-Laye and others will be mentioned in the descriptions of these structures.

Henry IV issued excellent edicts concerning the office of building commissioner, for the sanitation of cities, and for the regular service of cleaning the streets of Paris; numerous fountains were constructed. Sully was at the head of it all as grand master of streets.

The correction of streets, new places and quays, and the a Aqueduct of Rungis were commenced, still larges squares were projected, like the Place de France, as well as a new College de France as a complete academy of sciences. The Library was opened to the public. Hospitals (La Charite) were founded a and others were designed for officers, invalids, poor noblemen and soldiers.

Henry IV ordered his ministers in 1609 to prepare a great compilation of everything concerning the art of war, a true military encyclopedia.

224. New Spirit of Instruction.

On the reorganization of the University of Paris under Henry IV, ultramontane teachings were replaced by Gallican and monarchical principles, and the former were carried to their logical results. For the first time since the middle ages, a reform of studies was perfected without the Pope, simply by the authority of the king and parliament, as a secular and entirely national event. Men courageously took their stand on the spirit of the Renaissance, replaced the grammarians of the middle ages by the originals of Greece and Rome; Hippocra-

Hippocrates and Galen appeared instead of Jewish-Arab commentators, the Scriptures and the fathers of the Church instead of the scholastics. All this was so sound, says Martin, that we are living by it today. This was another breach with the middle ages, a new invigoration of the antique.

2. Examples of the Architecture of the period of Henry IV.

In order to make possible a better survey, we divide these examples into the following groups, according to their tendencies.

Examples of the continuance of the earlier tendencies; examples of mixed tendencies; examples in the direction of a severe reaction, and examples of the tendency of Salomon de Brosse.

a. Continuance of earlier Tendencies and Elements.

225. Continuance of the Tendency of Henry III.

It is here first of all to be made prominent, that the free and capricious tendency, that we observed under Charles IX and Henry III (see Arts. 195-199), by no means became extinct with the reign of Henry IV. We find examples thereof beside the current of a severe reaction, and we see it partially survive in the freer tendency of the epoch of Louis XIII.

As a first example may be named the former Hotel Torpigne at Paris, whose arcade is now exhibited in the garden of the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Paris. Fig. 50⁴³³ shows its scarcely severe subdivision and its overloading by sculpture.⁴³⁴

Note 433. Reproduction from Lenoir, A. Collection des Documents sur l'Histoire de France. Paris. After 1843.

Note 434. F. de Guilhaemy says in his "Itineraire Historique de Paris", (Paris. 1855), p. 365, that this dated from the year 1567.

A further example is presented by the rooftop of S. Etienne at Toulouse, shown in Fig. 51.⁴³⁵ On the same likewise already occur various heavy elements in the character of the epoch of Louis XIII.

Note 435. Reproduction from Revue Generale de l'Architecture. Vol. 38. Pl. 14.

To the tendency under consideration also belongs the first building, that Henry IV undertook in the year of his entry into Paris, the two upper stories of the eastern half of the

grand gallery of the Louvre. This portion is very surprising in Paris, bears the name of the gallery along the water, and it is one of the richest examples of the Renaissance in France. (Figs. 115, 134, 135). The subdivision of the ground story, which partly determines those of the upper stories indeed belongs to the epoch of Charles IX; but the composition and the carving of the ornament in place likewise belongs to the time of Henry IV, so far as it is generally old.

As further examples of this tendency I mention the portal of Hotel de Vogue at Dijon (1614) and the fireplace in the hall of guards in the same.

The choir stalls of the Cathedral of Bayeux (1539) present an example, in which may be observed the transition from the style of Henry II into that of Henry IV. The columns and panels almost entirely belong to the former; the freely perforated upper portion recalls somewhat that of the court of the Louvre. Its idea properly belongs to the early Renaissance, while the very animated forms rather bear the late character of the epoch of Henry III.

Simpler examples from about the time of 1620 show a house in Rue des Grands Merciers at La Rochelle and another in Rue Grande at Poitiers; the latter proves now heavy and even rude were sometimes the mouldings in that period.⁴³⁶

Note 436. The four examples last mentioned are illustrated in Rouyer, E. *L'Art Architectural en France* etc. Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pls. 48-50; Vol. 2. Pls. 14, 20.

b. Mixture of different Phases.

226. Earlier Phases of the Renaissance.

Forms from the earlier phases of the Renaissance frequently came into use, even in the epoch of Henry IV, indeed chiefly for the reason of variety in an earlier building. If it be true, that the chief portion of the choir and transverse aisle of the Church at S. Florentin (Fig. 162) were first built in 1611-1622, various motives of the mature Renaissance were employed there and were joined with later forms, as we may likewise see on the ground story of the Hotel-de-Ville at La Rochelle. This should not be surprising. The same thing occurred in the extension of S. Eustache about 1640 and in the completion of S. Laurent at Paris under Louis XIV.

Yet on the gateway in the court of Henry IV in the Capitol at Toulouse the lower parts have entirely the character of the purest high Renaissance under Henry II. The upper parts show in part freer forms, somewhat like those of the elder Du Cerceau of about 1570.

The small facade of the Church of the Minims at Nevers exhibit the mixture of two of these tendencies of the epoch of Henry IV, on the one hand more delicate with elegantly shaped fluted Corinthian columns, on the other with very wide and almost plain enclosures of the doors and windows.

On account of its peculiar mode of composition is especially worthy of consideration the beautiful Hotel-de-Ville at La Rochelle (about 1605). The ground story with its double arches with suspended keystones belongs in idea to the early Renaissance, and the principal story essentially to the high Renaissance; finally the attic with its dormer windows and its upper termination with inverted broken pediments shows the capricious and bizarre forms of the late Renaissance of the 16th century (Fig. 111).

The facade of S. Pierre at Auxerre (in 1623 according to Palustre ⁴³⁷) exhibits a similar mixture of forms of high Renaissance, even in predominating members, with older and even Gothic reminiscences. The partly heavy treatment of the scrollwork already shows the so-called character of Louis XIII.

Note 437. The date of 1653 in the design of the pediment can only refer to this crowning portion.

On the facade of S. Etienne du Mont especially occurs the mixed character (1610). The sides with their numerous offsets ending in consoles have a belittling effect and are treated in an earlier spirit than the central portion, whose engaged Composite columns and pediment are rich and dignified. As on Church Notre Dame at Havre, the columns have even received a kind of rusticated treatment. Their bold scale already recalls the style of Salomon de Brosse, whose almost contemporary facade of S. Gervais at Paris (1616) on the other hand exhibits from top to bottom a peculiarly united character.

c. Reaction toward a more severe tendency.

227. Two tendencies.

It is frequently assumed that the first step taken by Henry

IV was a return to greater simplicity and severity. It appears nowever, that the previously mentioned passion of the king for building made an exception thereto, when this concerned palaces like the Louvre and that at S. Germain-en-Laye (Fig. 133), where he displayed a truly royal magnificence.

Nevertheless the return to moderation is one of the chief tendencies of his epoch. His edicts against luxury also partially express this. Already in 1583 had such a one been issued against luxury in clothing, and between 1594 and 1606 there were four others against the use of gold and silver on garments.⁴³⁸

Note 438. Under Henry III was unknown the wearing of the ordinary gold and silver fabrics. Sully desired by the sumptuary laws of 1602 to prevent the flow of French gold into Italy; he therefore developed in France silk culture and the manufacture of gold cords after Milanese patterns.

In architecture is indeed frequently felt the effect of a strong spirit of order, that methodically employs whatever appears "reasonable", indeed expressing itself in two different ways; in the severity of the Franco-Italian tendency and in that of the Franco-Hollandish.

Corresponding to the two parties, that fought under the standard of the king of Navarre for the unity of France, for its independence and its order, we see in the architectural reaction against the extravagance of the last Valois two different tendencies, that correspond to the characters of the Catholics and of the Huguenots.

228. Franco-Italian Reaction.

If one finds himself in many respects inclined to regard French art of the 17th century as a fruit of the Catholic counter reformation, the western half of the former grand gallery of the Louvre would perhaps be named as the first architectural example of this tendency. It is based upon a severe and almost dry use of Italian forms. Fig. 52⁴³⁹ shows the type of this gallery with its great Composite order, as it existed until the rebuilding under Napoleon III. Figs. 114 and 115 give other portions of the same.

Note 439. Reproduction from Berty, A. Topographie historique du vieux Paris. Région du Louvre et des Tuileries. Paris. 1866. Vol. 1.

The second tendency in the direction of a severe reaction is reflected in different types of brick architecture with banded vertical quoins. Many chateaus were built in the country after this style, which frequently exhibits a rural simplicity. The type of houses of Place Royale (now des Voges) and of Place Dauphine at Paris are expressive examples of this tendency; Fig. 53 ⁴⁴⁰ shows the system on the first of these Places.

Note 440. Reproduction after Berty. A. La Renaissance Monumentale etc. Paris. 1864.

229. Franco-Hollandish Reaction.

Lemonnier ⁴⁴¹ and most writers assert of this tendency, that it is a purely French architecture. It appears to me that only a part of the truth lies in this opinion. In describing the Dutch influence and the tendency to brick construction, we shall show why we believe that in this case a Huguenot element must also be assumed.

Note 441. In L'Art Français etc. (p. 52):-- "But there is likewise a style of architecture purely French, which is suddenly formed and seems to correspond well to the age of Henry IV. It is easily studied in the very numerous chateaus that remain. In Paris even --- the Place Dauphine -- and the Place Royale -- present remarkable specimens of it").

Even within this fashion of brickwork may be found two tendencies. One will accept as a creed, so to speak, the use of ashlar only as banded quoins at angles and openings, and as slabs on the wall piers; it sought to produce a decorative effect with these elements alone.

The other was more moderate and permitted at the same time the use of pilasters as an order. Place Royale was begun in 1599 or 1600 and Place Dauphine in 1609. In the Chapter on peculiarities of styles, we shall recur to this fashion of brickwork.

The further development of this Sully's type should then lead to the well known Chateau Beaumesnil in the vicinity of Bernay, while the Gallery des Cerfs and the buildings on the court of the kitchens in Fontainebleau were erected during Henry's life.

It is not possible already to give here a complete represen-

representation of all occurrences of that time. We must refer to the following sections of this volume and will merely mention, that there are buildings, which cannot be classed in the two tendencies here described, or whose character cannot be more accurately fixed.

To the former belongs the twelve-sided Temple of the Huguenots in Grand-Quevilly near Rouen, built in the year 1600 (Fig. 207). With the latter I must provisionally class the important Hotel de la Reine Marguerite (also Reine Margot), which the first divorced consort of Henry IV had built on the left bank of the Seine about opposite the little gallery of the Louvre. The same may be said of the first Temple near Charenton.

d. Tendency of Salomon de Brosse.

230. Fusion of different Elements.

In the description of the reign of Henry IV much weight has been laid on his fusion policy, since it appeared to us characteristic of the real intellectual tendency of the great king. Just because the endeavor to fuse together the best elements of the nation lasted so brief a time, it appears important to place in a clear light the effects of this fusion in art, when they are recognized.

We must first call attention to the following observation of Lemonnier:⁴⁴² "In spite of unskilfulness in the expression of the reality, the figures on certain tombs exhibit an intensity of moral expression, which is designated with difficulty; like a mixture of moderate Catholicism with reasonable Protestantism, of civic spirit with gentility, which places twenty years of our history before our eyes". It will likewise appear to us as if just the combination of something like the grand Roman-Italian conception with Huguenot earnestness and like severity is the characteristic of the style of the most prominent master of the period, the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse. We therefore especially call attention to the following notice of him. His works must have been brought into close connection with Henry IV and not with the weak and minor Louis XIII, as men usually do, led astray by the subdivision of the phases of architecture according to the reigns of the kings.

Note 442. In Lemonnier, H. L'Art Francois etc. Paris. 1883. p. 50.

3. Character of the Epoch of Henry IV.

231. Principal Features.

The chief features of the period of Henry IV may be comprised in the following phenomena:--

a. In the most intense struggle between opposed principles in the religious and political spheres and in the anarchy resulting.

b. In the diversity of the efforts that are developed during this strife.

c. In an apparent uncertainty of the opinions, that result from the varied seeking and striving to satisfy opposed sympathies.

d. In various combinations and mixtures of these tendencies with each other.

e. In the mighty reorganization of all forces by the great king and in a new growth in all domains.

f. In his tolerant endeavor to find it possible for both religious tendencies to cooperate together in the strengthening of all national elements.

232. Character of the Close.

The characteristic courses, with which we meet, are the following.

a. The character of the Close. It appears:--

In the loss and gradual extinction of the gift for inventing fresh, naive and novel forms of details for compromises and combinations of the Italian and the native (Gothic) tendency.

In the loss of ability to express living and happy freshness in already existing forms of details.

With the loss of this animated participation of the national elements also coincides the fact, that the Huguenot wars and the reaction of natural elements against Rome likewise came to an end.

In a further and greater breach with the mediæval by new forms and the addition of antique elements.

233. Character of the Reaction.

b. The character of the reaction. This is expressed in t

two opposed tendencies:-- on the one hand in the direction of severity as opposed to the caprices of the imagination in the late Renaissance of the 16 th century; on the other in the direction of freedom against the restraint, the renunciation and the endeavors, which are connected with the high ideal of the antique.

The character of the reaction of the severe and simple against the caprices of the imagination and overloading the richness in the third phase of the Renaissance of the 16 th century appears in:--

1. In a Catholic form.
2. In a Huguenot form.
3. In a Gallo-Frankish form.

The Catholic reaction adhered by preference to the severer forms of the Italian counter reformation in Rome and Milan. The Huguenot appears to employ Dutch forms. The simply national Gallo-Frankish feeling, heiress of the Gothic tendency, seeks in the racially allied Flemish art the satisfaction of its feelings and the strengthening of the elements, from which it itself once arose.

It is to be expressly stated, that it is difficult in most cases to distinguish from each other the effects of the Huguenot and of the national Gallo-Frankish tendencies. It is likewise to be made prominent, that on the other hand the Huguenots show no regard whatever for the Italian forms. They indeed in the forms of reciprocal of the Early Christian form of religion, to which they desired to return. Of all architects of the period, the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse indeed most strongly adhered to the antique.

Finally, we see numerous edicts against luxury.

The reaction of a freer spirit against restraint in the Renaissance, which is connected with the use of the antique orders, is expressed in the omission of the latter and in the recourse to surfaces of brickwork with borders of banded ashlar quoins.

234. Character of firm Adherence.

c. The character of firm Adherence.

In adhering to the acquisitions of the high Renaissance, and this was with Salomon de Brosse, for example, one of the

forms of the severe reaction..

In retaining the free tendency and rather fanciful caprices of the late Renaissance of the 16 th century.(Phase of Charles IX and Henry III),

In certain cases even in retaining earlier forms of the early French Renaissance.

In retaining in development and organization the close connection between the queen and the artists trained in Italy, by establishing dwellings and workrooms of the masters in the great gallery of the Louvre.(Masters of the gallery of the Louvre).

235. Character of Healing.

If one places before his eyes the entire representation of French architecture between 1495 and 1595, and further compares currents in architecture in Italy, France and the Netherlands directly before Henry IV with those just after him, one will see that the epoch of the great king was a period of healing. Men dropped evil customs and their results and returned to a reasonable regime. But they did not find either the renaissance or the birth of a new style.

The character of ending in art, which the French desire to see here, is far more expressed in the domain of politics than in that of architecture. The dynasty of the Valois disappeared; the Bourbons ascended the throne; a dam was placed against the destructive elements; the period of the great wars of religion drew to an end.

236. Similarity to the Period of Napoleon.

The period of Henry IV has in more than one respect a similarity to that of the Revolution and of Napoleon I. Men have desired to see in both only the ending, but not the old current still flowing onward. The anarchy in both was shocking at first. In both cases, order was again restored by a ruler belonging to a new dynasty. Both rulers sought to allay the strife of the old parties by an internal fusion policy and to preserve to the nation all its vital forces. The policy of both great men came to a violent end, for the first by foreign crime, for the latter by his own fault.

4. Influence of the Epoch of Henry IV upon the controlling intellectual Forces of the 17 th and 18 th Centuries.

237. Intellectual Tendencies under Henry IV.

The intellectual impelling forces, which determine every art tendency, are closely connected with the spirit of the historical events of a country. As a basis for the clear understanding of everything further, therefore must here be given in sequence the development of these historical occurrences and their intellectual tendencies in the age of Henry IV.

We manifestly stand at one of the chief turning points of the history of France. All elements, that contend with each other, are connected in a mysterious way with the feelings and temperaments of the two great intellectual tendencies, that arose from the mixture of three chief races and successively ruled over the domain of existing France; ⁴⁴³ the Gallo-Roman and the Gallo-German. Every thought and feeling concerning the entire understanding of life was in both camps arrayed against each other.

Note 443. I am unfortunately not in a position to take into account the influences of the peoples, who occupied France before the Gauls; they might be considerable; I always comprise them with the Gallic element.

Besides the strife of the Huguenots for freedom of conscience against the absolute spirit of Rome, the still existing remains of German freedom ⁴⁴⁴ were then drawn up in the field against the imperial Roman despotism. The contest for the preservation of the long enjoyed freedom and rights or for their reconquest was kindled everywhere. All was everywhere referred to the contest of two principles; the spirit of freedom and the spirit of absolutism. After the death of Henry IV all sources of freedom were more and more suppressed; step by step the power of the absolute increased to dimensions never existing before.

Note 444. concerning the existence, until the period of the Revolution, of a consciousness of the original German freedom, I refer to the excellent description by Augustin Thierry in his "considerations sur l'Histoire de France"; it forms the introduction to his "Recits des Temps Merovingiens". 3rd edition. Paris. 1846. Vol. 1.

238. Increase of the absolute Power of the King.

The French kings, especially the Capets, already had again

adopted the idea of reigning after the manner of the Roman emperors. It always remained the ideal of the French kings to strengthen the power of the throne and to replace the system of a division of the royal authority connected with the territorial divisions by the mighty central authority of the Roman monarchy. Every time that a step was possible, this endeavor passed on from reign to reign. Louis the Fat (1108-1137), abbot Suger, and Louis XII or St. Louis (1226-1270) gradually restricted the jurisdiction of the great vassals. Louis XI had broken their power.

a. Motive Forces in the 17 th Century.

239. Two Cardinal Ministers.

By the change of Henry IV to Catholicism, the bond between the king and the Pope was tied anew. The murder of the king and the fall of La Rochelle destroyed the equilibrium, that seemed to be hopefully assured in the wise and powerful hands of the king. The domains within which a freer spirit could develop, were more and more restricted.

The absolute spirit of ancient imperial Rome and that of the popes now impelled the kings without ceasing. Two cardinal ministers, the last being a Roman himself, expressive symbols of this bond between the Pope and the king, attained for their weak or youthful masters the aim in view for a thousand years. The victory of Rome was complete.

From 1624 to 1642, Richelieu ruled France as if absolute. He broke the last power of the nobility, and demolished in 1624 the fortifications of the chateaus and of those cities, that did not serve for the defence of the country. He made the crown independent of the parliament. With La Rochelle (1623) fell likewise the municipal rights and the party of the Huguenots. All subdivisions of the state and all arrangements, that protected the development of the manly freedom of the individual, the feeling of personal responsibility, the free convictions of the person, the spirit of enterprise, and the courage of personal initiative, were then destroyed.

A last attempt of the parliament of Paris and of the nobility to offer armed resistance to the court was suppressed by the second cardinal minister, the Italian Mazarin. Everything then became quiet in France. Only the sole words of Louis

XIV were then heard:-- "I am the State". The only resistance still possible from the Huguenots and from freedom of conscience consisted in the endurance of the frightful dragonnades and in abandoning the fatherland.

240. Louis XIV.

After a contest for a thousand years, we have now reached a single phenomenon uniquely existing in the history of the West; in all domains of life and of art is the most complete realization of a political ideal, the absolute concentration of all powers in an individual, in Louis XIV! This leads in art to a singly existing phenomenon; this is the age of Louis XIV, the so-called great age!

b. Native Forces in the 18 th Century.

241. Beginning of two Tendencies.

Having reached the end of the century and the epoch of the humiliation of France, we again stand at an important starting point, at the beginning of two tendencies; one free and the other rigid. Both are reactions against the absolute spirit of Louis XIV and of the 17 th century. The results of the first appeared at once; those of the second only began thirty years later. The first tendency produced the style of Louis XV, which ended in the Rococo, and the second led to the style of Louis XVI and to the Empire.

The first of these reactions against the absolutism of Louis XIV indeed consisted in the moving of a free spirit. Yet it was merely skeptical and frivolous. The policy of Henry IV had been abandoned; the earnest and dignified spirit of freedom lay prostrate or had emigrated, the revocation of the edict of Nantes had done its work.(1685).

The ancient monarchy had itself gradually cut off or dug up all the roots, without which it could not exist. Its nobility, so to speak, had devoted itself to the culture of frivolity and had become infected. The consequences could not fail to appear.

After the regent and Louis XV had themselves become the incarnation of refined frivolity and of shameless excesses, even the virtuous Louis XVI could no longer save the throne and evade the bloody settlement. He fell as a sacrifice to the other and stricter tendency and the inspiration from the antique, out now for its democracy.

The origin of this new and much deeper enthusiasm could not be at once clear, and it therefore requires an explanation. The chief reason for the enthusiasm here lies in the political misfortunes and in the path upon which they entered to attain their results.

242. Influence of Fenelon.

The soul of Fenelon,⁴⁴⁵ with such a warm feeling for the general welfare, who divined so many things produced in the future, first turned the intellectual dreams of his contemporaries at the end of the 17th century to the antique world. He presented to them Egypt and Greece as the models of perfection and of the social virtues.

Note 445. We here follow the very interesting statement of Augustin Thierry in his "Considerations sur l'Histoire de France".

An inconceivable success soon thereafter came to the history of antiquity, beautified by Rollin as if by a reflection of evangelical morality, so to speak.

The Abbe de Mably followed in the same path. He made into social principles, what these poems and tales had made favorite. He preached social equality. He introduced the words "native land, citizen, the general will, and sovereignty of the people", which afterwards attained to such mighty influence with Jean Jacques Rousseau.

243. Longing for social Renovation.

Preparation was then made in ideas for the vast change of state institutions, which occurred in 1789. The instinct of a social renovation, of an unknown future, that corresponded to nothing in the past of the nation, drove powerfully minds away from all historical national courses.

The idea of the people in the political sense of the word, the ideas of the national unity, of a free and homogeneous society did not then exist. The history of France offered no examples for this. These conceptions could only be made sensible by a more or less forced similarity between the conditions of modern social conditions and the basal idea of the free states of antiquity.

They felt dimly, but strongly, that the history of France, of the rights and privileges of the different public bodies

and of their different classes could only offer to public opinion merely isolated or divergent forces. They felt that, to fuse these so long mutually hostile or rival classes into a new society, another element was required, besides household traditions.

244. Model of the Antique Republic.

Men held in the antique republic an ideal of society, of order and of social virtue, corresponding to what reason and inspiration can represent as the best, the simplest, and the noblest. Such were the democracies of Sparta and of Rome. Their nobles and their slaves were not considered; men took from the ancient world only what corresponded to the misfortunes and the intelligence of the new world.

245. Influence of the Third Estate; Empire Style.

The movement then proceeded from the third estate, striving for recognition. Therefore that adopted from antiquity by the citizens and the people rested on a much broader base. This explains the conviction with which they were carried out, often ludicrous and without real refinement. It was the most thorough, yet the least intellectual, conception of the antique since the beginning of the Renaissance. Yet the genuine inspiration of the people adds a certain tendency to grandeur, which cannot be denied to the better works of the Empire style.

5. Effects of the intellectual Tendencies of the Age of Henry IV upon Art between 1610 and 1750.

246. Three Intellectual Tendencies.

The embittered strife of the Huguenots and the League had more strongly expressed the spirit of absolutism and had spurred it on to new exertions. Likewise had they filled the spirit of freedom, of individual initiative and responsibility, which was never as clearly expressed architecturally as in the Gothic style, with new hope, unknown since the political strokes of Louis XI.

The mighty advancement in all domains during the twelve quiet years of Henry's reign had likewise animated with rich hope the spirit of the foreign policy of the king.

In the epoch of Henry IV, there were thus three opposed main intellectual tendencies, the spirit of freedom, the spirit of absolutism, and Henry's spirit of conciliation. These are

motive forces of greatest importance to the later fate of the architecture of the French Renaissance. Directly or by its results, it should determine the character of its phases or call forth the elements, which the latter were adapted to perfect. The first result of this would be to lend a more intensive character to the two currents of French architecture flowing beside each other, the freer and the severer, to which we have frequently referred, and whose fate will be more fully described later.

a. Effects of the free intellectual Tendency.

247. Repeated Contests.

It is very important to follow in this period the fate of the spirit of freer individuality, which had found its highest expression in Gothic architecture, and which had yet borne beautiful flowers in the first half of the 16th century. A comparison derived from the movements of a stream, should clearly represent the intensity, the recurrence, and the duration of its various contests.

As water flowing at a higher level cannot suddenly flow quietly into a lower channel, without first shooting forward in a mighty wave immediately after its fall, then calming down in waves continually becoming smaller, just in the same manner arose the older and newer conceptions of individual freedom combined against absolutism, ever becoming mightier in the state, as well as in art. The Huguenot wars of 1562-1598 were those most powerful and ever rising waves. Then followed the three smaller ones of 1621-1628. The unrest of the earlier and then of the later Fronde (1648-1653) were the last swells before the quiet of the age of Louis XIV.

248. Reaction against Antique Art about 1600.

Among the different forms, it was always and everywhere the contest of the spirit of individual freedom and individual rights against the continually increasing encroachments of the spirit of the Roman Caesars in the Catholic church and in the French monarchy. Therefore it cannot be surprising, that in certain circles there should now appear likewise a reaction against the art of ancient Rome. For it also laid on the individual artist many restrictions of the personal imagination and a severe training of all his faculties. This reaction

snowed itself in two different directions:-- first in the endeavor to reanimate the national elements, and secondly in the borrowing of Flemish and Dutch elements in order to strengthen the former.

249. Return to the National.

The first tendency appears in architecture in a kind of rebellion against the antique orders and the restrictions connected with their use.⁴⁴⁶ This was already believed to be somewhat more national.

Note 446. And then it is a kind of satisfaction to see one's self freed for a moment from the imitation of the antique, from the pretended Doric or Corinthian orders, from columns set before the work with which they have nothing to do, colossal pilasters that violate the logic of construction, from reproductions of arches of triumph, baths or temples, in our houses built by men, living and acting in the modern way. (Lemonnier, H. L'Art Français etc. Paris. 1893. p. 53.

"Almost everywhere", says Lemonnier, "may be seen in this period a resumption of the realistic spirit. Men almost everywhere endeavored to again arouse the feeling of their own personality, of their era, and of their country". This judgment is perfectly correct. In the domain of the formative arts in northern countries, the return to the national elements constantly leads to a certain realism.

The following observation is also evidence of the awakening of the national spirit.

250. Reaction against the Academic Spirit.

The designation of the age of Henry IV by a Frenchman as an epoch between the Renaissance (according to French ideas, the 16th century) and the triumphant academism under Richelieu and Louis XIV, makes another side of this character prominent.⁴⁴⁷ For in the Renaissance, the antique plays the fertilizing part, so to speak, and the academies are again inseparable from the antique conception of art. The disappearance of the academies in this epoch was not only the result of the unrest of the time, but the reaction of the native Gallo-Frankish or Gothic spirit against the constant increase of the Gallo-Roman in religion, art, and in government.⁴⁴⁸

Note 447. During the half century between 1584, in which

the Academy of the Palace dissolved, and the year 1634.1635, in which the French Academy originated, there existed no Academy in France. (See a later and fuller treatment under Academies).

Note 448. To make all correct, it should not be forgotten, that there are two conceptions of the national in France:-- the Gallo-Roman and the Gallo-Frankish.

It is conceivable that in this period the strife of the guilds with their Gothic, i.e., national and likewise more popular ideas, was especially animated against the royal masters and the revival of the academies. As partisans of the antique, the latter were both an aristocratic selection, as well as the promoters of the foreign tendency in art. From the same source sprang the inclination towards Netherlandish art then, in which the Gallo-Frankish tendency felt it to live a again.

251. Sympathy for Flemish and Dutch Art.

The second tendency appeared in a sympathy for the elements of the arts of those peoples, which either likewise belonged to the Gallo-Frankish art tendency, like the Flemings, or like the flourishing Federal Dutch republic allied with Henry IV, who fought most energetically against the Spanish-Roman absolutism.

It cannot be made sufficiently prominent, that these Flemish-Dutch influences under Henry IV, so to speak, begin with the edict of Nantes and end at the same time with the last struggles for freedom in the Fronde. When Louis XIV began to reign, they appear to have entirely disappeared, like all other movements of the free spirit.

252. Sympathy for the free Forms of Michelangelo.

Another appearance of the spirit of freedom consisted in an adherence to the spirit of caprice and unrestricted imagination of the late phase of the 16th century, and further in connection with this, in a preference for treatment of details by Michelangelo and his pupils, with a sympathy for the irregular elements in Spanish literature. We shall recognize the effects of these elements in the free tendency of the age of Louis XIII, as well as their revival in a modified spirit in the art of Louis XV.

b. Effects of the Spirit of Absolutism.

253. Uniform Direction of all Arts.

The results of the spirit of absolutism lead more and more to the concentration of all spheres and elements of art according to a uniform plan. By the recently founded royal French Academies in Paris and Rome, all sources in France and Italy were concentrated, studied methodically and directed according to a regulated tendency. They culminated under Lebrun and Louis XIV in a unity, such as history perhaps never has seen before or since, and whose results deserve to be followed with the greatest attention. Spanish despotism, the spirit of the counter reformation, of the popes and of the Jesuits, each of these sources of the absolute has a certain participation in this very interesting phenomenon, and it is partially reflected and in different degrees in the art of Louis XIV.

The fate of the spirit of conciliation of Henry IV and of his fusion policy will be discussed later in the proper place.

g. Influence of Foreign Nations on the Art of the 17th Century.

254. Undecided Tendency in Architecture about 1610.

The regular and unbroken increase of Italian elements in the French architecture of the 16th century had as a result, that already under Louis XIII the styles of churches and palaces in France and Italy can scarcely be distinguished apart. In opposition thereto are to be carefully considered two phenomena in the first third of the 17th century, which are mentioned by Frenchmen. The first is a kind of undecided tendency in French art, the second consists in the influences of various other foreign nations, especially an important Flemish influence, that controls about 1660. The French writers themselves appear to have made few inquiries concerning the basis of these phenomena. For a long time, I was not entirely convinced of the correctness of these views, and I believed that there were to be viewed merely national peculiarities, in case they were not exaggerated, and which required no assumption of foreign influences for their explanation. Only gradually could I convince myself of the correctness of these statements, or more accurately stated, of their partial correctness, for these phenomena properly came to light in only one of

the two currents of French architecture. At bottom, the regular increase of Italian influence appears to have never ceased, just as little as the Huguenots succeeded in winning the right of further existence for the feeling of a Gallo-Frankish mode of thinking, that made France great in the middle ages, beside the newly awakened Gallo-Roman views.

While I gradually determined the actual occurrence of these phenomena, I succeeded at the same time in finding their explanation. It lies in their direct connection with the chaos and anarchy during the Huguenot wars and the League, to which I have therefore called particular attention. (See Art. 213). This indecision and the swaying between different foreign influences are the results of diversity of interests and desires, that prevailed in the minds of the time, and which were in dispute for more than thirty years.

The influence of foreign nations, excepting the already existing Italian influence, were again on the one hand the results of their power, on the other of the sympathy of the Catholics and the Huguenots for those neighboring nations, which most strongly acted for and against Rome and the Reformation, and whose arts and natures exhibited elements, that corresponded to the spirits and peculiarities of both parties.

255. Statements of Lemonnier.

To support these statements, we give here a few passages from Lemonnier and from Henri Martin.

"If the art of about 1610 be considered," writes the former (p. 59), "it is then scarcely possible to know whither it will lead; so great is the number of elements, that are acting in it:-- antique, Renaissance, Italian, Flemish, the beginning art of the Jesuits, and national traditions; everything mingles together, or more correctly, is placed side by side. Do we stand there before ruins or before new materials? It is hard to say". Are not these words an accurate reflection of the condition of anarchy, that we have described in Art. 213?

"There were so many contradictions", Lemonnier continues, "between theory and temperament, between artistic and literary theories and the ancient roots of the soul, that men scarcely knew where to turn, and therefore opposed reactions were unavoidable. -- In the year 1622, when Rubens had begun his

gallery of the Luxemburg, our art yet lingered in that state of indecision, that was especially adapted for subjection to a foreign influence. Hence Rubens passed over without being noticed, so to speak ---. At the court were mingled without combining, Italian refinement, Spanish earnestness and French vivacity; customs frequently had more of debauchery than of gallantry; men perceived something like a remnant of brutality beneath the endeavor after courtesy, the earnestness of the king and his ministers did not pass to their surroundings, and under Anne and Mazarin little of it remained".

Finally in the first portion of the 17th century, Lemonnier states, that French art received more than it gave. In its intellectual development, France was not yet in a position to suffice completely for itself. Its history and geographical location led to more or less close relations with the neighboring peoples.

256. Views of Henri Martin.

This condition of the French spirit manifested itself in another domain. "In literature", says Henri Martin, "the first third of the 17th century is an epoch of transition, more of preparation than of creation. Men sowed more than they reaped".

From this it may be seen, how very important it is to see as clearly as possible the nature and extent of the influence of these peoples upon the development of French architecture after Henry IV.

1. Influence of Spain.

257. Basis of Spanish Influence.

The true centre of Catholic affairs was no longer Rome but Spain. In the bull of Feb. 15, 1559, Paul IV and the papacy humbled themselves before the inquisition created by him, and to this Philip II had personally sworn allegiance. It was Spain, which impelled the French court against the reformed and to their extirpation by every means. Along the Pyrenees, in the Netherlands and in Picardy, into the Free County and Burgundy penetrated Spanish possessions in France; to this was added the position in Italy held by Spain. The arrival of the Spanish army under the duke of Parma in 1590 alone prevented the fall of Paris. From 1591 to 1594, Paris had a Spanish garrison.

"The political influence of Spain in France during the League", writes Henri Martin, "was predominant; but its literary influence continued into the 17th century. For thirty years prevailed an imitation of the Spanish. This invasion of Spanish somewhat disconcerted the spirit of the Renaissance in France. When Richelieu carried out the anti-Spanish policy, the Renaissance took the offensive anew in the names of Aristotel and of Horace, against the irregular pieces imported from Spain".

258. Influence of the Court.

We further see by the mediation of the court and by its ever increasing influence, the Spanish element affect French art. "The new court etiquette introduced by Henry III in 1574," says Henri Martin, "endeavored to keep off the great, the nobles and the subjects. It substituted the reserve and the stately stiffness of the Spanish and English ceremonial in place of the familiarity, so dear to the French, and of ready access to the king".

"However our Frenchmen," says Lemonnier (p. 63), "might make merry over certain things at the court of Madrid, they brought back with them from an embassy beyond the Pyrenees a certain air, which they had acquired there. Never were the embassies so numerous as between 1600 and 1630. Under the regency of Maria de Medici men went in troops; our show diplomats sometimes had a retinue of from 100 to 200 nobles, anxious to show their luxury and to see the beautiful Spanish ladies".

To this was now added the influence of the two daughters of the Spanish king, who then successively ascended the throne of France:-- Louis XIII married in 1615 Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III, and in 1659 Louis XIV married Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. "Louis XIV", says Henri Martin, "in 1661-1672 developed a system of noble and solemn gallantry, whose tastes and customs he had acquired from his Spanish mother, Anne of Austria".⁴⁵¹

Note 451. The etiquette, without adopting the extravagant restraints, that prevailed at the Spanish court and which the French spirit would not have endured, took an unknown extension in the relations of the assumption of royal magnificence.

It was calculated to serve the monarchy at the expense of the aristocracy. The differences between the classes were lessened; but the distances between all of these and the king were increased.

If one remembers that the style of Louis XV actually denoted reaction of the true Franco-Gallic spirit against the entire system of Louis XIV, it always becomes more probable, that in the intellectual tendency of the great king and of his age were combined more reserved Spanish dignity, Spanish ceremonial and Castilian gravity, than is otherwise appropriate to the French spirit. The result of this was doubtless a perceptible influence on the character of the court. By the determining role of the latter, it was transferred to art and produced at least two important occurrences; it helped the character of severity, as we shall see, and it produced the so-called pose.⁴⁵²

Note 452. Pose is like a foreign spirit and guest, that places itself beside the natural man and into which he slips, in order to have the appearance in the eyes of the world of being intellectual and really more, than he actually is. In none of the countries, in which I have lived, has this appeared to me so much as in France. To Gothic France, as well as to that of the 16th century, to that great and original character, Henry IV, posing was entirely unknown. It began under Louis XIII, was enthroned under the great king from the sole of the foot to the apex of the wig, perhaps diminished somewhat under Louis XV, revived strongly under the appearance of the antique with the first Republic and the Empire, to only disappear from French art in the last quarter of the 19th century, it is hoped forever.

2. Spanish-Flemish Influence.

259. Spanish-Flemish Influence.

From the purely Spanish as well as from the purely Flemish influences is to be distinguished the effect of the mixture of the two in the Spanish possessions in Belgium. Catholic France constantly had its eyes turned on the Netherlands. After Charles V and Philip II, there was the chief base for Spanish undertakings against France. From thence came Farnese and Mansfeld to the help of the League. In this way might

even the Spaniards became a means for lending influence to the purely Netherlandish-Flemish influence likewise.

But we believe ourselves also able to produce examples of the influence of the Spanish-Flemish mixture.

The facade of Church S. Marie at Nevers, with the bold relief of its projecting columns, the heavy and labored pediments of the windows, doors and niches, the simplified yet broadly and boldly treated detail of consoles, hermes figures etc., exhibits rather the character of Flemish-Spanish art, than of the timid and more moderate French architecture.

On the peculiar facade of the ruined Monastery of S. Amand near Valenciennes (on the tower dated 1633), there appears to me to lie a Spanish or almost Spanish-Mexican influence of the Flemish in the decoration, in the colossal interlaced bands, and in the peculiar ornaments.

It would be further advisable to investigate, whether that style termed Jesuit north of the Alps be not likewise the Spanish-Flemish development of the Italian type, which Vignola established in the Church of the Jesuits at Rome. Men appear in France to have adhered rather to Italian models and to have avoided the peculiar Spanish-Flemish turgidity.

3. Flemish Influence.

260. Surprising in its Occurrence.

If one thinks of the wonderful works of French Gothic on the one hand, and of the incredible mastery in composition, as well as in the development of the members, which it retained till the end; if one considers on the other hand the inexhaustible charm of the Italian Renaissance and of the masterworks of every rank, which it produced in all domains, -- then is the existence of a Flemish influence upon French art between 1600 and 1660 at first extremely surprising.

261. Explanation thereof.

One asks how this occurrence might become possible, after France had already been for a hundred years more and more connected with Italian art. The fact is stated by all Frenchmen, but few seem to understand the reason for this phenomenon. Destailleur frequently said to me, that he had been unable to find an explanation for it. Lemonnier mentions some points, that are correct. But I first found a complete expl-

explanation in one of the detailed studies of Courajod. For a better understanding, we will give some of the statements of that work of Courajod here.⁴⁵³ Already at the beginning of the 14 th century, several Flemish sculptors of fame were to be seen at work in Paris. About 1350 the naturalism of the Flemish school had become naturalized in Paris and had been adopted in northern France. When Flanders passed under the Burgundian sceptre, and the latter country retained a long period of peaceful prosperity, while after 1407 the royal provinces were artistically inactive as a result of the war, the Flemish influence combined with the Burgundian and was predominant as a national art during the 15 th century in France. The Flemish-Burgundian art begins with its masterworks in Dijon of 1390-1410. The Burgundians (i.e., Flemish art) remained in France the national art until the moment, when Michel Colombe left this school, borrowed the nobility and elegance of the Italian style, and founded in the valley of the Loire, entirely saturated with Italian elements, the final style of the French Renaissance, when he added French peculiarities.

Note 453. Courajod, L. *Les Origines de la Renaissance en France aux 14e et 15e Siecles*. Introductory lecture. Feb. 2. 1887, at the School of the Louvre. Paris. 1888.

After Courajod had most clearly shown this position of Flemish art, its reappearance under Henry IV becomes entirely clear, especially if one recalls, that during the greatest part of the 16 th century the French remained in connection with the Flemish school through the Clouets and others, especially in their portrait painting.

The otherwise in nowise general but merely partial adoption of Flemish elements was thus simply one of the forms of the return to the national art tendency, which we have shown as one of the consequences of the Huguenot movement. (See Art. 264).

Let the following pertinent occurrences be mentioned here.

262. Examples of Flemish Influence.

In the year 1563, still as king of Navarre, Henry considered the founding of a Flemish colony in Bearn, in order to introduce there the weaving of tapestry.⁴⁵⁴ Later (1602), he also aided in France the manufacture of tapestries after the style of Flanders.⁴⁵⁵

Note 454. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1879. p. 237.

Note 455. See Martin, E. *Histoire de France*. 4th edition. Paris. 1855-1860. Vol. 10. p. 459.

Henry IV later invited to his court important Flemish masters, such as Pieter Pourbus, Paul Bril and Francheville. They had all staid in Italy, and the last named, as well as his instructor, Jean Bologne, had become Italians, so to speak. The fame of a master like this, and yet more that of Rubens, of the sole artist north of the Alps, who can be placed beside the six heroes of Italian art, must necessarily have cast extraordinary splendor on the entire Flemish school.

In the years 1622-1625, Rubens sojourned in Paris at least twice, to paint his famous compositions from the life of Maria de Medici for one gallery of Palace Luxemburg. The second gallery with those of Henry IV was unfortunately not executed. It is usually assumed that Rubens exerted as good as no influence on the French. Yet we shall have to refer to certain vestiges in case of the Barocco-like style tendency under Louis XIII.

263. Flemish Guild in Paris.

In Paris from 1626 to 1691, there was a guild of the Flemish nation. It was formed from the Catholic assembly of illustrious Flemish, German, Swiss and other nations, and was founded in 1626 at the desire of the archduchess Eugenie, so that their countrymen in France might not pass over to Protestantism "under the specious title of the law of nations". Besides the famous engravers on copper, Gerard and Jean Edelinck from Antwerp, later naturalized, A. de Montaignon⁴⁵⁶ finds several Flemish merchant tailors, and he thinks, that they may have influenced taste in men's clothing in France.

Note 456. In *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1877. p. 158.

As related facts should be mentioned, that in the time of Richelieu and of the society of Hotel Rambouillet (about 1630), the general fashion of costume came to France, not from Spain, but from Flanders and holland; it was there only slightly refined.⁴⁵⁷

Note 457. See Martin. Vol. 12. p. 124.

Even in the 18th century, we can see in case of Watteau and of Vanloo, Flemings among the first masters in France.

Men feel inclined to regard this Franco-Flemish phase as a kind of stronger early Renaissance of the 17th century. It might be intended to strengthen France with northern individualism, at least so far as necessary, so that its art might at least remain alive under the frightful attacks of the opposed tendency, in which the tone was given by the Jesuits, Richelieu, and Louis XIV.

This Flemish influence moreover appears to me less striking in architecture, than in the other arts. The most important phenomenon must be the occurrence of brickwork even there, where exclusive ashlar construction was usual and indeed cheaper. Yet this fact, as we shall see, should rather be ascribed to the Dutch than to the purely Flemish influence. Under brick construction and the style of Louis XIII, other Flemish elements will be mentioned.

4. Dutch Influence.

264. Purely Historical Proof.

The reason which permits me to conjecture, that the appearance of brick architecture under Henry IV is rather to be ascribed to Dutch, than to Flemish influence, is based on the one hand on the probability, that this tendency toward brickwork proceeded from the Huguenot minister Sully, and on the other to the special relations of Holland to Henry IV.

We first mention the peculiar alliance of the duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III, with five of the seven Netherlandish provinces, in consequence of which the duke was from 1579 to 1583 a rather unsatisfactory chief. By the struggle with the common enemy, Spain, a close alliance was formed between the Huguenots, the party of the king, and Holland. The king's change of faith changed nothing. The marriage of the daughter of Coligny with William of Nassau contributed somewhat to it. 458

Note 458. For many relations between Holland and Henry IV in this period, I refer to the following work:-- Delaborde, J. Louise de Coligny, princess of Orange. Paris. 1890.

The Dutch were in 1597 the only allies of the king, who truly and lovingly adhered to him. They had in June two regim-

regiments beside the 2000 Englishmen in the royal army before Amiens. Maurice of Saxony sought in 1598 to move the king to continue the war. Henry in 1599 favored Holland and challenged the Protestant princes of Germany to not leave it in the lurch. He permitted the Dutch to secretly raise troops in France. Entire regiments passed into the service of the united provinces.

265. Dutch Models.

But a much more important ground is evidence of Dutch influence over France, namely the mighty growth of the young Protestant republic under the leadership of the house of Nassau, in the midst of its heroic combats with powerful Spain. Henri Martin makes it apparent, how very much the Dutch in 1600 were in advance of France in the art of war. Men beat each other in France, says he, but they made war in Holland.

Concerning the military reorganization of France, which Henry and Sully undertook in 1601, he further writes:-- "Everything was done to form a corps of trained officers and to bring the French engineers up to the height of the ancient fame of the Italians and the new fame of the Dutch".

In the harbors of the sea, the sea forces of Holland were at the disposal of Henry IV. After the model of the Dutch and English, he thought of forming a commercial company for India. The king protected in 1603 the development of tapestry manufacture after the patterns of those of Flanders, and that of fine linens after Dutch models. Just as the French system of fortification by Vauban was produced by a combination of the new Italian with the Dutch system, which was again a transformation of the former, -- just so did French art adopt something of the Dutch beside the Italian models.

5. Influence of the Antique in the 17 th Century.

266. Permanent Influence of the Antique.

The "creed" of antique art, the belief in an ideal and in perfection, whose source is immortal and lies above the changing, subjective, sometimes capricious views of the successive races, it must be admitted that since the beginning of the Renaissance until the present time, this has remained the ruling motto and the honor of French art. Men must indeed more or less place before themselves the antique as a constantly

present ideal aim. It remained for artists the sole current, even in the period between 1600 and 1660, when the Flemish-Dutch frequently appeared to be the prevailing fashion. It so continued, especially in artist circles, when during the "quarrel of the ancients and moderns" about the end of the 17th century, the standard was raised in the name of the latter against the antique.

267. Free Comprehension of the Antique.

It is now difficult to decide how far the artists in their views of the antique held it freely, or how far they naively deceived themselves in regard to the degree of their approximation to the style of the antique models. The expression of a contemporary of Meissonier, of the Abbe de Fontenai, who himself finds in the works of this prince of the freest Rocco "the noble simplicity of the antique", at least justifies the assumption, that self deception also occurred. The masters certainly thought that they often worked in the spirit of the antique, where we now chiefly behold the expression of the contemporary modern spirit of the time.

If by the influence of the antique be understood a close adherence to the forms on the ruins of ancient Rome, one must admit, I believe, that this influence is less perceptible upon the architecture of France between 1600 and about 1730, according to modern views, than one would think from the words of certain writers.

With the exception of the colonnade of the Louvre, in which at least breathes the grand spirit of imperial Rome, and a very noble treatment of the Corinthian order recalls the beauty of antique models, all buildings on which the orders play an important part appear to me to fraternize so strongly with Italian architecture and the Italian interpretation of antique forms, that nowhere would one attempt to think of a direct influence of the antique, but would constantly see before himself models from Vignola, Palladio and Scamozzi. The beautiful treatment of the foliage on the Corinthian capitals on the Val-de-Grace or on the Palace of the Institute certainly show, that the master with the severe tendency had studied more the antique capitals than contemporary works in Rome, or than he did in architecture as Poussin did in painting. Among his contemporaries in Italy, he esteemed only Domenichino,

but besides nature and the antique, he studied the great Italians of the age of Julius II and of Raphael,

268. Italian Interpretation of the Antique.

The architects then were also men of their own epoch and recognized its needs and rights. They certainly understood, that the applicatio of the antique to modern needs could differ but little from what Italian masters had already originated. Hence it might be that also in that period, the architects and building lords believed, that they saw in the works of modern Italians the most faithful revival of the antique, as we have proved for the epoch of Henry II,⁴⁵⁹ and the more so, when in poetry men then passed from the supposed imitation of the Greeks and Romans to that of the Italians.

Note 459. We have shown (in our monograph on the two Du Cerceous, particularly in chapter III thereof), how Du Cerceou represents the Temple of Ceres by a design by Bramante for S. Peter's, the House of Tarquin by Raphael's Palace dell' Aquila, the Palace Regia of Numa by a composition borrowed from the designs of Bramante for the Vatican. We have shown that the most antique style, which men could think of in the age of Henry II, was the style of Bramante and of Raphael, especially the still so little known "last manner" of Bramante.

269. French Studies of the Antique.

This relationship to Italian architecture, which is incomparably greater than with the antique, must be the more emphasized, since on the ground of the magnificent antique remains in France, as well as their former Gallo-Roman civilization, many Frenchmen today prefer to hold themselves more independent from Italian art, than is actually the case.⁴⁶⁰ Men desire to see in Poussin not a modern Italian, but a Latin of France.⁴⁶¹ A slight difference certainly existed. But would there really have been Latins again in France, if there had not been modern Italians there? One may question this till now.

Note 460. It did not merely depend upon seeing antique monuments and ruins. It must have been far more important to stand before the works of a living and entirely modern nation, which like the Italians had understood how to take from the antique ruins and reanimate, what was applicable to new needs and in the new spirit.

Note 461. Poussin was accustomed to frequently take antique statues as models, instead of imperfect living models. With the Flemish sculptor Duquesnoy, he measured all antique statues, of Antinous with Algardi, and he observed all their proportions. (See Archives de l'Art Francois. 2nd Series. Vol. 2. p. 272). This custom of Poussin was severely criticized in the Academy Royale at Paris in 1668 by Philippe de Champagne and defended by Le Brun.

270. Studies of French Architects in Rome.

Moreover, from the days of the five great French masters, who had studied in Rome about 1530 (see Art. 137), until the famous works of Desgodetz and from thence until the present time, the direct and thorough study of the antique remains in Rome has never ceased. To this fact alone it is due that French architects, like Salomon de Brosse, Lemer cier, Francois Mansart, Claude Perrault, Gabriel and Louis, learned such a beautiful treatment of columns. Without excelling or perhaps even equalling the best models of the Italians of 1500 to 1550, we meet with the orders in the colonnade of the Louvre and in the palaces on the Place de la Concorde at a scale, with an extent and a wealth of rich development, of which the French may justly be proud. To this circumstance is it partly due, that the high Renaissance has never entirely vanished from the stage or from the consciousness of French architects.

271. Effects of the Study of the Antique.

Connected with the new increase in the enthusiasm for antiquity in the age of Richelieu, this study of the antique and of Italian models of the time of Julius II, as well as of Michelangelo's dome of S. Peter's produced likewise in the architecture of the 17th century in France a phase of the best period, that one is justified in designating as classical or as a second edition of the high Renaissance.

Henri Martin writes of this new inspiration in the time of Richelieu:-- "Not the theatre alone returned to antiquity. With the exception of philosophy and of the natural sciences, which had emancipated themselves, everything returned together to antiquity by every good or bad way.

It was an intense revival of the Renaissance, much more radical than the period of the 16th century, and a very system-

systematic effacement of the middle ages. Such an impulse drove our poets to Rome and Athens, our theologians into the arms of the fathers of the church, treading the scholastics beneath their feet, our artists especially to the more or less happy reproduction of antique costumes and customs, and it drove our monarchy to the forms and spirit of the Roman empire, until our literate democrats returned to the antique republic, and the scorn increased for the ages, that separated antiquity from the modern period.-- The era of the monarchy broke with the past of France to unite itself to a far distant past, which was that of our masters, our instructors, and not of our ancestors".

But in the 18 th century the enthusiasm for the antique republics lent to antique models still greater authority. The discovery of Herculaneum and of Pompeii and an acquaintance with the ruins of Athens contributed their part to this and left their traces in French architecture since 1750.

6. Italian Influence.

(1600-1750).

272. Its great Importance.

The Italian influence is so strongly and uninterruptedly continued during the second period of the development of the Renaissance, that an entire volume would be produced, if we desired to include here everything relating to it. We must therefore be satisfied by mentioning the essentials in the cases sometimes coming under consideration. Moreover some sides of this question must be touched on here, that have a general character, and which may contribute to a more correct conception of the conditions. We recall then, that already in reference to the influence of the antique, the Italian exterior was mentioned, under which that frequently appeared.

One meets among Frenchmen certain views concerning the relations of their architecture to the Italian during this period, that are but partially correct, when more closely considered, and which therefore frequently lead to conclusions, that injure the understanding of architecture in both countries. The first of these opinions, which assumes the removal of Italian influence during the period of 1595-1635, will be examined under the so-called style of Louis XIII.

273. Erroneous Comparison of France and Italy.

A second opinion of many Frenchmen is, that their architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries avoided the excesses, extravagances and offenses against a refined taste, that characterize contemporary Italian architecture, and that it was able to retain a dignified and imposing character. There is apparently much truth in this view, especially if one compares the more severe buildings that arose in France, from the Church Val de Grace to the Church of Invalids, the Palace Chapel of Versailles to the Pantheon, merely with the bad examples of the Italian Barocco.

Yet the comparison instituted in this manner is not absolutely correct and final. Two other points of view should likewise be considered, of which men think too rarely or even not at all. First, that in Italy beside the Barocco was a severer tendency, and secondly, that it would be fair to compare the best buildings of France not merely with the contemporary Italian works, but also with those of the same tendency of style, i.e., with the earlier Italian monuments, which the French had placed as models and patterns before their eyes.⁴⁶² In this way, not only would the decision be more just, but it would also be more honorable to both countries and more instructive for purposes of study.

Note 462. A comparison with what is seen in contemporary painters will place these facts in a clearer light. Poussin himself admits taking as models, not the contemporary Italians, but the antique and Raphael. Leseur, the Frenchman most inclined to the peculiarities of Raphael, never visited Italy in person and only knew the great native of Urbino from drawings and engravings, which Poussin supplied to him. Just in the same way proceeded the architects in the severe tendency from Richelieu to Napoleon. We have called attention to the connection of the architecture of the Place des Victoires at Paris with the about a century earlier Palace Magnani Guidotti in Bologna (See Art. 49). On the fireplace by J. Le Pautre, which Guilmard reproduces on Plate 24 (in *Les Maitres Ornementistes*. Paris. 1881), the figures are strongly influenced by those in Raphael's School of Athens, and in the Fountain by Ch. Le Brun (Guilmard, Pl. 26), the two river gods are

no less influenced by the reclining figures of Michelangelo on the tombs of the Medici at Florence.

The masters of Val de Grace, of the Church of Invalids, and of the Pantheon, had before their eyes Michelangelo's dome of S. Peter and the best parts of the interior, which were then also attributed to Michelangelo instead of Bramante. They then endeavored with sufficient free dom to do themselves all honor as architects by creating new art works in the same tendency and the same spirit as the best Italians. According to these undoubted endeavors and the models taken by them must their own undertakings be judged, at least in part.

274. Continuation of the high Renaissance in the 17 th Century.

This fact of the close connection with the Italian Renaissance thus aids in the better recognition of the real character of the best period of French architecture in the 17 th century. It appears still more clearly as classical and as the continuation of the Italian and French high Renaissance of the 16 th century. The correctness of the assumption made by us, that the classical period of the 17 th century is entirely a phase of the Renaissance style, is thereby further strengthened. But it is still to be made prominent, that this is chiefly true of church and palace architecture, much less for private architecture, where the French elements are much more numerous or so appear.

275. Insufficient Knowledge of Italian Architecture.

Another error, into which one involuntarily falls, is that in this comparison one has almost only Rome before his eyes, but does not sufficiently consider all Italy and its buildings. In the comparison of the architecture of the two countries one forgets, that their circumstances are diametrically opposed.-- After Henry IV, the best of all France converged in Paris more and more; there were in Italy innumerable questions of art; the masterpieces are divided among a hundred cities; all Italy is a museum.⁴⁶³ It is therefore infinitely more difficult to place before one's eyes a general picture of all phenomena of Italian architecture and to do justice to all its elements.

Note 463. A similar distribution of the monuments over a

great part of the country is found in France during the Romanesque, the Gothic, and the first period of the Renaissance. In the comparison between Italian and French works, one should not forget, that the chief value of a building lies in the employment of a motive, which was borrowed from an Italian building or an Italian design, whose general appearance and purpose were entirely different. Hence influences and similarities are frequently denied by superficial authors with surprising obstinacy, just as many architects and art connoisseurs are frequently much deceived concerning the degree of their knowledge of Italian architecture. One is mostly acquainted with only some phases of a few schools.

276. Influence of Michelangelo.

In the consideration of this period, one is perhaps too much inclined to regard as Flemish, what is merely a Flemish interpretation of forms, not borrowed from the severe, but always from an Italian tendency, namely that of Michelangelo and his successors. Several reasons explain the influence of this master. Firstly, the vast importance, besides his greatness as an artist, which the peculiarity of his position as architect of the Church of S. Peter (1547-1564) gave to him. Secondly, the beautiful treatment of his dome of S. Peter, by which it became a model for the severe tendency of domical architecture in France. Thirdly, the free and capricious treatment of form prevailing in many of his works, again gave him the sympathy of artists in the free phases and currents of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Relative to the free tendencies under Louis XIII and Louis XV, we shall return to the last mentioned influence of Michelangelo⁴⁶⁴ and otherwise refer to what has already been said about it in Art. 52.

Note 464. We shall there return to the two groups of his successors, which carried further the tendency of Michelangelo.

A series of other facts shows the important influence of Italy in various ways.

277. Italians in France.

Firstly, missions like that of de Chambray to Rome (about 1640), to invite important Italian artists and art workers to settle in France,⁴⁶⁵ or Frenchmen like Poussin, who had trained themselves in Italian art.

Note 465. See what was already said on this in Art. 48.

Such influences are to be ascribed to the long continued activity of Romanelli (about 1640-1660) and of his companions Grimaldi and Borzone, further the calling of Bernini to Paris in 1665, where for eight months, he was treated like a great lord. Stefano della Bella (1610-1664) from Florence, named La Belle by the French, was in Paris from 1640 to 1650.

273. Frenchmen in Italy.

A second proof arises from the fact, that this is the epoch in which the most important Frenchmen began to stay in Italy for long periods. Similarly to the earlier great Flemings, G. Bologna, Francheville (P. Francavilla) and Duquesnoy, Poussin and Claude Lorraine then settled entirely in Rome, and their art tendency belongs far more to their new home, than to their former one.⁴⁶⁶ Only in the temperament of Poussin is the Frenchman again found, and as in Salomon de Brosse, an echo of the great fusion spirit of Henry IV.⁴⁶⁷

Note 466. See later on this subject (in the mention of the architects) the passages concerning young architects sent to Italy on account of their studies.

Note 467. Etienne Du Perac was in Italy at least from 1564 to 1585, and Lemercier from about 1607 to 1613; Simon Vouet returned in 1632 from a stay of 15 years there; Sarrazin returned in 1628 from a long sojourn.

In the peculiar phenomenon of Salomon de Brosse, the influence of Vignola is not yet clearly visible. As we shall see, his severe spirit appears to be more allied to the works of some great north Italians, like Palladio, Domenico Cortoni, Pellegrini, Fabio Mangone, and sometimes Ammanati in his severer tendency. Only after the death of Salomon de Brosse (1626) does the influence of Vignola and of Scamozzi appear to be gradually adopted in the severe tendency.

h. Development of the Style Tendencies of the second Period of French Renaissance Architecture.

(About 1610-1735).

279. Subdivisions of the Style.

The period of French architecture, that we have designated as the second period of development of the Renaissance (about 1610 to 1635), may according to the point of view be subdivided into different styles or chronological epochs.

The division of this period into the styles of Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV, possesses great convenience as already stated. If one be satisfied with what is usually understood by these styles, the representation is still very imperfect; the conceptions frequently become entirely erroneous, a correct understanding is almost an impossibility.

Many Frenchmen divide this period into the century of Louis XIV and the epoch of Louis XV. According to this method, the century of Louis XIV comprises nearly the two first phases of the second period of development, and the age of Louis XV is the third or last phase. Thus the style connection between the third and the first two phases is lost. Lemonnier justly makes it prominent, that the designation of the century of Louis XIV has gradually falsified the history of the 17th century.⁴⁶⁸

Note 468. "The name of the century of Louis XIV has finally falsified the history of the 17th century. Everything has been made to begin in France, not only with the century but with the king, and moreover all has been attributed to our country, or nearly all, and almost nothing to the rest of Europe. Voltaire has contributed more than any other person to the extension of these ideas". (in *L'Art Français*, p. 23. -- One should read in Lemonnier the entire Chapter 2).

In connection with this opinion are many other Frenchmen, who date all events in the 17th century from the famous entry of Louis XIV into Paris after his marriage (1660).

280. Subdivision of the 17th Century in two parts.

Lemonnier accepts this prominence of the 17th century as a kind of whole, just as one also usually speaks of the 16th century. He then assumes two divisions in the 17th century (p. 28); the first being from the death of Henry IV to the entry of Louis XIV (1610-1660). This division certainly corresponds to several important events; yet for architecture it leads to new misunderstandings and erroneous conceptions. The year 1660 indeed nearly coincides with the disappearance of the free individual tendency;⁴⁷⁰ but on the other hand, the time from 1610-1660 corresponds to phases of the style of tolerably different character. The epoch of 1660-1770 on the contrary entirely separates the last phase from the period to

which it belongs, while the entire time of 1610-1700 moreover comprises only two thirds of the actual period in which it is to be placed.

Note 470. Before 1660 are to be found impulses of a certain individuality, a certain fineness and a more acute precision in forms, together with certain Flemish influences. Every thing is smoother during the second half. Even straight lines and surfaces appear less definite and lose something of their true precision.

281. Division according to the two Style Tendencies.

A third mode of subdivision arises, if one follows out the fate of architecture in the free and the severe tendencies of the second period, and assumes this as a basis. So far as known to us, this method has never yet been attempted. But it permits the following of the connection of the separate phases and of the separate branches of the currents and of their development with such clearness, that after long hesitation, we have decided to choose this method for the principal description, and to permit the subdivision according to phases to follow as a valuable extension only in the final consideration.

If one does not also follow the character and the fate of these separate currents themselves, it is impossible to rightly understand the nature of all the phenomena found in the phases, sometimes in the different phases, and still less in the subdivisions of the architecture according to the reigns; just as little is it possible to perfectly understand their general character.

282. Division according to Phases.

The division of the period into phases, as we have done for the first period, has certain advantages on its own part. It makes easier the comparison of the periods with each other. It permits the recognition of the general character of the architecture during each important division of the style. Since it finally affords the means for touching upon the so common French method of subdivision in accordance with the reigns of the kings, and for showing all its defects and for remedying them, then is this mode of subdivision better adapted for giving in the final consideration a review of the se-

second period. Our description will extend the other, and in this way will an understanding of the period become possible, which cannot otherwise be obtained to the same degree.

283. Main Currents of the Style.

We have already had opportunity to prove the existence of two main currents flowing beside each other in French architecture since 1500. We emphasized how important were their contemporary effect on each other and to external influences in the origin of the various phases of the style, and we gave a brief outline of these relations.⁴⁷¹

Note 471. See Art. 11, and especially Arts. 87, 88, 89 and 190.

We placed especial weight on the effects of these free and severe currents during and after the high Renaissance. (See Art. 190). We likewise called attention to the importance of the latter for the later phases, and termed it the treasury of all attainments and in a certain way the instrument of French architecture until the present day. (See Arts. 188, 189). This and the court of the Louvre always form one of the sources, to which the severe tendency of French architecture looks back.

This is now the place to follow out the fate of these two main currents in their further development during the different phases. The divergent growth of the phases and their connection will thereby be more clearly shown.

1. Free Style Currents.

(1594-1660).

284. Origin.

The freer direction of the taste of this period appears to substantially proceed from three sources:--

1. From a partial survival of the spirit of the late phase of the first period of development. (Charles IX and Henry III).
2. From the endeavors for freedom variously strengthened by the Huguenot wars, and their consequences.
3. From an influence of irregularity in Spanish literary works.

This epoch extends between two famous royal entries into Paris, that of Henry IV after long continued wars, and that of his grandson Louis XIV after his marriage, a year before

the beginning of his independent reign.

a. Origin of Details of the Free Current.

235. Importance of Details.

After the high Renaissance in France, details and ornamentation form the essential differences between the different phases and form their characteristics. It is therefore of particular importance to take up this side of architecture.

In the periods previously described, the forms of details, of mouldings and of decoration are substantially based on the antique, and especially upon its interpretation by the school of Bramante and in his "last manner". About the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries may be noticed the ever increasing occurrence of forms of details, which have a freer character and apparently a different origin. The French are accustomed to seek this in Flanders. This view appears to me incorrect, at least unless it be clearly extended. The Flemings were perhaps intermediaries, but the true origin lies in Michelangelo and his school. It therefore appears requisite to enter upon this matter more fully here, and to place it fully in a clear light.

236. Bizarre Tendency.

Within the treatment of details of the free current in Italy and France, I believe that I must here plainly call attention to the existence of two tendencies, that for clearness I will designate as the "bizarre" and the "Barocco". The bizarre tendency proceeds from the severe school of Bramante and Raphael; the Barocco tendency begins with Michelangelo and is further developed in his school. The former substantially predominates in the third phase of the first period of development (Charles IX, Henry III); the latter becomes so in the first phase of the second period. (Phase of Louis XIII).

The bizarre tendency adheres to a sharper and firmer treatment of details and of ornaments. The freer arrangements of these are limited more to giving freer forms to the usual smaller architectural members, especially the details, without confusing the reminiscences of their basal form. Their forms do not recall fabrics, leather etc., whose architectural use in the open air is unusual.

The treatment of forms by Alessi on Palace Marino at Milan

may be mentioned as a type of this tendency.⁴⁷² This is that to be found in the ornaments on the eastern half of the great gallery of the Louvre under Henry IV, where the subdivision into members on the contrary belongs to the Barocco tendency. It is found accompanying the arrangement of brickwork and ash-lars on his Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye, and similarly in the rare foliage ornament of Palace Luxembourg. On the gallery des cerfs at Fontainebleau, the pilasters of the ground story and the pediment caps of the upper windows belong by their details to the bizarre, and not to the Barocco tendency. To the latter belong only the volutes mentioned in Art. 291.

Note 472. One finds them with Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine, Perin del Vago and many others, and they predominate in the cartouche work at Fontainebleau.

Destailleur is thinking of these forms of the bizarre tendency, when he speaks of the false taste and mannerism of the Italian artists employed in France by the last of the Valois, or of the feeling of the style of the Renaissance, that still occurs on the facade of S. Etienne du Mont at Paris about 1610. He means this, when he speaks of the rise of the style of Louis XIII and says:-- "Between 1623 and 1630, the last forms of the degenerate Renaissance were given up for the rather heavy ornamentation of the new style".

Within the Barocco are masters, who were slightly or not at all affected by the swelled treatment of details, but also adhered to the bizarre tendency. The decoration of the vaults in Palace Ritti by Pietro da Cortona must have been gradually transformed from the Loggias of Raphael and avoided the details of Michelangelo. The same may be said of Le Brun's ceilings. It is rather the bizarre, than the Barocco tendency, that mixes again with the severer arabesque forms of Vouet, to gradually form the freer style of Berain and of Daniel Marot, and the proper style of Louis XIV. (Since about 1680).

287. Barocco Tendency.

But in the school of Michelangelo, on the contrary, the forms of structural elements, such as doorways, windows, arches with their piers, consoles, pediments and crowning motives, were drawn into the vortex of the capricious treatment of forms. Harmonious equilibrium of the most unexpected forms was

gradually placed before the observer in the most surprising positions. The grotesque heads lost their human features almost entirely, and assumed in expression something ghostly, vacant and unreal, or they are distorted into all conceivable grimaces.

c. Influence of Michelangelo's Forms on the Style of Louis XIII.

(About 1600-1660).

288. Character of its Details.

Most strongly characteristic of the tendency of Michelangelo and of his school is the material in which certain details appear to be executed, such as cartouches, masks, shields, the cushions of Ionic capitals, etc. This is not the material of the actual models borrowed from nature or from the art industries, but a soft material, often very difficult to name. One thinks of leather, of dough, of unburnt clay, or of soft and rounded forms, as of a cooked calf's head. Some look like dogs' ears and bats' wings. At other times, these are out strips of leather or more or less length, rolled up at the ends or hanging.

In the works of Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome (1508-1512) begins to appear very early the preference for such treatment of forms, although but sporadically. The inscription tablets below the prophets and sibyls are crowned by wings, arranged like broken pediments and showing softly rounded forms of no nameable material.

The same may be said of the helmet and plume of his statue of Il Penseroso in Florence (1519-1533). On Michelangelo's Palace of the Conservators in Rome, the beards and hair of the masks on the Ionic capitals are formed as cut and partly rolled leather strips, and like some other peculiarities, characteristics of the treatment of details in this tendency. The same is true of the cartouche on the doorway of the so-called Vigna of Cardinal Grimani in Rome.

289. Introduction outside Italy.

The circumstance, that the forms are designated as Flemish in France, appears to merely indicate, that they reached France by way of Flanders.⁴⁷⁴ They were somewhat overloaded and heavily shaped, and were employed in more numerous groupings

A Flemish element also was thereby more strongly expressed.

Note 474. Already at the end of the 16 th century, this capricious and Barocco tendency of Michelangelo's forms was introduced outside Italy. In Strasburg, for example, occur leather forms on cartouches, masks or ornaments, between 1585 and 1676. On the Hotel de Ville built by Daniel Speckle there may be seen these insinuated in parts. Many of these forms commonly occur, though detached, distributed among others in the fantastically luxuriant compositions of the Architecture of Wendel Dietterlin. (Nuremberg edition of 1598).

In the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau may already be seen in places in the cartouche borders these scrolls and flaps of stiffly curved or even rolled leather strips. Likewise occur some masks of ape-like or ghostly character, that follow not nature, but models like those of Michelangelo.

The cartouche-like caps of the dormer windows of the Chateau at Bournazel also exhibit an inclination toward such forms.

In the Chateau of Ancy-le-Franc are to be seen on the cartouches of the cabinet des fleurs, already in 1569 or soon afterwards, richly cut rolled work in soft leather forms. On the doorway of the chapel of the Chateau at Ecouen, which Darcel ⁴⁷⁵ places in the end of the 16 th century, are found leather cartouches and palm forms, which closely approximate to those of the period of Louis XIII. Certain cartouche forms on the gallery of the chapel of the Chateau at Anet are merely conceived to be of soft leather, instead of thin wood, to produce the character of the so-called forms of Louis XIII.

Note 475. In the text of Rouyer and Darcel. L'Art Architectural en France etc. Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pl. 47. -- The example previously mentioned is illustrated on Pl. 42.

The influence of the architecture of Michelangelo occurs within the free current in two separate tendencies:--

a. Exclusively by his system of treatment of details by an arrangement of brickwork and ashlar of the times of Henry IV and Louis XIII. It gives to the so-called Louis XIII style its apparently Flemish character.

b. By his mode of composition of the larger members and architectural parts, he formed the basis of the proper freer Barocco-like tendency of the style of Louis XIII, from which

was later to proceed the Louis XV style, and finally the Rococo.

c. Origin of the Brickwork, Tendency in the Style of Louis XIII.

290. Style of Louis XIII.

The treatment of details by the school of Michelangelo in the rather heavy and overloaded development, that it experienced in the Netherlands, -- combined with the tasteless tendency toward brickwork of the Huguenot minister Sully.⁴⁷⁶ It is the combination thus produced, that is meant in the first place, when one speaks of the style of Louis XIII in business intercourse and in society language.

Note 476. See Art. 229. The bonded ashlar quoins of the angles and openings were evidently invented by neither the age of Henry IV nor that of Louis XIII. This is the result of the structural combination of ashlar with an inferior material, like rubble or bricks. (See Figs. 141, 143, 144-147). We shall return to this later in connection with the arrangement of brickwork.

291. Examples of the Time of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

This treatment of details is already visible in places on buildings of Henry IV. Thus on the gallery des cerfs at Fontainebleau; imitated from the side view of the Ionic capitals of Michelangelo on Palace of Conservators in Rome, volutes here project from the wall as terminations of the pilasters, and they appear as if composed of soft, weak and inelastic masses. In the chapel of S. Saturnin in the Chateau at Fontainebleau, there already occur some details with this tendency, dated 1603.

This swelled, leather and dough-like form of details is further frequently found on Fontainebleau on the doorways of the vestibules, that lead to the gallery of Francis I and to the chapel of the Trinity, being in the latter beneath and above the gallery, on the wardrobes, in the scrollwork and on the cherubs' heads of the main frieze, on cartouches, masks, consoles, panels of the spandrels and between the pilasters, on vaults, and these forms from Michelangelo indeed occur in the midst of others, which belong to the severer tendency. Mansart gave in the gallery of Palace Mazarin, which he erected for the antiquities of the Cardinal (now a part of the Libra -

Librarie Nationale at Paris), one of the best examples of the brickwork tendency of Louis XIII. He adhered to the system of the Hotel, that Le Muet built in 1633-1649 for Tubeuf (Fig. 149), and which later became the Palace Mazarin.

We shall return to one of the most famous examples of this tendency, Chateau Beaumesnil, in connection with brickwork in general, in the Chapter on the peculiarities of the style.

We name a few additional examples, that are illustrated in Rouyer's well known work:--⁴⁷⁷

Note 477. Rouyer & Darcel. *L'Art Architectural en France.* etc. Paris. 1859-1866.

The house in Rue du Moulin du Roi in Abbeville (about 1625) with facade of stone and brickwork shows a recurved pediment, dough consoles, cartouches and heavy palms.

The Pavilion des Arquebusiers at Soissons (about 1622; Pl. 19). From the ornaments of the three lowest courses of bosses, one might conjecture the date to be 1560.

The ceiling of the Hall of the muses in the Chateau at Oir-on (about 1625; Pl. 21). Leather cartouches and heavy palms.

The chapel in Hospital Hotel-Dieu at Compiègne (about 1630; Pl. 25), leather cartouches, heavy palms, angels with heavy wingu, leather foliage and stems with pearl-like seeds.

Heavy scrollwork with free lines and heavy leaf points, fat rosettes, ceiling panels, partly with leather forms, are to be seen on the ceiling of the chamber of the council in the Assize Court at Paris. (About 1622; Pl. 18).

Tolerably severe are the main forms but with leather cartouches, heavy acanthus consoles and broken forms, are the choir stalls of S. Peter at Toulouse. (After 1659; Pls. 15, 16).

292. Bonded Ashlars without Brickwork.

It should not be forgotten, that the use of bonded ashlar quoins at the angles and openings without brickwork as an exclusively decorative system of a facade are considerably older than the phases of Henry IV and Louis XIII.

We give the following examples of them:--

The bonded quoins of the angles and windows give to the Pavilion of S. Louis in Fontainebleau, already rebuilt under F Francis I, and on which the surfaces of the walls are of stone, the same dry and tasteless character, which we observe in the Huguenot tendency of Sully.

In the rebuilding of the Chateau of S. Maur, which De l'Orme undertook for Catherine de Medici, the double pavilions with their bonded quoins of the angles and the windows, as well as in their proportions, had entirely the character of the so-called style of Louis XIII.⁴⁷⁸

Note 478. Illustrated in Du Cerceau. *Les plus excellents Bastiments de France*. Vol. 2. Paris. 1579; also in Geymüller. *Bes Du Cerceau etc.* Paris. 1887. Fig. 100. p. 201.

In the time of Louis XIII are likewise examples thereof. The Chateau of Angeville-Bailleul, not far from Fecamp,⁴⁷⁹ shows at the angles and windows these enclosures by toothed ashlar, that there likewise project from ashlar walls instead of brickwork.⁴⁸⁰

Note 479. Illustrated in Lübke, W. *Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich*. 2nd edition. Stuttgart. 1885. P. 299. (After Sauvageot).

Note 480. Gherardo Silvani built in Florence about 1625 the court of Palace Castelli, later Fenzi and now Banco Nazionale in St. Via Cavour, with three series of windows, which merely have toothed ashlar as enclosures, as in the so-called styles of Henry IV and Louis XIII; merely the bricks between them and the toothed quoins are lacking at the angles, which he employed on the facade.

d. Barocco-like Tendency of the Style.

293. Influence of Michelangelo.

For the tendency here particularly meant, no French appellation is known to me. Therefore I have proposed a French name (Barocco Genre) as an explanation. I conjecture that examples of this tendency are meant, when Rivoalen⁴⁸¹ employs the words "torments and grotesques", and Lechavallier Chevignard further uses the term "macaronic" style.

Note 481. Rivoalen points out various phenomena in the architecture of the time of Louis XIII. It can be severe or be restlessly tortured. Just as well can it show itself gloomy and at other times grotesque. (See Planat's *Encyclopedie de l'architecture*. Paris. 1888-1893. Vol. 6. p. 470).

In the style under discussion, the influence of Michelangelo and his school is much more important, than in the brickwork style, where it only affected certain details. Its freer

and later mode of composition here serves as a basis. Entire buildings in the style of this tendency appear to be rare in France. It must especially extend to the members of the internal architecture. It is found on the exterior chiefly on those structural members, that can be placed within the enclosure of the orders.

Examples of this tendency of that period are found in two works then published; that of the Florentine Alexander Francini,⁴⁸² engineer to the king (1631), and in the work of Barbet,⁴⁸³ dedicated to Richelieu (1633); also further collected in all works engraved by Abranm Bosse.

Note 482. "Alexander Francini, engineer to the Most Christian King Louis XIII, designed this portico of architecture." 1631. Paris.

Note 483. Barbet, J. *Libre d'Autels et de Cheminees*, --- grave par A. Bosse. Paris. 1633.

Figs. 54⁴⁸⁴ and 55⁴⁸⁵ by comparison permit the recognition of the contemporary existence of both tendencies, and to better display the character of the doorway of Francini, represented in Fig. 55, which is suited to the tendency now under examination. In his twentieth doorway with large and heavy cartouches in the tympanum, one cannot know whether leather or dough is used. The shells, wings, draperies, and heads in distorted grimaces moreover exhibit an exaggerated scale.

Note 484. Reproduced from Barbet, *Libre d'Architecture etc.*

Note 485. Reproduced from Colliot and Lance. *Encyclopedie d'Architecture etc.* Paris. After 1631. Vol. 9. Pl. 48.

294. Character of this Tendency.

In general it is the different architectural members of the high Renaissance, such as doorways, windows, tabernacles, fireplaces etc., that serve as a basis and commencing point. But instead of retaining these quiet forms based on constructable motives, these are employed for all conceivable variations. They are transformed, each unit member is subdivided into several smaller parts, and these are so arranged as to present as many contrasts to each other as possible. At the same time, it is sought to combine this great number of elements more closely together, than by mere juxtaposition as in the antique. This is attained by breaks, different common

enclosures, side connections, by consoles etc. From this frequently results an accenting of the vertical principle in the style of the composition and of the elevation.

295. Relationship to the Taste for Affectation.

The character of this style tendency exhibits to us arbitrary caprices, labored combinations and contrasts, overloading of motives, frequent repetition of members and of lines, combined with a broad and rather heavy moulding of separate enclosures.

In several of these tendencies exists a striking relationship of this tendency to the spirit of the then so influential society of *Hôtel Rambouillet*.⁴⁸⁶ Henry Martin says that men had there passed from hatred of the dry and later simple word to the labored turns of affected taste. They came imperceptibly to over refinement, to false taste, and to seeking for circumlocutions.

Note 486. The influence of the loties of this society upon the forms of the plans of the Hotel will be discussed later.

The side doorway of Church S. Louis⁴⁸⁸ at Paris, represented in Fig. 56,⁴⁸⁷ is one of the most expressive examples of this tendency: numerous and in great part heavy enclosing mouldings, several broken and curved pediment forms, heavy cartouches and consoles, are here the characteristic elements. They are found yet more strongly expressed on the door to the gallery of the chapel of the Trinity in the *Château de Fontainebleau*.

Note 487. Reproduction from Daly, C. *Motifs Historiques d'Architecture* etc. 1 st series. Paris. 1869.

Note 488. Now S. Paul and S. Louis in Rue S. Antoine.

The doorway by Francini (Fig. 55), and still more the just mentioned doorway of Church S. Louis (Fig. 56), belong to that style, which Rubens introduced into the architecture and ornamentation of Flanders after his return from Italy, and which is today named after him as the Rubens style.⁴⁸⁹

Note 489. See Guilmard. D. *Les Maîtres Ornamentistes* etc. Paris. 1883. p. 499.

296. Examples from J. Barbet.

The collection of fireplaces and altars, which J. Barbet sought among the best examples then in Paris and published in

1633,⁴⁹⁰ also contains a series of examples of this tendency; rich overmantels extending to the ceiling with numerous figures, hermes, consoles, rolled work, vases, masks, cherubs' heads, palms etc. One of these is shown in Fig. 348. On another, the principal enclosing member is composed of rolled and cut strips of leather, as if surrounded by a single great cartouche. On a third, cherubs' heads grew, so to speak, out of a leather mask with numerous rolled strips at the sides and above.⁴⁹¹

Note 490. Barbet.

Note 491. Illustrated in Guilmord. Pl. 16.

297. Macaronic Style.

Other forms of details are frequently added to those mentioned. As Chevignard⁴⁹² truly remarks, architecture as well as language thereby now passed into a macaronic style.

Note 492. Lechevellier-Chevignard, Les Styles Français. Paris. 1892. p. 304.

The rolled-up cut-outs of the cartouches, which fall down like waves, are externally strengthened by rolls like caterpillars;⁴⁹³ the latter are also sometimes furnished with a backbone or rib of round seed-like spheres.

Note 493. An expressive example of this tendency, which also occurs sporadically in Wendel Dietterlin, is found in a panel by Abraham Bosse, illustrated in Guilmord. Pls. 17, 18.

298. Auricular Style.

The last development of this tendency in taste, the last Flemish exaggeration of the school of Michelangelo passed into the auricular style with or without pea-pods (cartilage work more or less mixed with carob leaves and distorted grotesques). This tendency of art and taste actually corresponds to the contemporary party of smart libertines (about 1623) and of gormandizers (about 1615). It would be difficult to state accurately what degree of extension of this style was attained in France, and the beginning of which Guilmord placed in the time of the return of Rubens from Italy. He certainly affords opportunity for interesting observations on the nature of the tendency of French taste, which would be repeated in the age of the Rococo. As the fashion of rockwork found a century later its strongest expression, not in France

out in Germany, the auricular style attained its complete development only in German countries, as in Flanders, Holland, Germany and Switzerland. I believe it impossible to develop this fashion in a more complete, exaggerated and tasteless manner, than is done in the works of the master Simon Cammermayer, "citizen and cabinet-maker of the Bavarian city of Wendling-in-Riss";⁴⁹⁴ if so, then the prize would be given to "master Friderich Unteutsch, cabinet-maker in Frankfurt".⁴⁹⁵

Note 494. See Cammermayer, S. Von den Fünff Ordnungen der Seelen in der Bau-Kunst, herausgegeben von Einem der Architektur und derer freyen Künste Liebhaber. Wending. Feb. 1. 1678.

Note 495. See Unteutsch, F. Neues Zirkelbuch. Anderer Theil. Published by Paulus Fürsten. Art Dealer. Nuremberg. No date. (According to Guilmard, p. 400, Unteutsch worked about 1650).

Both works are the last words of what the French designate as the Flemish element of the style of Louis XIII.

299. Church S. Marie at Nevers.

A very expressive example of the Barocco in France is afforded by the facade of Church S. Marie at Nevers. The bold effect of the projecting fluted columns with their entablature strongly broken above them, the powerful effect of the broken upper pediment, the most complete Barocco treatment of the pediments of the upper part, overrich in motives, the doorway, the windows, and the great pediment niche, the luxuriantly heavy and ultra Barocco treatment of the angel hermes figures beside architraves and pilasters, all this lends an energy of character to the architecture, skilfully handled in spite of everything, which one is not accustomed to find in French architecture of that epoch.

300. Influence of Rubens.

The style has something Flemish-Roman, as usual in the vicinity of Rubens. The half octagon (instead of the round arch) at the doorways recalls the same form in the garden of Rubens, that will soon be mentioned.

The nature of the style tendency just indicated is likewise clearly expressed in the engravings of an architect of Amiens, N. Basset (1600-1650).

Note 496. See Guilmard. Pl. 15. -- One plate of this series bears the title; "Epitaphs designed by N. Basset of Amiens".

In the panel of an overmantel in the frequently mentioned work of Barbet (Pl. 7), the influence of Rubens is likewise visible in the figures. Other compositions exhibit complicated combinations of various enclosures, as they were liked in Rubens' vicinity.

No. 33 in the work of Francini on Doorways ⁴⁹⁷ represents a doorway spanned by a half octagon (instead of by a round arch), as Rubens constructed in his own garden at Antwerp; a similar one is found at Florence on church Ss Stefano and Cecilia (1656 ? by Tacca). This treatment had also been already employed by Michelangelo about 1560 on his Gate Porta Pia. The drawing of the grotto in the garden of the Luxemburg is ascribed to Rubens by some.

Note 497. "Alexander Francini, Florentine, engineer to his most Christian Majesty Louis XIII, designed this architectural portico". 1631. Paris.

We emphasize these points, since on the one hand most Frenchmen are surprised, that the great masters north of the Alps, who in part worked in Paris for Maria de Medici during 1622-1625, appear to have exerted no greater influence upon their art of that period, and because on the other hand just the most completely expressed and most interesting example to be mentioned refers this style tendency to Rubens.

It consists of a volume of original designs, mostly studies for a treatise on architecture. Since the 17th century, these have been attributed to Rubens himself. They overflow with such an infinite abundance of caprices and talented possibilities of treatment, that they could only be ascribed to an artist, who was an architect like him and a painter of the first rank, even if only the composition in black crayon is by himself, and the execution with the pen was due to some of his numerous assistants.⁴⁹⁸

Note 498. This album, formerly in the Destailleur collection at Paris, now belongs to Madame Nadine Poloutsoff, and is exhibited in the Stieglitz Drawing School in St. Petersburg.

Another tendency frequently occurring in this period consists in the enormous increase in the scale of certain detail motives, such as shields of arms (under Spanish influence?), cartouches (Figs. 168, 169), or masks. Thus the colossal

mask, whose open mouth serves as the round arched doorway of Casa Zuccherò in Rome, that Federigo Zuccherò or Zuccaro built for himself (1543-1609). Figs. 168 and 169 show that such ideas also at least occurred in France.

301. Duration of this Tendency.

There must finally be mentioned a remarkable correspondence in the contemporary reaction against this spirit in the architecture and in the literature. Abranam Bosse takes the field against the excesses of this tendency with its overloading by borders with frequently broken angles, consoles, and broken pediments of every form and position, with their twisted columns, garlands, vases and cherubs' heads,⁴⁹⁹ in the same year that Molière appears in his "Précieuses Ridicules" against the romantic preposterousness, that was already tiresome in high society, but was insufferable in imitative women of humble rank.

Note 499. Fig. 348 gives a scarcely exaggerated illustration, but merely a very quiet example of such a composition.

The words of Bosso are also characteristic otherwise of the year in which the "great reign" begins. He says:-- "To make known that I am of the opinion of those, who do not admire at all the mixed compositions, which some practitioners adapt by their design to the noble and agreeable proportions of antique architecture. No more than the projection or false intersection and the loss of parallelism ---, because all these works belong rather to Gothic than to Greek, from which came to us the good style".⁵⁰⁰

Note 500. Bosse, A. *Représentation Géométrale de plusieurs parties de Batiments* constructed according to the Rules of Antique Architecture. Paris. 1659. 10 places of doorways, not numbered.

If we pay attention to the manner of composition in this tendency, it happens that the late phase of this period, that of the style of Louis XV, is again connected therewith in order to further develop its forms.

e. Hotel and Palace Architecture.

302. Hotel de Longueville.

Even in the midst of the phase considered, usually represented as predominatingly free, the architecture of chateaus and

palaces frequently contains severe elements, that lend to it a mixed character. The two following examples may therefore be nearly as well counted among those of the intermediate tendency. We mention them here before passing to the description of the severe tendency.

The former Hotel de Longueville at Paris (Figs. 57, 305),⁵⁰¹ erected by Clement Metzereaux for the duke de Luynes,⁵⁰² who died in 1621, exhibits the pilaster and niche architecture of the 16th century, combined with the great windows and other elements of the epoch of Louis XIII. It is like a connecting link between the facade subdivision of the contemporary chateaus of Salomon de Brosse on the one hand, with the pilaster facades of the two Mansarts in Blois, Maisons and Versailles on the other.

Note 501. Reproduction from an old engraving by Morot (in Works of Jean Morot. Paris. No date. Pl. 65).

Note 502. It necessarily belonged to his son, the duke de Chevreuse and to the dukes of Epemon and Longueville, and it played a great role during the Fronde. It stood within the present court of the new Louvre.

Fig. 58 Old Chateau at Versailles.

The old Chateau, which Louis XIII had built by Lemercier in Versailles, which now forms the facades of the court of marble, is an example of this tendency.

The part represented in Fig. 58⁵⁰³ is indeed a wing added by Louis XIV, but which accurately continues the old system,⁵⁰⁴ The bonded quoins are omitted and are replaced by pilasters and straight window architraves. By skilful panel slabs with busts and consoles, it is sought to impart something of distinction to the entire system of brickwork and ashlar.

Note 503. Reproduction from an old crayon engraving at Paris.

Note 504. The dormer windows, vases, and figures of the charming balustrade also belong to the forms of Louis XIV.

2. Severe Tendency of the Style.

(1594-1774).

304. Sources and Effects.

4. Sources from which proceeded the strength of the severe tendency are:--

a. The spirit of reorganization and reaction against the

extravagances of the age of Henry III.

b. The strengthening of the spirit of the counter reformation, of the Council of Trent, and of absolutism.

4. The effects of it are:--

a. The strong increase of Italian influence.

b. The return to different severe Italian models.

c. The founding of French academies in Paris and Rome.

d. The new rise of the high Renaissance and of the classical tendency.

a. Continuance of the Spirit of the High Renaissance.

305. High Renaissance.

The history of the severe tendency of architecture from 1594 to 1770 (from the entry of Henry IV into Paris until the death of Louis XV) may be comprised in the words:-- After the introduction of the high Renaissance into France, this style really never went out of use in this country. Never have more than twenty or thirty years passed away, without one or more buildings having been produced, that one must indeed regard as noble, or at least respectable and interesting products of this style tendency.

We will cite the following buildings and dates as being in some degree milestones and waymarks of the severe high Renaissance tendency.

1590, death of Baptiste Du Cerceau.

1594, design of the western half of the gallery of the Louvre.

1615, beginning of Place Luxemburg.

1616, laying corner stone of facade of Church S. Gervais.

1618, rebuilding of great hall of Palace of Justice at Paris.

1624, Pavilion de l'Horloge in the court of the Louvre.

1635, beginning of Church of the Sorbonne.

1645, beginning of Church Val de Grace.

1665, beginning of colonnade of the Louvre.

1680, beginning of the domed Church of the Invalids.

1699, beginning of chapel of Chateau at Versailles.

1706, court and court facade of Hotel de Soubise at Paris.

1710, completion of chapel of Chateau at Versailles.

1732, beginning of facade of Church S. Sulpice at Paris.

1738, beginning of facade of Church S. Roch at Paris.

1754, beginning of facade of Church S. Eustache at Paris.

1762-1770, beginning and construction of Palaces on Place de la Concorde at Paris.

The differences here notable from one century to another or between buildings separated by one or two centuries are no real differences in style. They merely result from the gifts and the individual temperament of the master concerned, or from the intellectual temper of the age in which they arose. In such a case may indeed exist a great difference in art worth without any in the style.

The fact alone, that during several centuries of the construction of the Louvre, men retained or returned to the severe tendency, even in 1624, two years after the beginning of the work of Rubens in Paris, and in 1665 in the midst of the reverence for Bernini, is in itself already an interesting and important phenomenon and evidence of the influence of Lescot's composition.

On the Pavillon de l'Horloge (Fig. 225) at the Louvre, not only is the architecture severe: the great slender caryatids of Sarrasin, arranged in pairs, exhibit a noble and monumental dignity, joined with a natural feminine grace, and they belong to the best indeed, that has ever been created in this style.

The famous Chateau of Richelieu, that the cardinal had Lemercier erect in Poitou from 1627 onward (Figs. 233, 240), must be mentioned here on account of the severe plan of the general arrangement and the treatment of the different parts. (Fig. 323).

The other standard severe buildings, such as the wing of Gaston d'Orleans in Blois, as well as the chateaus in Maisons and in Vaux-le-Vicomte, will be mentioned in the description of the intermediate tendency.

306. Renewed Study of the Italian High Renaissance.

Concerning Italian influence in this period, it was emphasized in Art. 273, that French masters looked less toward contemporary Italians, than toward the severer masters of the 16th century. Nothing better shows that the French high Renaissance did not end with the 16th century, than the return of the French architects then to the Italian high Renaissance. They had the correct feeling, that their task would be long

inexhaustible. Men merely stood before an interruption or pause produced by fate. The statement of Lemonnier is entirely correct, that there was not an unbroken series of "Franciades" in literature alone.

This energetic resumption, this adherence to the high Renaissance, and its application again to a large number of problems must indeed be regarded as the fruit of intellectual opposition to the extravagances of caprice in the continued school of Michelangelo. Just as the religious wars were unable to suppress the severe tendency of the Renaissance, just so little could they and the orderly reorganization of Henry IV destroy the free tendency and its caprices.

The Louvre, the Tuileries, the Church S. Eustache and many other monuments prove, that neither time nor strength sufficed for the problems undertaken. Just this resumption of the problems of French architecture of the 16th century contributed to a better understanding of French architecture in the 17th century.

Important domains of the Italian high Renaissance, for example the entire domical construction, were to first receive consideration in France and to originate competition with the best Italian models. Not only the tendency of architecture, but also the ever increasing Jesuitism and the Roman Church directed attention to the Church S. Peter and the Church of Jesuits at Rome. It is very remarkable, that French architects did not endeavor to produce imitation of the entire Church S. Peter with the colossal external order. They took the severest portion of the exterior, the dome of Michelangelo, as the centre of their ideas, and they sought to bring the substructure into better harmony with the dome by means of several orders instead of a single one, than is now the case with the amputated Church S. Peter.

Of the six more important domed churches, which were erected in Paris, three belong to the severest tendency: the Church of the Sorbonne (1635-1659), the Church Val-de-Grace (begun 1645), and the domed Church of Invalids (1680-1692). Even in the Church of Assumption and in the College des Quatre Nations (1660), severe design predominates only on the Jesuit Church S. Louis, now Church Ss. Paul et Louis, has a decidedly mixed tendency been expressed.

307. Examples from 1660 to 1700.

For the time about 1660, some of the buildings of Le Vau may certainly be mentioned as belonging to this tendency; the portal structure in the Chateau at Vincennes (Fig. 140), his former pavilion at the Louvre (Fig. 332), begun in 1660, finally the system of external architecture of the Chateau at Versailles (Fig. 235). Unfortunately his famous Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte is only known to us from illustrations, therefore I cannot decide whether it is better to mention it here, like his College des Quatre Nations (Palace of the Institute), or under the intermediate tendency.

The architectural activity of Claude Perrault in relation to severe composition and noble treatment of details indeed denotes the climax of the classical external architecture of this period. His colonnade of the Louvre (1665-1680) with the two stairways, the facades along Rue de Rivoli and the river Seine (Fig. 223), as well as the uppermost story of the court of the Louvre (Fig. 227), which was gradually constructed on three sides, since the attic of Lescot no longer suited the external height, and finally his never completed triumphal Arch (Fig. 324), are certainly efforts, which belong to the best of the four last centuries in Europe.

On account of the severe treatment in plan of its general design (Fig. 326), and on account of the subdivision of the pavilion du Roi (Fig. 353), the famous pleasure Chateau of Marly may likewise be regarded as a member of the severe tendency. It was begun in 1679; in 1690-1715 were made considerable expenditures for the building.

J. H. Mansart's facade of Church Notre Dame at Versailles is recognized as having been erected in barely two years. (1684-1686). The middle building and the ground story are nevertheless severe and very good. His chapel of the Chateau at Versailles (1699-1710), completed by his brother-in-law Robert de la Cotte, by the noble treatment of the Corinthian order and its contrast to the surfaces in repose is not only a severer, but in part also a more beautiful building. (Fig. 171).

308. Examples from 1700 to 1732.

Of the period between 1700 and 1730, during which the free tendency constantly increased, there may be mentioned the mid-

middle buildings of Hotel de Soubise (1706), of Hotel de Noailles, and of Hotel d'Evreux, as entirely derived from the severe spirit. But it is perhaps more correct to count them with the intermediate tendency, to which we also refer as the supporter of the severe spirit during the most intense period of the reaction of the free tendency.

We pass now to the important moment of the appearance of S Servandony. This peculiar architect became acquainted before 1724 with the severe forms under the well known architectural painter J. P. Pannini in Italy, as well as under the architect Giovanni Giuseppi Rossi. His facade of Church S. Sulpice in Paris (begun 1732) is the most important monument of this epoch and has a severe and grand effect. The chapel of S. M Marie of the same church is likewise due to him.

Robert de Cotte, who continued and completed his brother-in-law's chapel of the Chateau in Versailles, and completed in the severe tendency mentioned, remained faithful to this tendency in his two later church facades. The facade of the Church of the Oratoire at Paris with Doric and Corinthian orders is cold, but strong. That of S. Roch (Fig. 170), only executed in 1738 by his son, three years after Robert de Cotte's death, is much more interesting in composition; the effect of the ground story with its cold Doric subdivision of the piers and the three round arches of equal height is one really beautiful, allied in spirit with some of the designs for the Church S. Peter in Rome by Antonia da Sangallo. (About 1520).

309. Examples since 1750.

With the facade of Church S. Estache at Paris by Jean Mansart, begun in 1754 (Fig. 175), which is no less severe than that of Servandony, we have already passed into the period of the pure and severe style of Louis XVI. Jacques-Ange-Gabriel, after 1742 first architect to the king, began in 1751 the Ecole Militaire at Paris and erected in 1762-1770 the two famous Palaces on Place de la Concorde.

In the year 1757, the Church S. Genevieve (the Pantheon) was begun by Soufflot, whose corner stone was only laid in 1764. The system of the interior approaches in several points so very nearly to the type of a group of studies among the 1

designs of Bramante for church S. Peter, that it would be interesting to know, whether Soufflot had any acquaintance in Italy or elsewhere with these designs, of like Bramante himself, passed by the study of the antique monuments to this arrangement.

Antoine built in 1768-1775 his Hotel des Monnaies at Paris, severe even to coldness. Louis designed in 1773 his famous Theatre at Bordeaux, and in 1781 he built the buildings with arcades around the garden of the Palace Royal. The Palace of Legion of Honor likewise belongs here.

The latter buildings represent the connection with our century, when we again recognize the high Renaissance in the Arch of Triumph of Place du Carrousel and in the former main stairway by Percier and Fontaine in the Louvre, later in the Palace de la Cour des Comptes on Quay d'Orsay, and in our own days in Brune's ministry of Agriculture and commerce in Rue de Varenne, both in Paris.

b. Decoration.

310. Examples from 1624 to 1680.

In the apartments of Maria de Medici in Palace Luxemburg at Paris may be observed proofs, that besides Rubens, the queen remembered the grotesques in the Loggias of Raphael.

At the erection of the pavilion de l'Horloge in the court of the Louvre (after 1624), it became necessary to return to the noblest ornamentation by Pierre Lescot. Men had the good fortune to find a master in Sarrasin, who followed the figures of Lescot's attic with caryatids, not inferior to those, but indeed excelling them in part.

In the beautiful decorative compositions of Simon Vouet ⁵⁰⁵ (1590-1649), the motives are based on the grotesques in the Loggias of Raphael and the engravings of Du Cerceau; the latter were engraved after grotesques formerly existing in Fontainebleau and Monceau; but all of Vouet's forms, the enclosures of the reliefs, medallions, shields, and the scrollwork are more boldly and heavily treated; likewise are the natural plants and flowers, that occur instead of those of Giovanni da Udine, in more massive and heavier festoons and garlands.

Note 505. He sojourned for 15 years in Italy, and he was again in Paris in 1632.

Other pertinent examples are illustrated in Rouyer's well known work.⁵⁰⁶

Note 506. Rouyer and Darcel. *L'Art Architectural en France* etc. Paris. 1863-1866.

311. Period of 1680 to 1732.

Two examples of this tendency under consideration are found much later yet in Hotel d'Ormesson at Paris (about 1680) and between 1666 and 1694 in the Palace of Justice at Rennes. It is the same tendency, that we shall see as the French basis of the so-called style of Louis XVI substantially after 1745, if not earlier.

As a further, even if merely a partial connection with the style of Louis XVI, we refer to the group of Gillot-Watteau, to be discussed under the free tendency (Art 341). We there see the return to natural flowers, vine scrolls, fruits, little cypresses and poplars, as in the style of Louis XVI, as well as the occurrence of certain angular forms, as in Chossart (1729-1809) and Delafosse (born 1721). We further see therein the peculiar appearance of this group, that earliest proceeded from the bizarre tendency, i.e., from that free tendency, which had been developed from the school of Raphael. But at the same time we find in it already the style of Louis XVI half transformed, which then returned again to the severe models of the loggias of Raphael, from which the bizarre tendency was derived.

312. Style of Louis XVI.

It is not within the scope of this volume to describe the so-called style of Louis XVI, with which the third period of development of the Renaissance in France commences. But if we have still mentioned the most important monuments of this phase, this occurred on account of the necessity for obtaining a solid base for the close of our work, and to not allow it to be lost in the uncertain light of the capricious sportiveness of the free tendency.

For the same reason must at least the beginning of the Louis XVI decoration be mentioned here, because for 25 years it prevailed at the same time with the free tendency of the style of Louis XV, with which the present volume closes.

The Louis XV decoration is the reaction of the severe spirit

against the excesses of the free tendency of the style of Louis XV, i.e., of the last phase of the second period of the Renaissance. It returns to the several forms of the style of Louis XII and Louis XIV, and it is based, even more than those, on the Loggias of Raphael. The latter cannot be surprising, for like the Louis XIV style, women influenced the Louis XVI style. Madame de Pompadour introduced the so-called style of Louis XVI between 1745 and 1750. Marie Antoinette took a part in its further development. Men generally assert, that it ended with her and the Revolution. It would perhaps be more correct to say, that its transition into the empire style is so gradual, that one can scarcely note the separation between the two. It is further assumed, that the excavation of Herculaneum (1713) and of Pompeii (1755) had begun to influence French decoration and architecture.

313. Recourse to earlier Examples.

If on the one hand we see the style of Louis XVI sometimes returning to the style of Louis XIII,⁵⁰⁷ then on the other do we find already in the latter premonitions or prophecies of the style of Louis XVI. In the collection of altars and mantels engraved by Abraham Bosse in 1633 for the work of J. Barbet,⁵⁰⁸ there are two mantels, that exhibit many ideas of the style of Louis XVI, for example on one is already a sun as the later symbol of Louis XIV. The relation of this style to the masters of the Gillot-Watteau group was already indicated in Art. 311, and we shall recur to it later.

Note 507. It appears to me that the influence of Stefano della Bella frequently reappears. In the vases by Jac. Saly, (1756), the latter seems to return to della Bella or to such engravings by Le Pautre, who was under his influence. (Illustrated in Jessen, P. Katalog der Ornamentisch-Sammlung des K. Kunstgewerbe-Museums zu Berlin. Leipzig. 1894. p. 119). Likewise in the work of de la Jolie. In Caubet's Ornaments, this is apparent in the treatment of the animals and of the foliage; thus for example in the rams' heads of the panels:-- Caubet, G. P. Recueil d'Ornements. Paris. 1777. (Illustrated in Jessen. p. 57).

Note 508. Barbet, J. Livre d'Architecture d'Autels et de Cheminees etc. Paris. 1633. The plates mentioned are to be

found in the Paris Cabinet d'Estampes. Vol. E d 30. Plc 152.

3. Mixed or Intermediate Tendency of the Style.

314. Character of the Combination. (1594-1774).

Where two tendencies of opposed nature follow the same course at the same time, it should not be surprising to find attempts to create a tendency intermediate between the two. In the period now occupying our attention, there are even phases, whose chief character is that of a combination of the severe and the freer tendencies. Since correctly understood, all French architecture after 1500 is a compromise between native and foreign elements, each building could be arranged in this class. The grouping according to the currents, that we here propose, is still based on perceptible elements, that may be observed in buildings on French soil itself, as soon as they are placed in an objective light, and attention is directed to the points of view here made prominent.

We here understand as works of an intermediate tendency only such as exhibit a severe composition and subdivision, on while the decoration within this limit follows a freer tendency.

315. Beginning under Henry IV.

It has been emphasized, that the fusion policy and a conciliatory spirit formed the basis of the character of Henry IV. Therefore it should not be surprising to find the sources of the intermediate tendency in his age, and to see it grow out of this. In the gallery on the river side of the Louvre, the subdivision and the detail show certain echos of the Italian tendency of Alessi in the court of Palace Marino at Milan, while the famous frieze of cupids exhibits marks of a Flemish-German influence. 509

Note 509. We refer to a German work, that appeared in the same year in which the design for the completion of the gallery of the Louvre was exhibited (1594). This is a medallion by Flindt on a goblet, which shows a great fish in the midst of reeds, exactly in the character of those on the frieze of the Louvre, and which is also to be found already in Jamnitzer. -- This medallion is to be found in Flindt's book with 40 pieces. Nuremberg. 1594. (Illustrated in Jessen, P. Katalog der Ornamenten-Sammlung des Kunstgewerbemuseums zu Berlin. Leipzig. 1894. p. 113).

316. Salomon de Brosse and Rubens.

It may be stated here, that the entire style of Salomon de Brosse bears something of the character of the fusion policy of Henry IV, and it may therefore be mentioned here. The intermediate character in it does not consist in the mixture of two systems of forms, but in the combination of two intellectual tendencies, the Roman and Huguenot severity, with which de Brosse groups the architectural problem. Therefore it will be arranged to more fully enter upon the character of his creations later.

For a better view of this period, it should be recalled, that the entire art tendency of Rubens, the greatest master of the 17th century, was a progressive compromise and a constantly renewed, though founded on different conditions, alliance of the severe tendency of the great Italians with the free, exuberant, living force of the Flemings.

317. Building of Gaston d'Orleans at Blois.

About twenty years later, on the building of Gaston d'Orleans in the Chateau at Blois (after 1635), there may be seen in the severely conceived ornamental sculpture of the vault and the dome of the famous stairway an interesting reflection of the swelled treatment of details. The masks that support the trophies and ornament the shields, the cartouches with the heavy volutes of thin scrollwork exhibit this character in an expressive, even if not exaggerated way. We stand before an essentially severe Italian composition, whose details are likewise Italian, but show a rather too bold mode of treatment in the Franco-Flemish character of the time of Henry IV.

The building of Gaston d'Orleans at the Chateau of Blois, which Francois Mansart began in 1635 for the brother of the king, is to be regarded as one of the most important stopping places of the chateau architecture of the 17th century. In fact it lies in time as well as in style midway between the two chateaus of Salomon de Brosse and of Versailles, and it is one of the most important connecting links between them. The reentrant angles of the court are partially masked by an arrangement of coupled columns supporting nothing. Their curve, which connects the projecting wing with the middle pavilion merely emphasizes the entrance to the latter in inviting

forms. The bold treatment of these Doric columns recalls that usual with de Brosse. (See Church S. Gervais at Paris). The character of the two upper stories with coupled Ionic and Corinthian pilasters and their windows already transfer us, so to speak, to the age of Louis XIV and of Versailles. This relationship appears more strongly on the outer side, since the ground story is here transformed into a plain substructure. Fig. 59⁵¹⁰ shows one of the two angle pavilions of the exterior. Fortunately the project for rebuilding the entire chateau on this plan was not executed.

Note 510. Reproduction from an old drawing in Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Series; Topographie de France. Volume, Blois. V a, 82.

318. Chateau at Maisons.

The Chateau of Maisons (near S. Germain-en-Laye; 1642), likewise built by Francois Mansart for the President Rene de Longueuil, is a further development of his Chateau at Blois. The proportions are happier; the elevation of the facades by pediment motives in the middle of the three pavilions is more animated and more spirited. Only two stories with Doric and Ionic orders above the inclined wall of the moat, and a third only in the middle part of the main pavilion, now exist. The whole is animated in the happiest manner by the separation of the roofs.

a. Buildings of the Jesuit Order.

319. Intermediate Character.

The architecture of the Jesuits, in so far as one is justified in speaking of such a style,⁵¹¹ appears likewise to be based on a compromise. The severe treatment of the orders in accord with the precepts of Vignola, architect of the Church Gesu of the order in Rome, produces a framework comparable to the severe rules of the order. Within these limits were frequently permitted caprices of every kind as a compensation, for what the order believed itself required to take away from the heart and the consciousness of personal feeling and individual freedom. The architectural spirit, like the consciousness of Montaigne or of Henry IV, divided itself into two domains, so to speak; one half belonged to the orders of the Italians, and men subjected themselves to their laws and the-

their tyranny; for the second half men reserved to themselves the enjoyment of freer decoration; they made a compromise between Italian and Franco-Flemish taste.

Note 511. This question will be discussed in the Chapter on Church Architecture.

320. Analogy with Vignola.

It is peculiar, that these rules of the columnar orders, which could indeed hinder architects from committing gross sins against good proportions of buildings, but have frequently promoted a cold and lifeless patternism in architecture, came from the builder of the Church of Jesuits in Rome, i.e., from the mother church of the Order, said to do everything in a religious sphere to suppress the living and personal feeling of conscience and of the individual, and to replace them by more mechanical exercises. Accordingly the effect of the Jesuits in the domain of morality was comparable to that of their first architect Vignola in the domain of architecture. The influence exercised by the Church of Jesuits in Rome again on the other churches of the Order was a new reason for extending the architectural influence of Vignola.

321. Analogy with the Style of Louis XIV.

In this sense appears to exist a kind of analogy between the tendency of the style of Louis XIV and the Jesuit style. It is as if in the superfluity of ideas and motives of Pietro da Cortona, Le Brun, Berain, Marot and others, in the decoration of the vaults, of the orders and in the spandrels between them, the artists sought for a kind of compensation for the lifeless coldness and the lack of individuality in the architecture itself, which are partly the results of the rules of Vignola. The loss of personal and individual character is further just the most striking characteristic of art during the entire period of the actual personal rule of Louis XIV.

b. Mixed Character of the Architecture of Louis XIV.

322. Employment of the Human Figure.

The previously mentioned mixed character of the architecture of Louis XIV may be recognized in many ways on more careful consideration, in spite of its frequently native impression.

Perhaps proceeding from the court of the Louvre and its pavilion de l'Horloge, which received such noble ornamentation

by the caryatids of Sarrasin, we see a tendency, which strives to give more life to the architectural compositions of the time by the use of human figures.

That the influence of Lebrun partly made itself felt in this tendency is conceivable. Fig. 60 ⁵¹² reproduces one of 13 engravings of pavilions, that he designed and are contained in his "Works". ⁵¹³ Fig. 535 shows the design of a triumphal arch, which he prepared in competition with Perrault and Le Vau, on which figures play an important part.

Note 512. Reproduction from Lebrun, C. Pavillons du Jardin de Marly. No. 31. Paris. 17th century. (No date).

Note 513. Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. D a, 39 a.

Moreover we have here come to the time, when the influence of Lebrun upon the entire art of Louis XIV was predominant. In the decorations of the period between 1660 and 1682, especially in those of Lebrun in the gallery of Apollo in the Louvre, and in the Grand Apartments at Versailles, the architecture is indeed still severe, but more controlled by Vignola than by models of the age of Raphael, and instead of the Loggias it is the style of Pietro da Cortona, that predominates.

The facade of the Maison et Bureau des Marchands Grappiers, built about 1650 by Jacques I Bruant, now again rebuilt in the garden of Hotel Carnavalet at Paris, exhibits the same tendency and must have been one of the best buildings of its time. Fig. 61 ⁵¹⁴ reproduces it from an old engraving of Marot with fluted pilasters indeed, while the entire building now shows them plain. I am unable to decide, whether the engraving or the restored facade is correct; yet in this case the latter appears to me most probable.

Note 514. Reproduction from an engraving of Jean Marot in Blondel's Architecture Francaise etc. Paris. 1752. Vol. 3. Pl. 307.

323. Freer Phase of Louis XIV.

The development of the freer phase of the style of Louis XIV is in part the result of a constantly stronger infiltration of the current of the bizarre in ornamentation.

Those style forms arise about which Destailleur writes:--
"One may regard Daniel Marot as the type of that style of Lo-

Louis XIV, which foreign nations went to copy enviously".⁵¹⁵ As a beginning of a revival of the free tendency this style form will be found an intelligible representation in the continuance of the free tendency during the period between 1660 and 1713. (See under Section 5, a).

Note 515. Destailleur, B. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Francois.* Paris. 1868. p. 147.

Only toward the end of the style of Louis XIV began in France the art of arrangement of the plan, and the idea of "comfort" was developed. Men "dined" then about midday, and very few "dinners" were given". "Home life did not exist", as Destailleur says.

324. Mixed Tendency under Louis XV.

Also during the time of the style of Louis XV do we find a series of architectural works, which by their nature belong to this intermediate tendency, even if the character of the ornament also changes, which is connected with the severe columns.

On the Cathedral S. Louis at Versailles (1742-1754), besides the tower of curved outline and some details on the buttress-panels and on the upper window caps, that characterize the free phase, the treatment of the Doric and Corinthian orders is entirely good. The distribution of the groups of columns and their continuous lines prove the rare, animated and assured architectural powers of the architect Jacques Hardouin Mansard de Sagonne.

We even find examples of this tendency in those masters, in which one would least expect it, in Meissonier. He appears to have had in view a both severe and assured treatment of the orders in his project for the facade of S. Sulpice at Paris (1726). His doorways and windows likewise appear severe. Yet in reference to the swelling of the curves in the plan and elevation, this design is the extreme expression of the free tendency, which corresponds to the Rococo. (Fig. 172).

On the title plate of the *Work of Meissonier*,⁵¹⁶ the foreground represents the projection of the terrace located by the sea, that curves and overhangs like a falling wave; but in the background is a palace built in the most severe style. This fact may perhaps explain to a certain degree the otherw-

otherwise too surprising judgment of a contemporary on the style of Meissonnier, of the Abbe de Fontenai, who writes:-- "All these works bear the impress of a happy genius, of a fertile imagination, of easy execution, of a true taste formed on the noble simplicity of the antique". Yet one can understand the surprise of the editor of the *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*,⁵¹⁷ who quotes these words and merely adds; "we quote without comment".

Note 516. Illustrated in Guilmard, D. *Les Maitres Ornementistes* etc. Paris. 1881. Pl. 51.

Note 517. Year 1884. p. 127.

The Fountain of Rue de Grenelle at Paris (completed 1739) exhibits the combination of severe orders with free motives of details. The former high altar of Sa Sauveur at Paris with the palm branches and leaves shooting forth all over it (Fig. 65) makes apparent, how frequently in this phase the freest forms of decoration are combined with a severe treatment of the columns. The facade of the Cathedral at Luneville has two towers, that are crowned by domes; but the crockets, pinnacles, all details etc., that give them in outline the character of the early French Renaissance, are treated in the forms of Louis XV. In the beautiful palaces erected in Nancy by Boffrand, as well as in the indeed grandly effective Cathedral of the same city, the severer tendency is much more emphasized and predominant.

4. Realistic-Rationalistic Style Tendency. (1594-1774).

325. Influence of "Reason".

We find also in the period in question a style tendency, that one may designate as independent and a partly French tendency. It is the expression of the mighty impetus of the 17th century in France; of reason, which appears to so many Frenchmen, even to the present day, as the basis of their art. Based on this practical and rational realism, it seeks to satisfy the natural material requirements in the most practical and direct way.

Men regard this tendency as prizing material purity and as seeking to solve the problem without preference in that way, which seems to be indicated by the assumed reason. It does

not seek to symbolize the required structural means and its functions by an ideal fiction, like that frequently connected with the use of the antique orders.

In the periods of the Barocco and of the Rococo, this reasoning mental tendency indeed kept in the French works free from exaggerations and tasteless absurdities, but it also hindered it from attaining the talented grandeur, of which the Barocco is capable.

326. Prosaic Tendency of this Art.

In the entire manner of understanding of this tendency lies something entirely without poetry, i.e., there is wanting the real artistic inspiration and impulse. It expresses views, that are often found in those civic circles, where the calculating material spirit has obtained supremacy, and it sometimes runs a risk of falling into that mode of thought peculiar to France, which is designated as civic platitudes. On the other hand, there lies in this spirit a valuable degree of independence from too great routine in established matters and in conventional traditions. Hence, as by the inclination to consider the objective elements in every case, it appears adapted to assure the rights of progress and of new needs. This tendency must be most clearly expressed in the French hotels of the 17th and 18th centuries. Especially is it visible in the general design and external architecture. It is also very plainly expressed in the Hotel des Invalides at Paris, which was erected to receive from 6000 to 7000 old soldiers.

327. Novelties in this Tendency.

This seems to be a new phenomenon in France, a tendency neither to be found in its splendid Gothic monuments like churches and castles, nor in the small houses in cities.

These imperfections appear to me to proceed less from the characteristics mentioned, than from the fact that the French spirit must have lost something of harmonious equilibrium and of the higher inspiration.

In spite of this defect, this tendency deserves attention by architects, because it has peculiarities, that again do not in other schools always receive sufficient consideration, whence arise defects of another kind. This intellectual ten-

tendency is also expressed in actual monuments of ideal tendency, and especially in the alleged first greater work of the famous Francois Mansart. This is the present Church S. Marie, now Churon de la Visitation des Filles de S. Marie, also called Church Notre Dame des Angers, which Mansart built in 1632-1634 in Rue S. Antoine at Paris. Fig. 62 ⁵¹⁸ shows its exterior, on which with the exception of the doorway, any order of pilasters or columns is avoided.

Note 518. Reproduction from Blondel. Vol. 2. Pl. 254.

Note 519. Lemonnier (p. 58) allows a somewhat similar tendency in painting to begin with Varin (1627); "rational painting, wise and academic, which will long form the medium tone of our school".

We see the same tendency in the two triumphal Gates, that Louis XIV had constructed in the year 1674; the Gate S. Martin by Pierre Ballet, and the Gate S. Denis by the elder Francois Blondel, both in Paris, where many are much surprised by the latter. It is represented in Fig. 63 ⁵²⁰, and it later influenced the design of the Arch de l'Etoile. This tendency still continues with many French architects.

Note 520. Reproduction from Blondel. Vol. 3. p. 310.

5. Fate of the Current of the Free Style under Louis XIV. (1660-1715).

328. Connection of the Periods of Louis XIII and of Louis XV.

At the close of the description of the Barocco-like tendency (see Art. 301), it was shown, that with this was connected the further development in the late phase of this period, which degenerated into the Rococo proper. The understanding of an art tendency becomes much clearer, if it is possible to reach its native domain. Therefore it is interesting for the history of the genesis of the tendency of the age of Louis XV to determine whether the free tendency, which developed in the age of Henry IV entirely disappeared in the absolute and academic time of Louis XIV about 1660, or whether it further existed in any form. Concerning the gallery doree in Hotel of Count of Toulouse at Paris, one frequently meets with views, which appear to be based on the belief, that Robert de Cotte suddenly invented this type of the style of the Regency,

so to speak, We may here point out a work of preparation in the free intellectual tendency. In the period between 1660 and the year 1713, in which the gallery doree was begun, one finds on more careful consideration many vestiges of a freer art tendency. These are, it seems to me, to be chiefly found in the domain of internal decoration and frequently within severe borders. If we consider on the one hand the decoration of this gallery of the Hotel de Toulouse (now Bank of France, Figs. 62, 355), which Destailleur regards as the occurrence of the transition to the style of Louis XV, one must accept that a gradual transition to these forms must have been prepared in many detail forms of the preceding years, at least after 1680. The gallery doree is the summation of an already completed movement of transition.

329. Decoration of Vaults by Lebrun.

This preparatory transition is indeed continued in the decoration. First of all, the entire decorative style of Lebrun's vaults (about 1662-1680) in the Gallery of Apollo of the Louvre, in the Gallery des Glaces at Versailles (Fig. 361), and in the destroyed Stairway des Ambassadeurs there (Fig. 362), may be regarded as a domain, within which a freer manner of composition remains in use. The latter has its remote roots in the vaults of the Sistine at Rome, its nearer ones in the vaults of Annibale Carracci and of Pietro da Cortona in Palace in Florence and Palaces Farnese and Barberini at Rome. On the former ceiling of the Stairway des Ambassadeurs, we see in the angle trophies over the shells and attached to each other like pediments, the recurved S-consoles, which as in the gallery doree (Figs. 355 as well as 358), a gentle termination of the panels, here representing a gentle covering over the angle of the room.⁵²¹ On other panels may be seen quadrant borders ending in volute form and attached together. The cartouche motives above the cornice in Fig. 361 exhibit many free forms and free combinations. But it is not merely the marks of a freer art tendency in general, that may be determined; within the severe tendency of Louis XIV may again be recognized and traced the spirit of the bizarre and that of the Barocco. We will consider separately the dates of both tendencies.

Note 521. On the portrait of Pierre Mignard (died 1695) p

painted by Rigaut, thus between 1690 and 1695, the armchair terminates at top in two ascending S-places joined by a shell, similar to the wall panels of the gallery doree, even though simpler. (Fig. 255).

a. Marks of Bizarre Tendency.

(1660-1715).

330. Revival of the Bizarre.

We have defined this tendency in Art. 286. We now follow it during the reign of Louis XIV.

Besides the free elements in Lebrun, we see perhaps as a result thereof, after 1680 in certain spheres of ornamentation the gradual entrance of a spirit of caprice. As the beginning of this free tendency may be designated the occurrence of such elements in decoration, which aim at the breaking of the simple and natural tendency in the lines of the composition. In a grotesque panel by the architectural painter Georges Charmeton (1619-1674) occur volute scrolls, that appear to be of wrought iron. Also other elements, such as straight lines and angles, that abruptly pass into curved or volute ends, and certain rings appear to be borrowed from the wrought iron grilles of that time. They are an element of caprice, when organically developed from scrollwork, instead of merely combining esthetically or intertwining with it.

331. Group of Berain and Daniel Marot.

Jean Berain (1674-1711), Sebastian Leclerc (1637-1714), pierre Le Pautre (died 1716, son of Jean), Jean Le Moyne (1645-1718), and until the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685), Daniel Marot, with Boule are the artists, who helped to develop this gradually changed character of the decoration. The insertion of rectilinear elements forming one or more angles in the midst of a simple curved line or in the midst of scrolled forms, whose character implies an unbroken course of the line, can scarcely be termed natural. It is a capricious and labored manner of accenting the contrast of straight lines and curves and of making certain fixed points more picturesque.⁵²² Already in the works of the 16th century are found examples of this tendency, for example in the grotesques of Etienne de Laune (Stephanus), in Du Cerceau and their Italian models.⁵²³

Note 522. In the phases of true classical climaxes, these contrasts were produced by the combination of forms, in which the straight line naturally appears on the one hand, and on the other the curved line.

Note 523. These patterns are frequently found in the bindings of the period of Francis I and Henry II, as well as in Du Cerceau's series on Marquetry. In a word, this is an invasion of "band patterns" into grotesques.

In the otherwise very noble decoration of the hall in Hotel d'Ormesson at Paris (about 1630), maintained in the spirit of Raphael's Loggias, one can feel the permeation of the new tendency so much better, since it is limited to two phases; the panel of the overmantel and the running ornament of a broad continuous band beneath the frieze.⁵²⁴ In the works of Berain⁵²⁵ are to be found variously shaped enclosures of separate motives within large panels, C-forms of a different tendency, connected by straight parts and angular forms, volutes expanding into horns, which in the Louis XV style so frequently occur at the upper end of the border and are termed "crows' beak", -- all forms, that compose the direct connection between their earlier prototypes of the Barocco period and their later successors of the age of Louis XV.

Note 524. Illustrated in Bouyer & Darcel. *L'Art Francois* etc. Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pls. 93-95.

Note 525. See the illustration in Jessen, P. *Katalog der Ornamentenstich-- Sammlung es Kunstgewerbemuseums der Königl-iche Museum zu Berlin.* Leipzig. 1894. p. 3.

Another kind of transition from Berain's forms to those of the 18 th century is seen in a mirror frame attributed to this master,⁵²⁶ in the Chateau Serrant belonging to duke de la Tremouille. In the cap the curved and the straight portions are composed of a kind of flat band elements, at the middle of which a torus band extends lengthwise.

Note 526. Illustrated in *Gazette des Beaux Arts.* 3 rd ser. vol. 14.(1875). p. 177; vol. 15 (1896). p. 121.

332. Examples in Engravings of Ornament.

One can follow in the engravings of ornament of that age, which exerted such great influence upon decoration, the continually stronger penetration of the spirit of freer composi-

composition with its caprices and arbitrariness. Take for a starting point, for example, a grotesque panel by Simon Vouet (died 1649); although bolder and heavier, it is entirely executed in the style of Raphael's Loggias.⁵²⁷ Then compare some plates in the frequently mentioned Works of Guilmard,⁵²⁸ and one will see how gradually the detail forms pass into those, that are matured in the gallery doree into a new and completed phase of the style.

Note 527. Illustrated in Lechevallier-Chevignard. *Les Styles Français*. Paris. 1892. p. 299.

Note 528. *Les Maîtres Ornemanistes etc.* Paris. 1881.

First of all, panels nos. 33 and 38, the former by Jean Bérain (1674-1711), engraved by Le Pautre, the second composed and engraved by Daniel Marot (1650-1712). The same development of the tendency in taste is found in a ceiling, No. 35, engraved by Sebastien Leclerc (1637-1714), and in the engravings by Pierre Le Pautre (died 1716) of the tables of the royal apartments, and further in the borders by Daniel Marot, No. 39, and in the furniture of Andre-Charles Boulle. (1642-1732).

In the engravings of ornament by Daniel Marot, there are several in which motives of freer course of lines are contained, which appear as direct prototypes of Louis XV motives, for example in the panel No. 4;⁵²⁹ likewise among his motives for the decoration of rooms, No. 7, and for oeds. (Pl. 152).

Note 529. In Marot, D. nos Ornamenten wert des Daniel Marot; reproduced in 264 photographures. Published by P. Jessen. Berlin. 1892.

b. Marks of the Barocco Tendency in Style. (1660-1715).

A certain prolongation of the tendency in the treatment of details, that is based on the development of the forms of Michelangelo and his school, may be proved. We first recall an example of the Barocco tendency, in which is already expressed the Rococo manner of composition. Even on Lebrun's decoration of the vault of the Staircase of Ambassadors at Versailles (Fig. 362) sporadically occur leather cartouches as soft as an oyster, and almost all the cartouches on the vaults of Gallery des Glaces (Fig. 361) there belong to this tendency. Others are found, mostly furnished with wings, as keystone

motives in the salons of Diana, of Apollo and of War (1675-1682) and in the gallery of Apollo of the Louvre.

Therefore the continuance of this tendency is clearly fixed within the severe style of Louis XIV, even in the works of its chief, Lebrun, and the existence of a connecting element with the freer tendency of the 18 th century is sufficiently proved, and it begins to show itself after 1690.

333. Puget and Toro.

The prolongation of this tendency may also be particularly recognized in the works and in the relation of the two masters Pierre Puget and Toro to each other. The famous gateway to the Hotel-de-Ville at Toulon by Puget, built in 1655-1657, still exhibits the spirit of Michelangelo, and in the arrangement and choice of the shells on the hermes figures, in the treatment of the keystones and the impost blocks, an entirely free, individual and somewhat bold tendency, that presents nothing of the style of Louis XIV.

A pupil of Puget, J. Bernard Toro (also Tarot or Taureau, born at Toulon in 1672 and died there in 1731), who especially worked in that city, in Marseilles and in Aix, is a supporter of the free tendency of his master Puget. One of his carouches shows the long, soft, and rather swelled forms of the free tendency of Louis XIII, combined with the forms of Louis XIV, as they developed themselves more and more after 1680. A work with engravings of ornament by him, that appeared in 1716 in Paris, is designated by the Journal des Savants of August 10, 1716, as "compositions newer, more varied and in better taste, than have ever yet appeared".⁵³¹

Note 530. Guilmard, D. *Les Maîtres Ornamentistes* etc. Paris. 1881. Pl. 41.

Note 531. See the same work. p. 115.

Moreover there likewise exists here occasionally in the literary domain exactly the same connection between the free tendency of the age of Louis XIII and the 18 th century. "Charles Perrault and Fontenelle", says H. Martin, "were both connected with the literary generation of the time of Richelieu, in contrast to the school of Racine and Boileau, who were too pure in form and too farseeing in spirit for them. Fontenelle, famous for one of the longest literary activities ever seen, belonged to the past and likewise to the future;

as a late born child of the age of Richelieu, he reached over the century of Louis XIV, so to speak, in order to extend a hand to the century of Voltaire".

6. Revival of the free Current of the Style and the Transition Phase of the "Regency".

334. Causes.

The primary and perhaps in itself sufficient explanation of the revival of a free taste in the art tendency lies in the pressure and the impulse, which the entire course and system of Louis XIV had exerted upon the impulsive spirit of the French. The duchess Elisabeth Charlotte of Orleans,⁵³² complained, that the fashion of being gay had fallen into disuse, that an infinite tedium spread over Versailles and the entire court, in spite of the royal splendor, that plunged Louis XIV into debt; "thus all amusements are so labored and full of constraint, that it cannot be expressed". It became even more monotonous about Louis XIV. The formal etiquette of the court of Louis XIV, the load of bigotry insupportable to Frenchmen, which developed after the death of Queen Maria Theresa in 1683 under the influence of the Marquise de Maintenon, aroused in the hearts of French "society" two needs; the return to their own hotels and a "freedom from restraint".there.

Note 532. See Springer, A. Bilder aus der neuen Kunstgeschichte. Bonn. 1867. p. 248.

335. Influence on private Residences.

The increased requirement of convenience and comfort of private residences, the desire to arrange them entirely according to individual taste, influenced the character of architecture at that time in a visible manner. Then came into consideration:--

a. The improvement of the arrangement of plan of the private hotel.

b. The origin of the "small houses".

c. The transformation of the entire character of the internal decoration and its development as the "style of the salon and boudoir."

d. The increase of the "legitimate" and of the "illegitimate" influence of women upon architecture, and the character,-- I will not say effeminate but "feminine", peculiar to the styles of Louis XV and Louis XVI.

These different transformations are formed within the transition phase, that is designated as the style of the Regency, and then in the free tendency under Louis XV, which is understood by the name of the style of Louis XV.

a. Elements and development of the new Style of Decoration.

336. Two Sources.

This demand for more freedom in opposition to the court life of Louis XIV produced certain phenomena, that proceed from two different sources and spheres, external and internal.

The first source is the attractive force of free nature. It awakens the need of a return to naturalness, the demand for elements and impressions, that recall free nature, the contrast with amusements of popular or foreign character. The second source lies in the individual human imagination. Men seem to be actually penetrated by an insatiable need of yielding to all their impulses, fancies and caprices, and to give expression to them within the bounds of the decoration of a new "salon and boudoir style".

337. Peculiar Origin.

These two needs and tendencies in taste first produce a mixed form. Men attempted to combine the elements derived from the imagination with others taken more from free nature. In this wise originated the works of the masters, from which we have formed the group of Gillot-Watteau. Into this leads the decorative tendency of Berain-Daniel Marot, as well as something of the finest severe tendency of the Loggia style, that we followed to Hotel d'Ormesson. (Art. 245).

Into the intellectual atmosphere and in the drift in taste of this group penetrated the free Italian tendency of Borromini, developed further by Guarini. It was first represented by Oppenordt and then much more simply by Meissonnier of Turin. This group of Gillot-Watteau faithfully reflects the contemporary impulse toward everything, that the pressure of the system of Louis XIV did not allow. It is on a small scale as in the age of Henry IV, in which the needs effervesced in different directions and mingled together.

From the further development of the elements, which are contained in this interesting group in the style, proceeded the

further development of the decorative style of the entire 18th century. The group of Gillot-Watteau is like a settling basin, in which are formed the so-called styles of Louis XV and XVI. The predominating pursuit of the caprices of the imagination then led under Louis XV to the Rocaille and Rococo fashions, but the reaction in the spirit of more refined naturalness under Louis and with the Marquise de Pompadour, to the style of Louis XVI.

b. Freer Development in the private Hotel.

338. Beginning.

To the beginning of a gradual penetration of a freer spirit into the mode of decoration of the style of Louis XIV about 1680 moreover corresponds the awakening of a new spirit in the internal arrangement of the hotel.

In the period from 1680 to 1703, J. Hardouin Mansart introduced in the interiors of residences a series of innovations or improvements. In particular between 1690 and 1703, he placed mirrors over the fireplaces, an arrangement frequently ascribed to his brother-in-law, R. de Cotte, and which to this day plays so great a part in France.⁵³³ D'Aviler mentioned before 1691⁵³⁴ as an innovation the replacing of ceilings with visible beams by plastered ceilings with coved angles, the general substitution of wooden paneling for wall tapestries, and the replacing of the single doors 6 ft. high by folding doors, as occurred in the Tuileries.

Note 533. See Destailleur, H. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Francois*. Paris. 1863. p. 119 et seq.

Note 534. D'Aviler, C. A. *Cours d'Architecture etc.* Paris. 1691. p. 162.

339. Improved Treatment of the Plan.

One of the results of the reaction against the court life of Louis XIV, where no one could retain his own individuality and anything of naturalness, was in all tendencies a return to intimate and private life. External private life again increased on another side. The need for extending his social circle and the exchange of thoughts, feelings, and impressions, dominates everything. "The sociability, that has always marked the French character, receives an extension without limit", says H. Martin. These conditions still more affected

the improvement of the arrangement of plan of the hotel, which was frequently mentioned in that period. H. Martin writes of these changes in the mansions:-- "Architecture completed a revolution in the interiors of residences, increased the number of rooms, lessened their dimensions, omitted the enormous windows, the great fireplaces overloaded with sculptures, employed mirrors lavishly, and replaced grandeur by pleasant and convenient arrangements. Love of comfort was substituted for pride. Palace Bourbon is the first building in which was employed the new arrangement of plan; it was erected about 1722 by the duchess of Bourbon, mother of monsieur the duke." Girardini and L'Assurance were mentioned as architects.

340. Freer ornamental Exterior.

As an extension of this important treatment of plan and its more flexible arrangement of rooms must be mentioned a similar movement in the ornamental exterior. We have already made this movement predominant, which under Louis XIV within the decoration of the tendency of Berain-Marot, was prepared for by the transitional phase to the style of Louis XV, designated as the style of the Regency. We have now reached this.

Destailleur said to me once, that about 1713 and 1714 men passed into a charming period, the so-called Regency style. The works are somewhat bolder than in the Louis XV style, and at the same time are somewhat less heavy than in that of Louis XIV.

The most famous example of this transition from the severe tendency of Louis XIV to the freest one of Louis XV must in fact be Robert de Cotte's great and magnificent gallery doree. It is to be found in his extension in 1713-1719 of the Hotel de la Vrilliere, now a part of the Bank of France at Paris. As Figs. 64 and 355 show,⁵³⁵ the members form a visible structural framework, and they have incidentally retained the dimensions usual in the classical phases. The ideas of the different motives might as well be classical. Anything is otherwise only in reference to treatment in expression and the emphasis on the details. The animated movement of the enclosures is only necessitated by the free opinions of the master.

Note 535. Reproduced from an old engraving in Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. V a. No. 232.

c. Decorative Tendency of the Group Gillot-Watteau.

341. Characteristics and Importance.

We have had frequent opportunity to refer to the important impulse in French decoration, formed by the works of a number of masters comprised under the name of the group of "Gillot-Watteau". The protest against the stiff fashion and the many unnatural things of the time of Louis XIV on the one hand drove them into the sphere of the most amusing free caprice, they adopted from the freer tendency of Louis XIV many decorative motives of the tendency of Berain-Marot. They were on the other hand impelled into free nature. But at the same time, they again felt drawn anew to return to the severe grotesque style of Raphael's Loggias, and treated these in the fashion of the style of Louis XVI, that appeared soon. They could combine in the loggias the noblest severity of ornament with the finest conventionalized naturalness of men, plants and animals. But this return to nature and to naturalness followed within an unnatural frame from the domain of caprice. There are landscape elements, fragments in entirely naturalistic conception and tone, that are introduced into grotesque decorations. They are combined with architectural elements, pergolas of lattice-work, or grand designs of fountains, terraces, or grottos in the rockwork style. Likewise in the midst of the latter are reproduced accurately after nature the falling of water and different groups of plants, as for example, in the composition by de la Jolle (1687-1781), called "La Fontaine".⁵³⁶

Note 536. Illustrated in Guilford, D. Les Maîtres Orneman-
tistes etc. Paris. 1881. Pl. 53.

342. Its chief Masters.

Claude Gillot (1673-1722) is usually named as one of the first of those, who abandoned the stiff pomp of the style of Louis XIV. Gillot based his work far more on the bizarre, than on the Barocco tendency. In his model portiere for tapestries known as "Bacchus", one half his composition already appears again in the severe tendency of the coming style of Louis XVI.⁵³⁷

Note 537. Illustrated in Guilford. Pls. 48, 42.

To this group further belongs Claude Audran (1653-1734).

He composed 12 panels for pilasters, designated "months of the year", that belong to the best of that period. As a more refined artist, he reanimates the style of Raphael's Loggias and blends together in the most graceful manner portions of borders from the bizarre tendency of Berain and Marot, foliage, animals and musical apes in the vivid manner of della Bella, with entire portions, that already belong to the coming and entirely mature style of Louis XVI. These are indeed the best pilaster panels since Raphael and Giovanni da Udine. They have the piquancy always possessed by grotesque decorations, and without falling into indecency have a "non so che di amoroso", which is especially graceful.

The third master of this group is the famous Antoine Watteau from Valenciennes. (1684-1721). At first influenced by Gillot and Audran, his Franco-Flemish nature led him back to Rubens, and in this way he developed his own refined originality.

The tendency to a free treatment of the ornamental in the sense of Daniel Marot is also found in the vignettes of Bernard Picart,⁵³⁷ composed and engraved in 1727. An example of the further development of this tendency, but wherein the elements of the group of Gillot-Watteau's strongly predominate, also appears to me to be given in a tapestry panel by Oppenordt (1673-1742): on the contrary, the pediment in which the central figure stands, shows forms derived from the freest and most capricious shapes of the Barocco of Michelangelo, Dietterlin, and of the time of Louis XIII.⁵³⁸

Note 538. Guilmard. Pl. 46.

343. Source of the Styles of Louis XV and Louis XVI.

The composition of Gillot for the "portiere" designated as "Bacchus" is far more in the character of the style of Louis XVI, than in that of Louis XV. It is, so to speak, a direct transfer from the tendency of Berain-Marot into the Louis XVI style. The natural elements and their treatment in the natural style of the Loggias predominate.⁵³⁹ The same may be said of the plates mentioned as by Oppenordt.

Note 539. Guilmard. Pls. 46, 48.

The further development of the Regency style produced the different branches of the Louis XV style, the last phase of the second period of the French Renaissance, for which we

have adopted the designation of "Fashion" or "Genre" style.

7. Origin of the Forms of the Style of Louis XV.

344. Need of Animation.

For the further development of the free tendency in taste of such a pleasure-seeking and refined society, there must first of all be given to the decoration an animated, light and refined character. The style phase of Louis XV is the age of triumph in art and in the play of the most animated course of lines, as well as of the combination of variously shaped surfaces, in the midst of vibrant harmonies and piquant contrasts. Easily and unexpectedly does it combine in a charming manner forms, whose collision appears unavoidable; others, whose junctions would be expected capriciously separate abruptly. Here suddenly occurs a novel motive: there lightly touch two curves of opposed curvatures, like graceful dancers in a country dance. In another place is a bold attainment of the purpose in an unexpected and secure manner with a spirited and elastic curved movement. Everywhere charms the graceful play of an apparently exhaustless imagination, whose interweavings sometimes offer something of the mysterious grace of Arab patterns.

The means by which more life was brought into the composition are:-- the accenting of the upward aspiring character of the decoration; the use of lines, that produce the impression of animated movement; the employment of certain elements from the plant or animal kingdom; the use of human figures; the avoidance of symmetrical composition, which permits more strongly the production of the direction of a movement.

Emphasis on the aspiring Tendency of the Decoration.

345. Transformation of Forms of Enclosures.

Men sought in this period every means for giving more life to the architecture. The accenting of rising forms is one of these. The treatment of enclosures is the chief element for attaining this. In this "salon and boudoir" style, the decoration of the enclosures of the wall panels, of doors and of mirrors, plays a prominent and frequently a dominant part; as Semper truly remarks,⁵⁴⁰ this replaces the pilasters and their entablature. The possibility of replacing the angular or rectangular heavy finish of the entablature by vivaciously

curved aspiring finish, or by that capriciously rounded, may have been one of the means, that contributed to the favoring and development of this style of wall enclosures. The caprice previously employed itself in the grotesque work of the entire paneling of the wall, was frequently limited to the development of the lower and upper portions of the enclosure, with sometimes a medallion.⁵⁴¹

Note 540. See Semper, G. *Der Stil* etc. Frankfurt-a-M. and Munich. 1860-1863. p. 350. (2nd edition. p. 333).

Note 541. In the Cabinet of Madame Adelaide in the panels of the jambs of the doorways (1753) and in those of the wall decorated in 1767, are large suspended trophies of musical instruments etc. In the Cabinet of the King (1735 and 1755), the suspended trophies with medallions are scarcely less prominent. Yet this appears rather to be an exception. (Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 52-57, there designated as *Salon des Medailles*).

The entire play of the lines of borders on the enclosures of doors, walls and mirrors, produces the accent of an assured and frequently animated aspiration upwards. Lower beginnings filled with movement and upper endings of the enclosures, the production of sharp contrasts of the rectangular corners for the benefit of a smaller central piquant contrast of the resulting grouping of forms, produces this aspiring impression.

346. Preparation in the Barocco Style.

In the Barocco style, which prepared the way, the returns form a means by the interruptions of the horizontal elements for more closely combining the vertical members and for accenting the "aspiration upwards". The breaking of the pediments in the Barocco style and their resolution into fragments of pediments, pedestals and attic motives, coincide with the desire for increasing the number of aspiring motives like acroterias. It is a breach with what is thought heavy in favor of the aspiring character of the Gothic style.

Instead of the curved and broken pediments of the Barocco (Fig. 56) occur the uniformly curved S-enclosures, and the variously arranged crow's beak horns replace the parts in which terminate the Barocco pediments, and they produce numerous vivid contrasts of the course of the lines.

347. Crow's Beak Form.

The origin of the crow's beak form lies on the one hand in the broken S-pediment, and it directly occurs with Bernini and Borromini in the case, when they form the ears of the architraves of doorways like S-consoles seen in profile, their upper volutes rising above the apex of the external enclosure.

On the doorway of the library in the Sapienza at Rome, Borromini even gave to these ears approximately the curved outlines of the human ear; the same occurs on the doorway of the Casino of Garchesa del Bufalo near S. Andrea del Fratte at Rome; on the doorway of the Convent of Padri del Riscatto, very bold volute forms turn their backs to support the cornice.(Borromini). With Pietro da Cortona, they are found as broken S-pediments on the windows of Palace Gambirasi and as the finial of the enclosure above the doorways of S. Martina and S. Luca; with Borromini as ears also on the doorway of the Sapienza toward the Place di S. Eustachio. Giovanni Antonio de Rossi employed the crow's beak form in a strongly expressed manner on the S-pediment of the lower doorway to the great stairway, and as ears on the doorway of the great hall in Palace Altieri at Rome, exactly with the same character, that occurs on the enclosures of the time of Louis XV.

Forms of consoles, whether broken by a straight line or composed of two C-arches of opposed directions and drawn from the same source, increase the number of linear forms, that serve as the type of the forms of this phase of the Louis XV style.

348. Transformation of the Grotesque Paneling.

The change in the character of the grotesque mentioned in the group of Berain-Marot is frequently so advanced, that no further words are needed to explain the final transformation of certain elements into the forms of the free tendency of Louis XV. One feels this instinctively. This contributed to developing the detail forms of the decoration. In many detail forms of the group of Gillot-Watteau, this transformation of forms is carried further to those of the style of Louis XV. The scene for the development of the "grotesque play" is changed. It generally loses the character of a paneling of the wall, and enters into closer connection with the border decor-

decoration, frequently becoming a part of the latter. The round and semicircular panels, that ornament the pilasters of the early Renaissance, and those forming the centre and frequently the ends of the wall paneling in the marble veneering of the walls under Louis XIV, were developed as medallion or rosette motives, as the upper and lower terminations of enclosures, with rich interweaving of lines, leaves, branches with leaves, and rockwork motives, to become the chief elements of the salon style under Louis XV. (compare Figs. 352 and 353 with 355-357). The character of this sportive caprice frequently consists rather in the interlacing band-like ornaments, a further development of the moresques of the time of Du Cerceau, than of grotesques proper; combinations of small C and S arches, that are capriciously arranged beside each other and interlaced, forming circular, rosette and band motives. The treatment of flowers in garlands, festoons and the like, is not that of the Loggias of Raphael, but is rather in the Dutch fashion of the age of Louis XIV-

349. Lightening the Forms.

One feels that in the inmost souls of the Frenchmen and women of that time was a strong desire to free themselves from the adopted elements of Spanish grandeur, from the Castilian dignity and precision of Louis XIV, and to be able to freely yield themselves to their native Gallic spirit. The effect of the latter contributed to the fact, that in the further development of the style, the scale of the decorative elements ever became more refined, as may be observed in Figs. 354 to 358. This concerns the strength and thickness of the forms and lines, in which are expressed the most playful conceits of graceful coquetry and caprice.

From the latest works of P. de Nolhac on the decorations in Versailles, one might think that the existing architecture of the Cabinet of the King, one of the most important apartments of the Palace, opposes the fact that the style of the mural borders continually became more refined. Yet we shall see that the rebuilding in 1755 retained a portion of the older decorations and extended this, or that this ornamentation may at least be explained by the peculiarities of the royal school of Versailles.

3. Different Fashions or Branches of the Style in the time of Louis XV.

350. Designation of the Fashions.

We subdivide the various style tendencies in interior decoration during the free tendency of the time of Louis XV into the following "kinds" or "fashions", which form actual branches of the style:--

- a. The royal school or the school of Versailles.
- b. The palm-tree fashion.
- c. The fashion of apes and Chinese.
- d. The rockwork fashion.
- e. The Rococo fashion.

In emphasizing separately and determining the different branches of the style of Louis XV, we have permitted ourselves to be diverted from the character of the different tendencies, that we believed were recognized. We have endeavored to more fully determine what peculiarities on the one hand accord with the various existing appellations of the Louis XV, rockwork, Pompadour and Rococo styles, and to thereby more accurately limit these branches; but on the other hand in the case of those works incorrectly designated by the existing names, to indicate the characteristics, that lend to them a definite character and a special tendency, for which we have adopted new terms in order to bring greater clearness and order into the general description.⁵⁴² In this wise originated the branch of the "royal school" of the style of Louis XV and of the "internal decoration of the Palace at Versailles",⁵⁴³ and the "palm-tree" fashion, which was indeed merely a subdivision, but appears to deserve a special name, as much as the rockwork tendency.

Note 542. I have always placed especial weight on the decision of Destailleur, as soon as it became known to me, since during twenty years of friendly intercourse with him, I have learned to ever prize more highly his worth. One seldom finds in an architect such a wealth of knowledge in all spheres of French decoration since the Renaissance. The objective understanding, the conscientiousness, the quiet foresight, with which he examined everything as an artist of refined feeling and an honorable man, should be emphasized in the interest of the matter.

Note 543. Style of the royal school or the tendency of the decoration of the Palace of Versailles under Louis XV.

Destailleur is accustomed to employ the names of the style of the Regency and style of Louis XV. The first name relates to the transition from the style of Louis XIV to the style of Louis XV, the latter has prevailed for it since about 1735-1736. The expression "rockwork style" or Rococo has never been used by him (so far as I remember).

a. Fashion of the Royal School of the Palace at Versailles.

351. Character.

The peculiarity of the group of works belonging here is first, so to speak, that they adhere firmly to the character of the borders in the gallery doree in Paris, and form a further development in the sense of a gradual refinement thereof; second, they pass over to the peculiar rockwork style, adopt only very few elements of this kind and moderately subordinate them; third, they employ within the arrangement of the lines of this subdued Louis XV style instead of many rockwork motives, many flower and leaf motives, garlands etc., of the coming or already existing Louis XVI style. We have to do with a gradual transition from the style of Berain-Marot and of the Regency to the style of Louis XVI, without properly passing through the rockwork and Rococo fashions.

The Louis XV decorations thereby acquire a less capricious, less coquettish, but more graceful character, than is the case in the pronounced examples of the rockwork tendency. The Cabinet of Madame Adelaide (in Rouyer, Salon des Medailles) at Versailles, decorated by Verobreckt in 1753,⁵⁴⁴ exhibits this character very plainly, and the fourth side of the same room,⁵⁴⁵ decorated by the same master in 1767, is still more clearly expressed, especially in the beautiful mirror frames and the narrow bands on the walls. The library of the Dauphin shows the same tendency. These peculiarities may partly result from the fact, that in the rebuilding frequently occurring between 1735, 1752 and 1767, causing a change in the decorations, the orders of the Marquis de Marigny and of others were to use all the old work. Hence the extensions must therefore be exact repetitions of older forms and be suited to

their more quiet style. On the other hand it is prooable, t that even at the court of Louis XV the feeling existed, that the decoration of the official residence of the king must have a more quiet and moderate tone, that the private salons a and boudoirs.

Note 544. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 52, 54. -- Plote 53 shows the side decorated in 1767.

Note 545. Illustrated by P. de Nolhac, in the Gazette des Beaux Arts. Series 3. Vol. 14 (1895). p. 224.

352. Examples.

The entire paneling of the chamber of the queen in Versailles, produced in 1735,⁵⁴⁶ the decoration of the small sleeping chamber of the king executed in 1738, that of the cabinet de la pendule, also from 1738 with its ceiling frieze of 1760, the private cabinet of the queen (1746), the cabinet of Madame Adelaide (1753), the library of the dauphin and of Marie Josephe of Saxony (1755), afford a series of works in which one may follow the further development of the style of Louis XV in its best examples. The rockwork motives are never predominant and are used with great discretion. From this lack of rockwork motives in two rooms, which Alfred Darcel⁵⁴⁷ dates about the year 1736, he feels himself compelled to conclude, that the origin of the rockwork style is to be placed later, than it is generally assumed. According to Nolhac, these works were even later than Darcel assumed, and this supports our understanding, that in the buildings of the Palace of Versailles the rockwork motive was little employed in general.⁵⁴⁸

Note 546. The ceiling is in part later, also in part perhaps older. -- Illustrations of this apartment are given by P. de Nolhac in his Studies, mentioned in Notes 549-551.

Note 547. See Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. p. 53, 55.

Note 548. On the mantel of the dauphin's bedroom (1747), in the former cabinet of the great dauphin, the bronze decorations by Cassieri exhibit the animated rocaille character of Meissonier. On the cornice of this room, as well as on that of the salon de la pendule (1760), is the rockwork character clearly expressed. This occurs in the latter room in the manner shown in the following Fig. 358.

b. Palm-tree Fashion.

353. Examples at Versailles.

One of the earliest forms in which men sought freedom from the constraint of the Louis XIV tendency, and at the same time showed a certain inclination for free natural forms, is manifested by a certain preference for the forms of palm-trees, both of the trunk as well as of the head and of the branches. There is found, so to speak, a "palm fashion", a style tendency of the Louis XV period, comparable to the "rockwork fashion", but in which the "rockwork motives" are replaced by "palm-tree motives". We know this much, that no reference has yet been made to the connection of these phenomena. In this fashion were executed the new decorations of the chamber of the queen in the Palace of Versailles by Verbereckt in 1735. The sides of the mirror frames of the main paneling and the caps of the doorways are formed like palm trunks, whose heads support medallions or form the termination of the upper ending.⁵⁴⁹ Bending palm-trees likewise form the top of the enclosure of the alcove opening into the small bedroom of the king. (Louis XV). This decoration was likewise executed by Verber-eckt in 1733.⁵⁵⁰

Note 549. Pierre de Nolhac has published (in Gazette des Beaux Arts, series 3, vol. 16 (1896), p. 39) the original drawing for this still partially preserved decoration.

Note 550. The same in Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 14. (1895). p. 219.

Further examples in Versailles are:-- the mirror frames in the former cabinet of the great dauphin (1747) by Verbereckt, which was later that of the dauphin, father of Louis XVI; the frame of the mirror in the angle cabinet or salon de musique, also originally decorated in 1733 by Verbereckt, with restorations of 1760; Nolhac speaks here of "palm branches woven into garlands".⁵⁵¹

Note 551. See Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 14 (1895). p. 224; vol. 17 (1897). p. 190.

An expressive example of this liking for palms was the high altar, which Francois Blondel II (or the younger) executed for Church S. Sauveur at Paris. (Fig. 65).⁵⁵²

Note 552. Reproduced from an old engraving in the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. H d. 193.

354. Prototypes in Borromini.

This ornamental use of palms in rather striking dimensions had already occurred in Italy. Borromini had exclusively employed them as enclosures of the circular openings in the tympanums of the windows on the College de Propagande Fide at Rome. He likewise used them in a yet more striking manner as external additions to the doorway jambs for almost their entire height on the Oratory of S. Filippo Neri; as a vere large palm leaf, a palm breaks through the pediment of the same doorway. He further employed them as external additions to the round arches on the window over the doorway of the Sapienza at Rome, that leads to Place S. Eustachio.

355. German Examples.

A similar use of palms on German buildings is found in the Palace at Carlsruhe in the chapel and as mirror frames in the hall of receptions, in the hall of knights, in the Palace at Schleissheim, and especially in that at Bayreuth.

c. Apes and Chinese Fashions.

356. Origin.

Another ornamental tendency is composed of the scenes with monkeys. About the end of the reign of Louis XIV, Chinese objects became articles of luxury and fashion. In the compositions of Gillot and of Watteau, persons in Chinese costumes play European games. "In the ideas of the period, it was but a step from the sons of heaven to apes," said H. Chevignard.⁵⁵³ Hence as well as from the skill of the animal painters at the time, arose the strangest mixture of ornamental motives, in which besides their natural acts, a multitude of "richly grotesque" things were attributed to the apes. Thus originated in the Chateau at Chantilly the great and small scenes with apes, and in the Hotel de Rohan (now National Printing Establishment) the famous decoration by Huet (1745-1811) in the great hall; here apes and other animals, mandarins, women and children, together in delightful jest, displaying their nature and their sports.

Note 553. See Lechevallier-Chevignard. Les Styles Francais. Paris. 1892, p. 350.

Later occur the motives of Chinese gardens, fearfully curved flights of steps, balustrades, garden kiosks and swings,

which appear as far removed from reality as Pompeian caprices. Then originated the work of Peyrotte (without date, but really about 1740), entitled:-- *Livre des Trophees Chinoises, inventees par Peyrotte*.

1. Rockwork Fashion.

357. French Views.

The expression of rockwork style, rocaille style, or rockwork forms, belong with the most frequent appellations found in certain French authors, for naming the style of Louis or its forms. The indefiniteness of this term requires a closer consideration of the matter. In French views concerning the nature and the duration of the rockwork fashion prevails no real accord. Darcel ⁵⁵⁴ writes in reference to the purpose and the beginning of the rockwork style as follows:-- "Its beginning is usually placed in the time of the Regency"; yet with reference to the ceiling of the chamber of the queen in Versailles, that was in part newly decorated about 1734, he might place the beginning of this style tendency somewhat later. He further writes:-- "Boffrand, in about the second third of the 18 th century, appears to have created this style; it came in place of that produced by the compositions of Bérain". Raoul Rosieres ⁵⁵⁵ says in reference to the reaction, that set in directly after the death of Louis XIV:-- "Robert de Cotte revealed himself on the morrow as an original master in inventing the rockwork style," and later:-- "That special form of architecture soon appeared, the architecture of the small mansions, what is termed according to its development, Rocaille, Pompadour or Rococo". Hence one should conclude, that Rosieres wishes to designate by Rocaille the beginning of the tendency, i.e., the style of the Regency, the gallery doree (1713). Guilmaré employs the following expressions:-- "graceful subjects in rockwork" or "pastoral figures in rockwork"; he further speaks of "Rocaille scrolls", of "Rocaille scrolls and foliage, Rocaille motives, Rocaille vases and Rocaille cartouches". Nolhac further speaks of a frieze in the cabinet of the dauphin (Hall 46), ⁵⁵⁶ in the ground story at Versailles as composed of "Rocaille scrolls wherein birds pursue dogs"; concerning the chamber of the dauphin (Hall 49), he speaks of the "wide and partly gilded frieze, where divinities are mingled with cupids and sport in the rockwork". In

the same apartment is a mirror framed with palm trunks; in it is on the mantel a shell beside rockwork.⁵⁵⁷

Note 554. See Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. p. 54, 59.

Note 555. See *L'Evolution de l'Architecture en France* in the *Petite Bibliotheque d'Art et d'Archaeologie* published under direction of M. Kaempfen, Director of the National Museums and of the School of the Louvre. Paris. 1894. p. 203, 204.

Note 556. This refers to the dauphin, father of Louis XV, who married Marie Josephe of Saxony on Feb. 9, 1747.

Note 557. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. March, 1897, p. 190.

It therefore appears more correct to refer the name of Rocaille rather to the ornamental element of the varied shell forms, that are found within a Louis XV decoration, than to apply it strictly to a phase of the Louis XV style.⁵⁵⁸ Rigid definition and conventional limitation appear difficult, and it is therefore more correct to speak of the Rocaille fashion and of Rocaille elements and forms of detail.

Note 558. This seems to be likewise the opinion of Vaudoyer, one of the few French architects of importance, who attempt to review the entire development of French architecture:-- "In internal decorations", he writes, "the desire of bringing the ornamentation back to a purer style produced dryness, and desiring to escape from the fashion termed Rocaille, that characterizes the period of Louis XV, they immediately fell into a sort of studied and mean affectation". (See *Patria; La France Ancienne et Moderne, Morale et Materielle* etc. Paris. 1847. Vol. 2. p. 2191). Proceeding in the same sense, Vaudoyer appears to understand the term Rocaille as in some degree a name for the very free phase of Louis XV.

358. Meaning of the Word Rocaille.

In Germany men appear inclined to derive the term Rococo from Rocaille and Rocaille from Rococo, i.e. Rock. This view may be partially true, since it corresponds to one of the significations of the word Rocaille, but it cannot give the proper meaning. Rocaille indeed denotes in the art encyclopedias of the 18th century "a sort of architecture for the imitation of natural rocks" in grotto architecture, as Palissy frequently describes it, and as it was common in the 17th century before Lenotre. Adeline⁵⁵⁹ defines the word Rocaille:--

"decorations in rustic style with imitations or accessories of rocks, plants, etc." But since in the development of this style tendency, not rocks but shells form the starting point, two different meanings of the word Rocaille appear to be under consideration here.

Note 559. In his *Lexique de Termes d'Art*. Paris. 1884.

As Rocaille is also designated as "certain groups of shell work mixed with rough stones of different sizes, such as one finds in the midst of rocks", and apparently from this was derived an ornamentation by shells and pebbles applied to the rough surface of stone. The use of the Rocaille motive in France much rather corresponds to the imitation of shells inserted at certain places, than to entire blocks of stone.

The word Rocaille already occurs on engravings of the 18th century, as for example in a series by A. Peyrotte (1743), it is designated as "Vases Rocailles", and on a plate with 6 "Cartouches Rocailles". There are 6 large panels by F. Boucher, one of which is termed "Rocaille"; groups of shells compose their principal motives. A series by De la Jone, "Nouveaux Tableaux d'Ornements et Rocailles", consists of properly Rococo ornamented curved borders of shell-work, naturalistic motives etc.

Since finally the shell borders are to be referred to the use of the regular "niche shells" by Michelangelo, the idea of Rocaille as "shell-work" and not as "rock-work" seems to be the origin of this style fashion.

359. Origin of the Rocaille Motive.

We therefore see that some place of beginning of the Rocaille fashion is in the gallery doree (after 1713); others would permit it to begin only about 1735. Some like R. Rosieres desire to ascribe the invention to Robert de Cotte, others like Guilnard to Meissonnier, who developed the second phase of the Louis XV style. In reality, we see Rocaille motives already in 1713 in the gallery doree; on the other hand the less strongly expressed examples appear to have only originated rather late in Versailles; thus for example, the cornice enclosing the ceiling in the hall de la pendule was only constructed in 1760. It therefore results that the Rocaille fashion is no true phase of the style of Louis XV, but a decorative tendency, which was employed during the entire duration

of the style, but it certainly was after 1735 the prevailing one outside Versailles.

What supports this statement is first, that the origin and the development of the Rocaille fashion, as previously stated, decidedly proceeded from the use of shell forms and not from an imitation of artificial rockwork and grotto-work,-- only in the later development, which one is justified in terming Rococo, is the representation of grotto-like forms clearly perceptible--; second, the fact is influential, that the use of both Rocaille elements, shell borders and rock motives, are considerably earlier.

The origin of the narrow ribbed shell-like Rocaille motives as continuous or merely occasional accessories of a border moulding can be referred by uninterrupted derivation to the details of Michelangelo on the exterior of S. Peter's at Rome; over the windows of the attic in the cornice are placed shells of semicircular form, the points downward; within these shells are inserted small round windows with their architraves, which are surrounded by the radiating flutes of the unconcealed portion of the shell, like a Rocaille motive. Moderna has repeated the motive on the attic of the facade. Entirely similar motives were employed by Borromini in S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome, as well as over the doorway to the winding staircase beside the Gate Porta Santa.

Shells likewise occur with Michelangelo; on the Capitol to fill the tympanums of the windows of the second story; on the exterior of S. Peter's in Rome, in the tympanum of the upper window in the pediment, in the attic as a central motive of the window cap, in the small niches as a decoration of the vaults, and on the Gate Porta Pia at Rome to fill the pediments of its side windows.

Instead of round windows, Bernini has frequently inserted shields of arms in the centres of shells, their architraves being likewise surrounded by the latter in a radiating way; he already placed these shell margins within a cartouche. Examples thereof may be seen on Palace Barberini and on the doorway of the Hospital of S. Spirito in Rome. Borromini has done the same in a much more virile way in the shield of arms over the inner doorway of S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome.

On the mantel of the hall in Palace Barberini, Bernini has finally a head in full face in the middle of a shell, whose flutes surround the head and are treated in form of palms or leaves.

In the gallery of Apollo in the Louvre at Paris,⁵⁶⁰ Lebrun has indeed adopted exactly the motive of a head inserted in a shell, which is surrounded as if by the rays of a halo, and he applied it in keystone forms.

Note 560. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 33, 34.

360. Development of the Motive.

Let us now pass to the Regency style. Already in Robert de Cotte's gallery doree (1713-1719) the shell repeatedly appears, not as a high Renaissance motive, but as a Rocaille element, and also here again as a background and with medallion profile in the keystone of a frame (Fig. 355), then in quadrant shape forming the lower angle of the mirror and to receive the sconces on the wall (Fig. 64). Likewise the shells, that appear to compose the arch of the niche, are irregularly treated and are covered at the centre by a second smaller shell, so to speak, as a background for the head of the statue.

We now pass to the proper Rocaille fashion. Here in the famous decoration by Boffrand in Hotel de Soubise at Paris may be clearly seen this further connection. In the chamber of princess Rohan,⁵⁶¹ there is in the paneling of the wall between the door and the mirror a medallion with a relief placed exactly in the middle of a raised shell, whose uncovered position has the effect of a narrow continuous, wavy imagined, fluted Rocaille border of the frame of the medallion. The transfer of this motive to the medallion in the frieze above the mirror is quite natural for the reason of esthetic analogy. And as a comb-like accessory of the upper termination of the mirror frame, the connection with this is so manifest, that no further evidence is needed to make thenceforth intelligible the mode of extending such shell-combs to other places of the enclosing forms. In the salon of the Hotel, over the doorway (Fig. 356), may be seen a similar transfer to the border of a medallion.

Note 561. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 66, 67.

From this narrow margin of a shell to its treatment as the

edge of a leaf, as in the medallion over the mirror in the hall of the former Hotel de Roquelaure (about 1740) at Paris, now ministry of Public Works, is really out a step;⁵⁶² it is only a variation of the same motive. In the cap of the doorway in the same hall the border is itself treated as such a ribbed shell form; in the keystone motive of the border are grouped together three shells.

Note 562. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pl. 77.

On the ceiling of the chamber of the queen in the Palace at Versailles, there are four medallions in the middle of the ceiling vault, which belong to the restoration of 1735, inserted in shells, but which have borders in cartouche form. The narrow Rocaille border above is shaped in leaf forms, and the free margin of the shell-cartouche is covered by two rows of long and narrow overlapping shells. The medallion over the mirror in the small chamber of the king at Versailles (1738) is likewise placed in the middle of a shell, that here forms a Rocaille border. On the windows of the Palace of prince Pio at Rome, Camillo Arcucci executed a frieze of ogee section, whose ogee fluting is borrowed from a sarcophagus, and it is connected with a broken ogee pediment of the inner enclosure; it already has the same effect as many of those Rocaille motives, concerning which one is not certain, whether they are leather, leaves or shell flutes.

361. Rockwork Motives.

The second decorative element of the Rocaille fashion, the imitation of grotto-like forms of natural rocks, is based on earlier models. We find them with Bernini and in the grottos of Bernard Palissy. In these as well as in the 17th century, this is one of the forms in which is expressed the need of the freer forms of nature.

An important model for the use of natural objects of irregular forms, rather than for the detail forms themselves, Bernini has indeed given on the facade of Palace della gran Curia Innocenziana, now Palace of the Parliament at Rome; the entire palace appears plain and as if cut out of a solid rock. At the angles have been left natural stones. But especially the entire frieze of the windows, as in a sense the upper cap of the architrave, has been left as a natural surface of stone.

Likewise there projects a considerable portion of the window sills as a rock not even roughly dressed with the point. On Bernini's design for the Louvre, the entire sloping foundation wall of the facade was designed as a wall of natural rock. Bernini's Fountain on Place Navona at Rome must be mentioned here; the natural stones of irregular form with their naturally growing plants cut in stone, the papal arms and the obelisk, that stands on the substructure, are true "combinations" for the time of Watteau and the Rocaille period. Likewise the Fountain by Bernini on Place Barberini at Rome with the Tritons has something of the Rocaille spirit in itself.

These examples suffice to make intelligible every other occurrence of the Rocaille element. In Fig. 353 (from Chateau Rambouillet), for example, may be seen in the domain of the Rocaille, mermaids, polypus figures, a cornucopia, and a spring shell treated as foliage.

362. Employment of Rocaille Motives.

The impulse then to yield more and more to the free play of the line in caprice, combined with the inclination to employ elements from free nature, led to the development of a peculiar tendency in decoration. The desire to free themselves as much as possible from the fetters of regularity, the increasing enjoyment in the harmonious movement of unsymmetrical forms led to the search among the works of creation for models, that appeared to be formed on similar principles. Men adopted the most contorted shell forms with or without points. They were mostly applied in the elongated form of a comb as additions at the sides of the enclosing elements of a composition or to crown certain points of this. They were used at another time to fill a depression at an angle or to form the transition between two different directions. That form was given to them, required by the composition; they are sometimes festooned, pierced by openings, like a mass of porcelain, that again suddenly assumes the shape and movement of a swift wave. Palm leaves, that likewise appear to be made of porcelain, various twigs and leaves, C-arches, cartouches, and everything conceivable, are combined with these forms.

Moreover it is not always easy to say what is pure Rocaille; for these forms are sometimes treated more leaf-like, at oth-

others like a cut-out wrought material.

These Rocaille motives finally acquire a kind of decorative independence; the chief value is placed on the texture of their surfaces, on the movement of their outlines. Therefore men give to them on certain occasions the delicate elongated points and the serrations of a thistle leaf. In Oppenordt are found dragons' wings, entire eagles indeed, which if the outline alone were seen, might be regarded as Rocaille motives. One is finally justified in speaking of the "Rocaille scrollwork." The works of Meissonnier are frequently taken by many as types of the Rocaille fashion.

363. Masters of the Rocaille Fashion.

Germain was one of the artists, who contributed most to the development of this system of forms. One frequently cannot tell whether snell or wave forms are represented.⁵⁶³ Men believe that they frequently see in the Rocaille forms the indispensable line of the wave crests, which are grooved and beaten by the wind, and are driven against an embankment wall. Springer recalls the unexampled liking for porcelain work in the past century. Indeed, many perforated forms in connection with Rocaille forms recall articles made of that material.

Note 563. Germain, P. *Elements d'Orfèvrerie*. Paris. 1748. p. 121. Illustrated in Jessen.

P. E. Babel was one of the best known among the designers of Rocaille work. He was likewise goldsmith, draftsman and engraver about the middle of the 18th century and died in 1770.

Francois de Cuvillies the father (1698-1763), who worked much in Germany, appears to have been one of the chief masters in this tendency.

364. French Examples.

The everywhere lightly animated and most delicate forms, which appear to be magically and invitingly improvised, are on the one hand presented by the salon of the chateau at Rambouillet (Fig. 358), on the other by the decoration of the vaults of the oval salon in Hotel de Soubise at Paris. The forms are here rather combined in groups, although in part so slight and capricious, and they stand out more sharply from the interspaces left vacant. The decoration at Rambouillet

is more uniformly wrought out, without being anywhere monotonous. The salon of the Ministry of Public Works in Paris, formerly Hotel de Roquelaure, appears to have been decorated about 1740. The ornamentation is less free and refined in movement than that of Rambouillet, yet in some degree is allied to it.

Note 564. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 75 to 79.

About 1735, Boffrand was charged with the internal decoration of Hotel de Soubise, begun by Delamairie after 1697, indeed about 1706, and which forms a part of the present National Archives at Paris. Compared with the severe formality of the great king, there could be no greater contrast, than these curved outbursts of free imagination and caprice, which are to be seen in the upper terminations of the mural decoration. (Fig. 356) and in the richly interlaced ornamentation of the vault. The entire contrast between the styles of Louis XIV and of Louis XV is already expressed here. And yet these are already mixed with the most capricious forms of the Rococo and naturalistic foliage, with fruits of the natural plants of the approaching style of Louis XVI. If Boffrand's internal decorations for Hotel de Soubise actually originated in 1706, as stated by many, then must the style of this master have been from 10 to 20 years in advance of that of Robert de Cotte. Yet we believe in the correctness of Duval's statement,⁵⁶⁵ who places these decorations in the years 1735-1740. They are still preserved. The finest painted ornamentation of panels, tympanums etc., is by Natoire, Carle Vanloo, Boucher and Tremoliere. Works of the two last are dated from 1737 and 1739, and this must be decisive for the accuracy of David's dates.⁵⁶⁶

Note 565. See Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 1. p. 59 et seq.

Note 566. In "Nouvel Itineraire", -- Artistic and Archeological Guide to Paris; Paris. 1895-1896, Charles Normand characterizes these apartments as "decorated by the architect Boffrand from 1735 to 1740 with incredible magnificence and taste" Rivocalen in Planat's Encyclopedie de l'Architecture, vol. 6. Paris. 1892. p. 575, also follows the erroneous date of 1706.

The Rocaille fashion in France is essentially limited to t

the insertion, so to speak, of a usually small and not predominating number of Rocaille elements as sporadically occurring incrustations in the midst of Louis XV compositions, whose character was expressed in Art. 344. If only executed examples be considered, we cannot understand why these have been designated by a special name.

To acquire a proper understanding of this appellation and tendency, it is necessary to follow on the one hand the engraved compositions of masters like Babel and Cuvillies, from which the Rococo proceeded, and on the other to glance at the development of the Rocaille fashion by French and other masters in Germany.

365. Examples in Germany.

Here are especially to be mentioned the works of Cuvillies in the Amalienburg in Nymphenburg Park near Munich. The so-called silver room there with its blue background exhibits a phase of the development of the style and decoration, that according to the opinion of Destailleur, has not its like in France. It is especially characteristic that in contrast to most creations of the age of Louis XV, we here stand before not merely an enduring ornamentation, but that stucco decorations like stamped leather fill the entire panels of the wall.

567 We are not here before Rocaille motives, that are more or less numerous and almost timidly scattered within Louis XV ornamentation; rather do the Rocaille motives form in the lower half, as well as above, a connected design. Two great boughs, or more correctly, two small trees cross each other within the panel; above sport cupids in fanciful games in the midst of Rocaille boughs and garlands. It is further characteristic, that in the silver room the enclosure of the small doors with their high transoms have above and below especially projecting angles, that are formed as Rocaille ears. If the date (1734) given by Donne for the completion of the silver room be correct, then have we here a French branch of the Rocaille style on German soil, that apparently expresses the character of this tendency more fully, than the contemporary French examples. It would likewise prove, that the Rocaille fashion was contemporary with the proper Louis XV style, and does not represent a later development thereof.

Note 567. Illustrated in Dohme, R. Barock und Rococo Architektur. Berlin. 1884-1891. Vol. 2. Pls. 112-113.

The round dining room in the Amalienburg, apparently built in 1734, is likewise a very beautiful work, which shows a certain relationship to the oval salon of Hotel de Soubise at P Paris, but nevertheless makes known an independent development of the style.

The last word of the Rocaille is likewise perhaps to be sought in Germany. The mirror frames ⁵⁶⁸ over an angle chimney-piece of the Palace at Würzburg seems to exhibit the richest degree of the development of this tendency. Around the frame proper extends one much wider and entirely perforated, composed of two unbroken lines of Rocaille scrolls, that unite above in a great central composition, which unfolds as the gleaming heart of a brilliant Rocaille firework. The whole appears to be a further development of the style of Cuvillies in the silver room of the Amalienburg. It shows such mastery of the exhaustless caprices of the richest imagination, that one cannot regret, that it is properly already in the realm of the overloaded. Here is the mastery of technique just as indescribable as the delimitation of the imagination. As in the Amalienburg and over the doors of the throne hall at Würzburg, the number of the easily flowing motives of the ornamentation is innumerable. The treatment of the surfaces and the points is so masterly and calculated for the location of the brilliant points in gilding and in silver, that one stands before this, blinded by the truly "sparkling effect".

Note 568. Gurlitt, C. Das Barock- und Rococo- Ornament Deutschlands. Berlin. 1885-1889. Pls.

By such undertakings, Rocaille ornamentation had reached the limits of human abilities. There remained further connections of Rocaille work and of imagination. They took pleasure in placing in certain cases shells branching like polyps, without other accessories, as keystones, angle ornaments etc., within a more severe architecture. ⁵⁶⁹

Note 569. In the festal hall of the Palace at Würzburg. Same work. Pls. 27, 80.

e. Rococo Fashion.

366. Determination of the meaning of "Rococo".

With the Rococo fashion, we pass to the last study of the development of the free tendency during the second period of the Renaissance, one may indeed say, the entire French Renaissance until the present time.

We most decidedly deplore the increasing custom of certain historians of art to give to the words Barocco and Rococo too extended conceptions. It is indeed very convenient to have catch words for designating an entire art tendency; but it would be better to seek anew for really correct appellations, and to abandon to the ancients their precise meaning, that they desired to extend to art tendencies, which they incorrectly designate. We employ the word Rococo here in such a limited manner as possible, and exclusively as a fashion of the Louis XV. style, produced by the exaggeration of the Rocaille fashion. We shall return to the origin of this tendency on occasion of the description of the various phases.

367. Characteristics of the Rococo.

As casual peculiarities corresponding to the conception Rococo may be mentioned:--

- a. The exaggeration of the character of the Rocaille fashion.
- b. The omission of symmetry in cases in which it would appear natural and justifiable.
- c. Certain aspirations of the imagination, which comprise something so improvable and unnatural, that they are exposed to a certain ironic judgment and form an exaggeration of the Barocco, by which one is at the mercy of ridicule.

Destailleur gives some extracts from two interesting articles in the *Mercury de France* of 1754 and 1755, in which the copper engraver Cochin reviews this tendency of Meissonnier from the standpoint of the severe style. He blames him in the first one for the vagaries of his imagination. He feigns in the second a reply defending the part taken. It is said in the latter, that Oppenordt had at first performed much service in the tendency in question, but that the great Meissonnier had first entirely carried out his desires.

It follows from the preceding criticism by Cochin,⁵⁷⁰ that Meissonnier was regarded by his contemporaries as one, who had adopted the taste of Borromini, and who had done the same for France as Borromini had for Italy, in the sense of a freer

and gayer architecture. He first dropped the ancient use of straight lines everywhere, and he curved all kinds of cornices upward, downward, forward and backward. He invented contrasts and rejected symmetry, so that the two sides of a panel appeared to strive, which could most depart from the old straight form. He understood in a wonderful way how to bend cornices of the hardest marble in accordance with the ingenious caprices of cartouches in a pleasing way. He brought into acceptance that charming S-form of outlines, turning it everywhere, and his drawings were properly only a sole combination of this form in all possible directions, "he replaced everything by his darling S-outlines".

Note 570. Fragments thereof in Destailleur, H. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Français*. Paris. 1863. p. 222 et seq.

368. Symmetry avoided.

In order to give more life to the compositions, the symmetry of form, which has its highest type in the view of the human figure seen in front, was dropped, and the principle expressed in the side view thereof was adopted. All lines and forms here produce the idea of forward movement in a direction clearly expressed. One stands before the avoided symmetry and thereby attains to the highest ideal of a period, which desired above all things to feel "free".

The possibility of creating with certainty and of attaining balance in harmony by the "compensations" between unlike elements satisfied the masters of the free tendency. They succeeded in realizing the ideal of the unrestricted. And still there is always a "harmony of unrestraint", an adherence to the arrangement required by the salon.

369. Italian Prototypes.

On the inner principal door of Church S. Andrea of the Jesuit novitiate at Rome, Bernini fastened two large angels to the frieze, the cornice, and the pediment of the otherwise severely treated doorway. One sits on the cornice; the other flies thereto, blowing a trumpet while turning around for this purpose, to announce his arrival. The first angel is placed much higher, holding in his right hand a great shield of arms against the apex of the pediment in an inclined direction; from his left hand flutters an immense roll of manuscript

upwards and sideways like a banner.

Carlo Fontana (1683) left the round medallion over the doorway of S. Marcello on the Corso at Rome to be held by a great standing angel, at the other side by a small one stooping, just for love of unsymmetry. The medallion over the doorway in Piazza di Maria in Passaie in Genoa is similarly supported.

370. Meissonnier.

Davilier ⁵⁷¹ writes of Justo Aurele Meissonnier:-- "He differs from all others by the overloaded and labored character of his compositions. They are of graceful frivolity, and the straight line is carefully banished from them". But in Art. 324, it has already been shown that Meissonnier did not exclusively employ this labored development of architecture and also that the elements of a severer architecture are found with him. Meissonnier's decorations of apartments, such as those for Count Resenval or for a cabinet in Portugal, ⁵⁷² may on the other hand be termed truly Rococo works. The twisted legs of the mirror table and the volutes of the shells, cartouches and frames, everything appears as if blown by the wind, to bend, and passing up to the curved pieces of the entablature, to wave about like leaves in a cloud of dust.

Note 571. In preface to Guilmard, D. Les Maitres Orneman-tistes etc. Paris. 1881. p. 15..

Note 572. Illustrated in the same, Pl. 52.

The climax of the form development of this free phase of the style in question appears to lie in one of these compositions of Meissonnier, even if not chronologically, since the style yet continued for thirty years. It is difficult to attain to a more complete avoidance of straight lines than is the case in the grotto, shown in Fig. 66. ⁵⁷³ Even the piers and flying buttresses are like breaking rollers or waves or appear to desire to hasten with the falling water of these. Errors in taste are no hindrance to recognizing in Meissonnier the assured dominance of the forms. Executed works of this style have indeed not become known to me in France.

Note 573. Reproduced from "Oeuvre de Juste Aurelle Meissonnier. Paris. Sheet 35. N. D.).

371. Other Masters.

With Jean Pillemont (1719-1808), who worked in Paris, Lond-

upwards and sideways like a banner.

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With Jean Pillemont (1719-1808), who worked in Paris, Lond-

London and Lyons, we find again Rococo compositions on the basis of the S-form, where instead of console-like rocks, everything is executed with trees and plants in natural forms.⁵⁷⁴ He employed many Chinese elements.⁵⁷⁵ This is the time when the gardens of Lenotre were supplanted by those "in the Anglo-Chinese style".

Note 574. Illustrated in Janssen, P. Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung des Kunstgewerbe-Museum zu Berlin. Leipzig. 1894. p. 53.

Note 575. See further, Guilmard. p. 188.

With P. E. Babel, this tendency assumes other peculiarities. Great garden portals are represented in the most contorted lines, that might be suited for eccentric enclosures of a key-hole or of a small porcelain frame. Groups of loves, caressing turtle-doves, attributes of all kinds, and garlands of flowers animate these frames. The movement of these are however always developed in a harmonious equilibrium of contrasting lines and curves, and they show a bewildering mastery in this peculiarity.

Francois de Cuvillies (the father) likewise treated such portals, behind which he also permits the rays of a sun to break forth in the midst of a cloudy sky. The lines of the clouds here have to aid the equilibrium of a viaduct crowned with fountains and made of latticework. This is also quite properly termed a "bit of caprice".⁵⁷⁶ It is apparent, that during the severe period of Louis XIV the restricted imagination had leisure to collect rich treasures for the next generation, and that the latter also compensated itself recklessly and truly according to its heart's desire.

Note 576. Illustrated in Guilmard. Pl. 63.

I have not succeeded in finding anywhere an executed French architectural monument, that really corresponds to the name and idea of Rococo, as this is established in the preceding.

372. German Examples.

It is otherwise in Germany. As for the shell (rocaille) fashion, so do we find there executed examples of the Rococo, which aid in better understanding the conception of this form of the style. Even if this name of Rococo be strictly limited to works, which proceed from the development of one of the

tendencies of the French style of Louis XV, and not like the Zwinger in Dresden from the direct development of the Italian Rococo, there may be enumerated in Germany a number of genuine Rococo works.

The Altar of Mercy at Vierzennheiligen near Lichtenfels in Franconia (begun 1743) is shaped entirely in the forms of those fanciful designs of Babel and of others, the great garden portal being built in the shape of a colossal key-hole plate.
577 The term "Rococo" is perfectly appropriate there.

Note 577. Illustrated by R. Dohme in Zeits. f. Bild. Kunst. 1878. p. 288.

The transfer of the forms of internal decoration of the French salon style of Louis XV to the detail treatment of an external architecture may likewise be taken as one of the characteristics of a real Rococo architecture. In Würzburg, the inn "Zum Falken" with its charming facade may be taken as such an example. In Spain, the Palace of Marquis de Dos Aguas at Valencia has likewise an actual Rococo facade.

i. Masters from 1590 to about 1750.

1. Masters of the Age of Henry IV.

373. Survey.

The neglect of the study of the Age of Henry IV, mentioned in Art. 210, also extends to the knowledge of the architects of that time.⁵⁷⁸

Note 578. Lemonnier says that "the architects of the period of Henry IV occupy an undefined place between their predecessors and their successors; none attained to great fame".

For the same reasons, which impelled us to place just this phase in the most correct light, we will endeavor to do likewise for the architects of this period.

It is hard to say, whether the lack of good architects, of which the duke de Mayenne complained in 1590,⁵⁷⁹ existed to the degree apparently indicated by his words. These perhaps merely indicate, that the good architects mostly resided outside Paris, then besieged and abandoned by the king, therefore not being at Mayenne's command.

Note 579. On Aug. 26, 1590, in appointing a successor to Baptiste Du Perceau, Mayenne says:-- "Considering the few persons now capable of exercising the said office on account of

the misfortunes of the time, and being duly certain of the skill, capacity and experience in the art of painting, sculpture and architecture possessed by the said Blart"--. This refers to the office of an architect and superintendent controlling expenditures for the royal buildings. (See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1874-1875. p. 173.

For a better understanding and more convenient comparison, we shall arrange as follows our description of the architects of this period.

a. The architects apparently employed in the erection of the galleries of the Louvre and the Tuileries.

b. The remaining architects of that period.

c. Salomon de Brosse and his place in French architecture; the particular importance of this master requires us to make him prominent in this way, to be able to correctly describe his relations to the other masters of the first group.

a. Architects apparently employed on the building of the Louvre galleries and of the Tuileries under Henry IV.

374. Etienne du Perac.

1. Etienne du Perac, architect, painter, archaeologist, copper engraver and landscape artist, died in 1601 at Paris as one of the architects of Henry IV. He was likewise born in the same city before 1544, since we already find him in 1564 as a copper engraver in Rome. The earliest information of him comes from three engravings after Michelangelo's model of the Church S. Peter, **that** he engraved in 1564, the year in which the latter died;⁵⁸⁰ these show him to be already a perfect master of the forms of Italian architecture. This intimate knowledge of Church of S. Peter may be of interest in deciding on his part in the erection of the Louvre.

Note 580. Plan, section and side facade. The dome is less slender than in the wooden model in Rome and as executed, approximating to the hemispherical form. It must therefore represent the first model of Michelangelo, and have served as a model for the dome of Val-de-Grace at Paris. This has led some French architects to the erroneous belief, that the present lines of the dome of S. Peter's are not by Michelangelo, but by Giacomo della Porta.

In the year 1573, Du Perac engraved a large plate of Villa

d'Este and its garden in Tivoli, dedicated to Catherine de M Medici.⁵⁸¹

Note 581. See *Il Santuouisso et Amenisso. Palazzo et Giardini. Di Tivoli. Alla --- Regina Caterina Di Medici --- Roma. --- 1573 --- Stefano Duperac---*. Reprint by Calcografia Camerale in Rome).

According to Destailleur, he engraved much for the well known Lafreri, and he published in 1575 in Rome a series with views of the ruins of antique buildings.⁵⁸² Du Perac studied these monuments not merely from a picturesque standpoint, but as an architect, indeed as a master very severe for that period, who endeavored in his reproductions to avoid his own caprices and to proceed with archaeological accuracy. This is apparent from his drawings.

Note 582. See Italian quotation in original text.

In the National Library at Paris⁵⁸³ and in the Louvre are two copies of the same volume of the original drawings of Du Perac. The latter drawings are much better than those in the Library; hence they may perhaps be merely old copies or reproductions.

Note 583. Department des Manuscrits. Fonds Français. No. 382. Small folio. The title is *Illustration des Fragments antique etc.*, appertaining to the religion and ceremonies of the ancient Romans. Drawn and collected from antique marbles now in Rome and in other places in Italy, with explanations by Estienne du Perac, Parisian. Book first, containing several figures of idols, obelisks, and of hieroglyphic letters of the ancient Egyptians. Book second, containing several temples, gods, altars and sacrifices, collected from antique marbles to be seen in Rome and in other places in Italy.

Yet Du Perac was not satisfied in pursuing merely theoretical studies in Rome; we see him likewise busied as a practical architect, especially on occasions of festivals. Müntz has proved, that he appeared on May 8, 1572, with Bartolomes Gaitto as architect of the Conclave.⁵⁸⁴

Note 584. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1877. p. 143. -- Dominis Bartholomeo Gaitto et Stephano Perac, architectis fabricarum conclavis, per nos deputatis -- Datum Rome, in Cam. ap., die octava Maii, 1572.

Du Perac lived in Italy at least 13 years; for according to

the likewise correct statement of the royal court gardener C Claude Mollet, he returned from Italy only in 1582. Mollet designates him as the grand architect of the king. The duke d'Aumale, belonging to the party of the League, took him into his service, placed him over all his chateaus, especially over Chateau Anet, "then the finest in France". He taught Claude Mollet how beautiful gardens should be made, and in 1595, the gardens of the new royal Chateau of S. Germain were executed by Claude Mollet after the drawings of Du Perac;⁵⁸⁵ Figs. 133, 234 and 245, illustrate the latter.

Note 585. See Mollet (Claude). *Theatre des Plantes* etc. Paris. 1652. (Lance. Vol. 2. p. 144).

The intimate and united art, since the splendid terraced designs of the new Chateau of S. Germain are connected with its projecting wings and detached pavilions (Fig. 234), leave no doubt, that the chateau and gardens were designed by the same master. Since the statement of Mollet concerning the designer of the gardens permits not the slightest doubt, then must Du Perac and not Guillaume Merchant be accepted as the architect of the new chateau. The purely Italian character of these terraced designs, which recall in spirit those of Villa d'Este engraved by Du Perac, is a proof of the statement of Mollet. This likewise permits emphasis to be laid on the designation of "grand architect of the king", which Mollet applies to Du Perac. If we combine this with what we know of his work in Rome and at the Vatican, of his relations to the high nobility in Italy and France, then must Du Perac appear as the best trained and most eminent architect of the period from the time of Baptiste Du Cerceau's death (1590) until his own (1601). The previously mentioned words of complaint by the duke of Mayenne in 1590 concerning the lack of competent architects after the death of Baptiste Du Cerceau further strengthens our assumption of the importance enjoyed by Du Perac.

Since but one month after the entry of Henry IV into Paris (Mar. 22, 1594), Guillaume Marchant began the building of the garden terraces of S. Germain as contractor, then must Du Perac, already somewhat before the entry, have succeeded to his important position about the king, and have worked out t

the new designs for the extension of the chateau.

The part in the building of the Louvre and of the Tuileries ascribed to Du Perac will be considered on the occasion of the descriptions of those buildings.

375. Jacques II Du Cerceau.

b. Jacques Androuet II Du Cerceau (buried on Sept. 16 or 17, 1614) was a son of the famous Jacques I (see Arts. 159 to 162), and probably was the younger brother of Baptiste, who must be regarded from 1578 to 1590 as the most prominent architect of the kings Henry III and Henry IV. (See Arts. 206, 207).

1577. It is thought, that he must be recognized in Jacques Androuet, who was one of the secretaries of the duke of Anjou.

1577. He or his father received 200 livres yearly in connection with the building of the Chateau of Charleval. (See Art. 160).

1594., Oct. 19. Du Cerceau was already mentioned as royal architect with an annual salary of 800 crowns (= 1600 livres), 400 crown being for the work on the Louvre and 400 for other buildings. At this time Louis Motezeau held a similar position beside him. (See Art. 377).

1597, Jal found mention of him.

1597, May 23. In a power of attorney, he designates himself as "nobleman Jacques Androuet, lord Du Cerceau, architect of the king". ⁵⁸⁶

Note 586. According to an obliging communication from M. Baron Pichon, Paris.

1598. Du Cerceau was paid for the drawings of the chateau, the gardens, and the city of Pau, made at the order of the king. ⁵⁸⁷

Note 587. See Archives Departementales des Basses-Pyrenees. Comptes du Bearn. 1598. Series B. Given in Lance. Vol. 1. p. 22. -- Lance believes that this refers to Baptiste Du Cerceau, the year of whose death in 1590 not being then known.

1598, Aug. 15 to 18. Coming from Pau, he made at the order of "Madame" (Catherine de Navarre ?) drawings of the Chateau, garden, park and of the "warren" of Nerac, and on this occasion, he was designated as M. de Serceau, architect of the king, in the Chronicle of Isaac de Peres. ⁵⁸⁸

Note 588. See Lance etc..

1602, May 23. He purchased the house of his brother Baptis-

Baptiste at Paris from his widow, and he is designated in the deed as "comptroller and Architect of the King's Buildings.

1606-1609. Jal finds him among the pensioners of the king with the salary of 1200 livres and the appellation of Sieur Du Cerceau, architect of the king. --1608. To the brothers Du Serceau (sic) and Fournier, other architects of his majesty for their wages at 1200 francs each.⁵⁸⁹ (See Art. 378).

Note 589. See *Etat des Officiers de l'annee 1608* in Berty, A. *Topographie historique de Vieux Paris* etc. Continued by H. Legrand. Paris. 1886-1889. Vol. 2. p. 204.

1614, Sept. 17. Du Cerceau was buried. On the burial certificate of that date, he is called Jacques Androuet Du Cerc-eau, architect of the king's buildings, being of the true religion.

Since from the lack of documents, the smallest statement concerning these masters is of interest for the very confused history of the building of the Louvre, we add the following data, which afford information relating to the position of the master.

On the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Marie (April 18, 1627), the register of Charenton designates her as "daughter of the deceased Jacques Androuet, while living Sieur Du Cerceau, architect and superintendent of the king's buildings.

At his marriage (Jan. 18, 1658), his son Gaspard was termed "son of Jacques Androuet, while living Sieur du cerceau, architect and intendant of the royal buildings.

Jacques II might have been already 40 or 45 years old, when he married. This could hardly have occurred before 1600, since his wife Marie Malapert was only born in 1583. Two years after the death of Jacques (1616), she married again. Salomon de Brosse, nephew of her husband and second guardian of his children, was godfather of his son, born in 1617. The second godfather was Chr. Justel, the councillor and secretary of the duke de Bouillon, for whom salamon built a mansion; he also approved the marriage.

From the following statement it appears, that Salamon de Brosse, nephew of Du Cerceau, partly took the place of his uncle, since a portion of his salary passed to him after his uncle's death.

"To Salamon de Brosse, architect, both for his former wages and for increase by the decease of his uncle, the late Sieur Du Cerceau, and without any deduction, considering his merit and the actual ordinary service rendered by him to his said majesty, the sum of 2250 livres". 590

Note 590. From the list of royal masters for 1624. See Archives de l'Art français. Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 339.

Ought one to draw the conclusion from this statement made in the royal accounts 10 years after Du Cerceau's death, that his memory was held in especially high honor? Meanwhile it appears more correct to me, to see in this merely an annually repeated copy of the preceding statement intended to keep in remembrance, that the salary of Salomon de Brosse came from the moneys provided for the various buildings.

The Hotel de Bellegarde, formerly Conde, was built after 1612 by Du Cerceau. 591

Note 591. See Force, Piganiol de la. Description de Paris et de ses Environs. Paris. 1742. Vol. 3. p. 248 et seq.

His work on the Chateaus of Monceaux-en-Brie and of Verneuil-sur-Oise will be mentioned on the occasion of the consideration of the building of the Louvre, and of the position of Du Cerceau with regard to that of Louis Metezeau.

From the lack of existing works, one can obtain no correct conception of the value of this famous master to his time.

376. Thibaut Metezeau.

c. Thibaut or Theobald Metezau (born Oct. 21, 1533, and already deceased in Sept., 1596) appears to have lived in Dreux until 1569, like his brother Clement I and his brother Jean. 592.

Note 592. Clement I Metezeau the elder, died between 1537 and 1556, master mason in Dreux.

1516. Clement with Jean de Moulins undertook the completion of the Hotel-de-Ville, begun in 1512 by Pierre Caron. In 1533, he is mentioned with 7 sols and 6 den. as wages for 1 1/2 days; he was probably employed on the rich portal of the parish church, which was erected about 1524. Clement I had two sons:-- Thibaut or Theobald and Jean, the latter dying in 1600 in Dreux.

1557, Nov. 13. His first marriage was made known; 1560, he was already married to another wife.

He was both architect and building speculator, and he was the contractor for Bridge Pont Neuf at Paris, begun in 1578.

1578, he belonged as architect to the house of the duke de Alencon.

1578, Mar. 25. He had the title of architect of the king, and received from Henry III a gift of 200 crowns.

1582. Like Pierre Chambiges, he competed as contractor for the work of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis.

According to Saval, Thibaut must have erected the outer gate of Porte S. Antoine at Paris with the date of 1585. Yet Lance remarks, that the latter was already commenced under Henry II and was furnished with reliefs by Jean Goujon, now in the Museum of Cluny at Paris. Therefore it could not have been designed by Thibaut. 593

Note 593. See the notices of Metezeau in Berty, A. Les Grands Architectes Francois. Paris. 1860. -- Also in Lance.

For the alleged participation of Thibaut in the building of the Louvre, see that building.

377. Louis Metezeau.

d. Louis Metezeau, born after 1557, buried Aug. 19, 1615, was a son of Thibaut, probably the eldest.

1594, Oct. 19. Metezeau was appointed by the king and entrusted with the supervision of various royal buildings, with a salary of 800 crowns (= 1600 livres); 400 crowns for his work at the Louvre and 400 for work elsewhere. He was placed entirely on the same footing and rank, which Du Cerceau then had (Jacques II). 594

Note 594. "Clerk and deputy to have charge and control of the construction of all the royal buildings mentioned in the said letters, and for the said charges to enjoy and use the same authorized honors, state and maintenance of 800 crowns per year, that is 400 crowns for the buildings of the Louvre and 400 crowns for the other buildings, entirely and in the same form and manner as that enjoyed by the said Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau". See Lance. Art. Metezeau.

1596, Sept. 27. Metezeau was godfather in Dreux and called himself "architect of the king and comptroller of royal buildings". 595

Note 595. See Berty. p. 125.

1598, Aug. 28. He married Isabel de Hangueil. (According to others, she was named Isabel de Audegner).

1608. Louis de Metezeau ⁵⁹⁶ had as architect a salary of 2000 livres and 400 as concierge of the Tuileries.

Note 596. To Metezeau (Loys), architect of the king, concierge of the Palace of the Tuileries, and having the care of the furniture there, for his wages the sum of 2400 livres, that is, 2000 for the said charge as architect and 400 for the charge as concierge and care of the said furniture, thus 2400 livres. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 40.

1609, Mar. 23. He subscribed himself as architect of the king's buildings, concierge and keeper of furniture of the Palace of the Tuileries.

1610, with Francini, he had charge of the preparations for the entry of the queen.

1615, birth of his last child, baptized July 17.

1615, Aug. 19. He was designated in his burial certificate as "Nobleman M. Metezeau, first architect of the king and concierge of his Chateau of the Tuileries.

1615, Sept. 1. A pension was assigned to his widow and children. ⁵⁹⁷

Note 597. For his children Louis, Elisabeth and Wilhelm(?) was allotted a joint pension of 400 livres for life. Wilhelm in 1667 was engineer in ordinary to Louis XIV. (see Berty, p. 128). In his previously mentioned *Typographie historique du Vieux Paris* (Vol. 2. p. 209), Berty gives a pension of 600 l livres for widow and children.

1615, Sept. 25. Clement II Metezeau, brother of Louis, was taken into the service of the king with a salary of 800 livres. ⁵⁹⁸

Note 598. See Berty. Vol. 2. p. 208.

The two last measures in favor of his relatives, following the death of Metezeau so quickly, appear to prove that his works were very satisfactory up to the end.

Since none of his works are preserved, we can make no decision concerning his talent. His relations to J. Du Cerceau and his part in the building of the Louvre will be mentioned under the latter.

378. Fournier.

e. Among the royal architects in 1608 was one Fourrier, who is mentioned at the same time as Du Cerceau and with the same salary. "To Sieurs Du Serceau (sic) and Fournier, o other architects of his majesty, for their salaries at 1200 livres each.⁵⁹⁹

Note 599. *Etat des Officiers de l'annee 1608* in Berty, A. *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris etc.* paris. 1866-1869. Vol. 2. p. 204.

Berty knows of two other architects of this name, one with the name of Isaie, the other of Louis; he is of opining, that all three indeed mean the same person. Lance⁶⁰⁰ has collected the following data of the Fourniers without being able to solve the problem.

Note 600. Berty, same work.

The copper engraver and architect, Isaie Fournier, is one of the masters that participated about 1600 in building the second half of the great gallery of the Louvre. It is believed that with Jean Coin, he built the former upper story of the small gallery of the Louvre. Some have conjectured, that he might be identical with Louis Fournier, who was compelled to pull down a house near the Chatelet during the siege of Paris, was in 1607 sworn of the king in the office of masonry, was arbitrator together with Pierre Chambiges on July 3 in P Paris, and was employed there as expert in 1614 and 1615. (See in the following the building of the Louvre, especially the construction of the grand gallery.).

379. Pierre I Biard.

f. Pierre I Biard (born about 1559, died Sept. 17, 1609) presents the peculiarity, that the first mention of him falls in the time of the League and of the siege of Paris by Henry IV and raises questions, that cast a peculiar light on that period. On Sept. 18, 1590, he was nominated in place of Baptiste Androuet Du Cerceau to the "office of architect and superintendent comptroller of the expenses of the buildings of the king -- now vacant by his decease". The appointment came through Charles de Lorraine, duke de Mayenne, the head of the League in Paris. The salary amounted to 500 crowns a annually. The chamber of accounts at first refused to regis-

register this appointment. They first did so on Oct. 7, 1592.

It has been asked, how Mayenne came to now first appoint a successor of Baptiste Du Cerceau ?(See Art. 207). Had he remained in Paris with the League, although a zealous Huguenot and first architect of the king, or did the chief of the League respect the earlier appointments, although Baptiste was perhaps absent from Paris after 1585? We are unable to give any explanation of this.

On Aug. 26, 1597, Pierre Biard, architect and sculptor dwelling in the city of Paris in the parish of S. Paul, Rue de la Sarisage near the "Archenac de Pouldres", but at the time being in Chateau Preypaulin near Bordeaux, bound himself to execute the Tomb of Francis de Foix et de Cadillac for the Augustine Monastery at Bordeaux, and on Sept. 3, 1597, that of Marguerite de Foix de Candalle for the Church of S. Blaise at Cadillac.⁶⁰¹

Note 601. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francois*. Series 3. Vol. 1. (1884-1885). p. 177.

Biard cannot have been a pupil of Michelangelo. According to the inscription on his tomb, he was only 5 years old, when the latter died. He executed the relief of Henry on horseback, which was over the doorway of the Paris Hotel-de-Ville.

The rood screen of S. Etienne du Mont at Paris was the work of Pierre I Board, according to Saural. In June, 1604, he was paid for sculptures, which he had executed on the doorway of the little gallery of the Louvre at its western side, and which was built up after Louis XIV.

It does not appear from these statements, whether Biard's appointment was confirmed after the entry of the king into P Paris. It rather seems that this was not the case, since in the contracts of 1597 is no mention of a royal office. The inscription on his tomb likewise appears to show that he was undeceived. ⁶⁰²

Note 602. "Here lies Pierre Biard, while living master sculptor and architect, who passed away at the age of 50 years on Sept. 17, 1609. -- Beneath this is a poem, which ends in the following manner:--

"After seeing Rome, I returned to Paris,
To make my fortune by my work;
But his ingratitude weakened my courage.

All comes to ignorant, nothing to divine men".

See Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français. 1874. p. 170.

380. Pierre Biard.II.

g. Pierre II Biard.was son of Pierre I. In the list of the artists of the household of the king, pierre II Biard is mentioned among the sculptors from 1598 to 1611. In the years 1598 and 1599, he had a salary of only 10 livres and in the year 1611 one of 30 livres.

It is said of Pierre II giard in 1618; "sculptor, who formerly served under Sieur Frangueville, sculptor, after which he was in Italy to continue his studies and to render himself capable of serving his majesty in sculpture --- 500 livers y yearly.

1625, like most others, he received only half his salary. (250 livres).

1656 (?). His salary amounted to 400 livres, of which he received but 200 livres. 603

Note 603. See Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français. 1872. p. 11, 68.

381. Pierre II Chambiges.

h. Pierre II Chambiges or Chambiche (born before 1544 (?), still living in 1613, was probably the son of Pierre I. (See Art. 126). The statement of Sauval, that Chambiche worked on the little gallery of the Louvre about 1566, will be examined on the occasion of the description of the latter.

1568, May 27, he was godfather of a child of Jean Bullant at Ecouen.

1575, he was designated as Pierre Sambiche, carpenter etc. 604

Note 604. Berty. p. 145.

1582, Mar. 14, he obtained as contractor the execution of work on the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis.

1599 (in May) and 1602 (in Feb), he is found as "sworn of the king in the office of masonry", with his colleague Francois Petit, entrusted with the inspection of work on Porte S. Germaines at Paris.

In the year 1602, we see him as arbitrator and in 1608 as expert in affairs of the city of Paris, in reference to a cornice on the Hotel-de-Ville; he took part in the estimate of cost for the Pavillion du Saint-Esprit on the latter.

1613, he was yet alive, but not in 1620. Berty ⁶⁰⁵ supposes that he died in 1615. ⁶⁰⁶

605. Berty. *Art. des Chambiges*.

606. In *Lance*, Vol. 1. p. 138, according to Berty is mentioned a Louis Chambiges, who was a sworn mason at Paris on Feb. 23, 1615, perhaps a son of Pierre II.

None of the statements nor employments of Chambiges from 1575-1613 permits or even assumes for a moment, that ten years earlier he had the honor of having been actually the designing architect of the little gallery of the Louvée. If the latter were the case, it must have been in accordance with what was usual for the royal architects, to rise in office and honor, and in 1594, when the works on the Louvre were resumed, to take part and to fill the highest place.

382. Metivier.

i. Antoine Metivier, architect of the royal buildings under Louis XIII, died in 1617 and had Jean Androuet Du Cerceau as successor. The Metivier family, like the Du Cerceau and de Brosse families, dwelt in part in Verneuil-sur-Oise. By the marriage of Salomon de Brosse with Fleurance Metivier, the Metiviers also became more closely allied with the Du Cerceaus.

b. Second Group of Architects.

383. Francini Family.

a. From Henry IV till under Louis XIV, there were at least five architects named Francini (French; Francine), which came from the same Florentine family. As architects, and especially as engineers for the construction of water conduits and fountains, they always occupied a prominent position. Guiffrey ⁶⁰⁷ gives a series of statements concerning them, from which the following may be deduced. For distinctness, we comprise all the Francini in one group. (See Figs. 247, 249, 250).

Note 607. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 22-26.

1. Tommaso Francini is the first in the series. He wrote on Feb. 2, 1603, from Paris to the secretary of the grand duke of Tuscany, that he would gladly have gone to Tuscany, but that the king had not granted leave to him. ⁶⁰⁸

Note 608. See the same. 1876. p. 229.

Thomas Francini from 1605 was mentioned in S. Germain as engineer, and as having charge of the grottos and fountains of his majesty. After 1618 he was engineer of hydraulic works in all royal buildings; he had in 1625 a salary of 3000 livres; he was employed in 1646 at S. Germain at only 900 livres for 9 months. We likewise find:--

2. Antoine Francine, his son or younger brother, with 2200 livres salary for 9 months as engineer, intendant of the water supply and fountains of the houses of his majesty.

3. Alexander Francine, fountain constructor, after 1608 fountain engineer, with salary of 720 livres for maintaining all hydraulic works at Fontainebleau. In 1618, he was fountain engineer at S. Germain with 600 livres salary, at the same time with Denis Roux as fountain foreman. In 1636, he was engineer for water supply and fountains in Fontainebleau, where he is found mentioned in the accounts of 1646-1648 as having a salary of 600 livres.

This Francine published a volume under the following title:-- "Livre d'Architecture etc". = Book of Architecture containing several porticos and different inventions in the five orders of architecture. Paris. 1631. The same also in Latin, -- see Fig. 55. Abraham Bosse engraved several of his works.

We find mentioned in the year 1650 the two sons of Thomas, who were:--

4. Francis Francine, "engraver and intendant of the conduits and water supply and fountains of his majesty's houses". He had a salary of 3000 livres, and we also find him mentioned on a separate account for S. Germain as Francis de Francine with 400 livres salary.

5. Pierre Francine, brother of the preceding, "engineer, for the water supply and ornamental fountains", with a salary of 400 livres yearly. In the year 1662,⁶⁰⁹ the water supply of Versailles was entrusted to him, and he built there the famous grotto of Tithys. (Fig. 250).

Note 609. See Lonce. Vol. 1. p. 273.

Under the superintendence of Francine, C. Denis was the first hydraulic architect of Versailles.

384. Franqueville.

b. Pierre de Franqueville or Francheville, called Fr-

Françavilla in Italian, was a Flemish architect, painter and sculptor. He was born at Cambrai in 1553, was the first sculptor to Henry IV, and made the model of the equestrian statue of the king on the Pont-Neuf, that Giovanni Bologna and T Tacca executed in Florence. It was the earliest equestrian statue in France. H. Martin is of the opinion that Franqueville, whose best works are found in Genoa, was not sufficiently esteemed in France.

385. Marchand.

c. Guillaume Marchand or Marchant (born about 1531, died Oct. 12, 1605) is one of the masters of that time, of whom recent writers would like to make a great architect. The following is to be said of him.

1590, Sept. 15, Henry IV invested him with the office of "master general of masonry works and of the royal edifices of the city, provostship and viscounty of Paris".

1595, May 17, he received the "right of executing justice on masons, stonecutters, mortar men etc." It has been desired to make him in an erroneous way designing architect of the Pont-Neuf in Paris, instead of Baptiste Du Cerceau, but which he began in 1578 as contractor and may have completed under Henry IV. According to the estimate for the masonry work of cut stone, brick and rubble, lime and sand etc., that he prepared in 1594 for the new Chateau of S. Germain-en-Laye, Lance erroneously holds him to be the architect of that building. from the other offices held by him as well as from the words of Claude Mollet, he must be taken as the contractor for the entire masonry, and Du Perac (Art. 374) as the architect of that chateau. The inscription on Marchand's tomb ⁶¹⁰ and the wording of that estimate for S. Germain contain nothing, that requires more than this interpretation.

Note 610. See Geymüller, H., Les Du Cerceau etc. Paris. 1887.

Louis Marchand, son of the preceding, received in 1596 the assurance of the succession to his father's offices, which he exercised after 1604.

Charles Marchand, brother of Guillaume, one of the architects of the city of Paris, planned with Pierre Guillain the form of the roof of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and its roof tower. He executed in 1596 the roof of the first half of the long gallery of the Louvre.

386. Boillot.

d. Joseph Boillot, born at Langres in 1580, engineer to Henry IV, wrote the following work, whose title affords some insight into the ideas of that time:-- "New representations of hermes figures for use in architecture, composed and enriched by divinities and by animals truly represented according to their antipathies and contrarieties". (Langres, N. D.).

387. Chastillon.

e. Claude de Chastillon (1547-1616), after his travels in France, Italy and Switzerland, was frequently employed as military engineer for Henry IV, prepared in 1607 the plans of Hospital S. Louis in Paris, built the former College de France, the Place Dauphine (Fig. 53), and is regarded as architect of Place Royale.

Chastillon left a valuable collection of views of France.

Note 611. *Topographie Francoise*, or representation of several cities, burghs, castles, country-houses, ruins and vestiges of antiquity in the realm of France, drawn by Claude Chastillon and others, brought to light by J. Borisseau, illuminator to the king. Paris. 1641.

388. Errard.

f. Jean Errard from Bar-le-Duc, engraver and architect, built the Citadel of Amiens, the Chateau of Sedan, and composed various writings.

From Lance, we add the three following masters.

389. Other Masters.

g. Henry Collin was in 1601 architect of the royal buildings in Fontainebleau, and in 1606 was "sworn master architect of the king in his chateau of Fontainebleau".

h. Jean La Hire or La Hierre executed between 1595 and 1627 different works in Nancy for the duke of Lorraine.

i. Gracieux Jamin built for Henry IV the court of the kitchens in Fontainebleau, completed in 1609.

Palustre ⁶¹³ further mentions the following masters, whose works are added in brackets.

Note 613. See *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. Paris. 1892. p. 222, 469, 470, 270, 277.

Pierre Souffron (Chateau Sadillac, 1598-1603).

Jean Cheriau (vaults of S. Jean in Joigny, 1596).

Jean Boullon (Rood-screen of S. Florentin in the Department of Yonne).

c. Salomon de Brosse.

390. His particular Importance.

Of all the architects of the age of Henry IV, it is Salomon⁶¹⁴ and not Jacques de Brosse, as erroneously stated for nearly 200 years, who most deserves our attention, indeed both on account of his works, their character and the interest always attracted to them, as well as for the varied and frequently uncertain criticism applied thereto. We have already been frequently in a position to refer to them. (Art. 280).

Note 614. The official accounts of the royal buildings from 1615 to 1624, also the Abbe de Marolles (in Catalogue des Livres, d'Estampes etc., 1666) call him Salomon. He is so named on the engravings of Marot. Mariette in his Abecedario calls attention to those, who call him Jacques. Sauval names him first Jacques and then Salomon. Most writers from 1640 until the present day make the error of calling him Jacques. The mistake was even perpetuated by the street named after him in Paris, until it was corrected at Read's request. (Read, Ch. Salomon de Brosse, l'architecte de Henry IV et de Marie de Medicis. Reprint from Memoires de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaries de France. Vol. 41. (1881). p. 13.

391. Course of his Life.

The endeavors of Charles Read succeeded in gradually throwing new light on this master.⁶¹⁵ His larger monograph upon him has unfortunately never appeared;⁶¹⁶ but on the other hand, Read had the great kindness to entrust to me for six years all his notes for that monograph, and to permit their use.

Note 615. Read has obtained from the registers of baptism, marriage and burial, of the old Reformed Church of Paris, discovered by him in 1855, a multitude of valuable and assured notices of the artists of that time. But before these registers could be entirely utilized by Read, Count Jules Delaborde and others, they were burned in the palace of Justice during the Commune in 1871.

Note 616. Berty, Lancel and the Archives de l'Art Francois, since 1860 continually refer to the work on Salomon de Brosse prepared by Read. Of this only the following three studies

have appeared:-- a. In France protestante, 2 d edition, Vol. 3. Fasc. 5.(Paris. 1881); b. Salomon de Brosse, l'Architecte de Henri IV et de Marie de Medici in Memoires de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaries de France. Vol. 41.(1881); c. Les de Brosse et les Du Cerceau, architectes parisiennes in Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Isle de France, 9 th year (1882). p. 148.

Under such circumstances, I hold it proper to give all chronological facts in order, which we know concerning this master and his father. Even such as refer merely to family events, like baptism, marriage etc., permit decisive conclusions to be made in reference to the sojourns of the master and therewith to the origins of the buildings. By the alliance of Salomon with the architectural families of Du Cerceau and Metevier, and by his intimate relations with Du Ry (Art. 160), this data may be useful for future investigators.

392. Jehan Brosse.

1563, June 25, Jehan Brosse, master architect, dwelling at Verneuil-sur-Oise, purchased in that city the piece of ground called Mont-la-Ville, bordered on one side by Rue Macart, on the other by Rue Grand.

1578, Jehan de Brosse (sic) was architect and secretary of that lady (queen Margaret, first wife of Henry IV).

1579, Jehan de la Brosse also held the same position near queen Margaret.

393. Salomon de Brosse.

Salomon de Brosse was born between 1552 and 1562 and was buried on Dec. 26, 1626.

1582, he is mentioned in the registers of Verneuil-sur-Oise as being married.

1588, Nov. 9, Salomon de Brosse and his wife were god-parents in Verneuil.

1593, May 3, Salomon was in Verneuil until this date.

1606, erection of the first Temple at Charenton (perhaps by Salomon).

1607, Salomon wrote his name in a portfolio of drawings, w which later belonged to his assistant architect Du Ry.

1611, Oct. 6, Maria de medici requested from the grand duke of Tuscany the plans of Palace Pitti at Florence as a basis

for those of Palace Luxemburg, then being built.

1612, Oct. 27, the erection of the Aqueduct at Arcueil after Salomon's design was awarded to Jehan Going by contract.

1613, Feb. 12 to June 28, de Brosse executed various receipts as architect of Hotel de Bouillon, afterwards Hotel de L Liancourt, in Rue de Seine at Paris. De Brosse dwelt in Rue des "Vielz-Angustins" at Paris.⁶¹⁷

Note 617. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris. 1881. p. 103.

1613. Beginning of the design of Luxemburg garden in Paris.

1613, Mar. 20. Beginning of the erection of Chateau at Coulemmiers. De Brosse and other masters determined the form of the structure.

1613, July 17. Laying cornerstone of Aqueduct at Arcueil.

1614. Apparently the beginning of Chateau Blerencourt.

1615. Foundation of Palace Luxemburg commenced.

1615-1617. De Brosse had charge of different works for Maria de Medici at the Chateau at Monceaux-en-Brie.⁶¹⁸

Note 618. In the years 1615-1617, Salomon de Brosse, general architect of the buildings of the king and of the said lady queen, had various works executed in the Chateau of Monceaux-en-Brie; in the year 1615, orders for payment in the place of the general and responsible treasurer, M. Florent d'Argeuges.

1616, he was designated as nobleman Salomon de Brosse, architect of the king, possessor of the fief of S. Quentin at Verneuil, at the place called Montaville.

1616, July 14. Laying cornerstone of the facade of S. Gervais at Paris.

1616. Building of Palace Luxemburg commenced.

The following notice occurs in the year 1616:-- Salomon de Brosse, architect general of the buildings of the king and of the queen, mother of his majesty, the sum of 300 livres for the salary assigned to and belonging to the said charge.

1617, Feb. 6. Salomon was the second guardian of the children of Jacques Du Cerceau II, his uncle.

1617, his son Paul was already married to Anna Bourree.(?).

1617, April 19. Laying cornerstone of the Capuchin Church of Coulommiers by Catherine de Gonzaga.

1618, Salomon traveled in April to Rennes in order to prepare the plans for the Palace of the Parliament of Brittany.

1618, Mar. 7. Burning of the great hall of Palace of Justice at Paris.

1618, Aug. 23, were paid the expenses of de Brosse in the Inn a la Harpe at Rennes.

1619, the Mercure Francois described the new hall just begun as "entirely vaulted, with square pillars, and the most beautiful that could be".

1619. New edition of Jean Bullant's "Regle Generale d'Architecture etc. (Art. 145), revised and corrected by M. de Brosse, Architect of the king".

Already before 1619, Salomon's son, Paul de Brosse, was one of the architects of the king. In 1624, he had an annual salary of 800 livres.

1619, Jan. 11, the executive architect of the Parliament Building at Rennes traveled to Paris in order to consult de Brosse, and he remained there six weeks before his return.

1619, July 18, Salomon was designated as Sieur du Plessis in the marriage contract of his daughter, from the fief of Plessis-Pomeraye near Verneuil-sur-Oise in the direction of Senlis.

1619 or 1620, occurred a journey of de Brosse to Orleans.

1620, June, de Brosse sent from Paris written directions for the Palace at Rennes.

1621, the facade of S. Gervais at Paris was completed.

1621, burning of the Temple at Charenton.

1620 or 1621, Palace Luxemburg was so far completed, that Rubens was considered in reference to the painting of the galleries.

1622, Nov. 12, mass was already read in the chapel of the great hall of Palace of Justice, although in 1623 the work thereon was not entirely finished.

1623, June 16, the contractor Noretz and the deputies Marbault and Hureau signed the plans to be executed for the new Temple at Charenton.

1623, Salomon made a drawing of Pope Gregory XV.

1624. Completion of Aqueduct of Arcueil.

1625, July 13. Consecration of Church of Capuchins of Coulommiers.

1626, Dec. 9. Salomon was buried in the cemetery des Saints-Peres at Paris. He is there designated as "Salomon de Brosse, engineer and architect of the buildings of the king, born at Verneuil", and on the duplicate of the certificate, as "architect of the queen mother".

1632, May 20, his wife, Fleurance Mestivier, was still living; she is stated to have died on March 17, 1634.

394. Relations with other Architects.

It appears from various passages in the fragments of the contracts and accounts of that time, that the bonds of relationship and of friendship, which existed between the families of architects, of de Brosse, Du Cerceau, Mestivier and Du Ry, frequently exerted a determining influence upon the appointment of the masters and upon the origin of certain buildings. It is therefore doubly important to determine these relations as accurately as possible.

395. Relations with the Du Cerceaus.

Only first about 1880 were discovered the relations and later the alliance between the families of de Brosse and Du Cerceau. For a long time, the exact degree of these was uncertain. We have already spoken of them in Art. 121, but must now offer proofs of our assumption.

Flammermont conjectures, that Jean Brosse might have been a pupil of the famous Androuet, whose sister he married.⁶¹⁹ When Read writes, "that by his mother, Julienne Androuet, Salomon de Brosse was nephew of Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau", he evidently accepts this relationship, while he doubtless thinks of Jacques I under the latter name. On the basis of these statements, we likewise accepted this connection. Yet when later we saw that in the royal accounts, Jacques II Du Cerceau was designated as the uncle of Salomon de Brosse, we were compelled to ask ourselves, whether their statements were to be taken verbally, and whether Jehan Brosse actually married the daughter and not the sister of Jacques I Du Cerceau. This degree of relationship is therefore of great importance, since it can throw decisive light on the authorship of the so interesting Chateau of Verneuil-sur-Oise (Art. 160). Palustre believes that in Jehan de Brosse is seen the master of the Chateau, while we ascribe the original design to Du Cerceau.

In the conditions described by us,⁶²⁰ the question must first be rightly decided in favor of Du Cerceau, if Brosse was his son-in-law and not his brother-in-law.

Note 619. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France, year 9, Part 5 (1882), p. 145-151.-- L. M. Tisserand and Charles Read correct some errors of H. G. Guiffrey there. Part 4.

Note 620. See Les Du Cerceau. p. 82.

Neither Flammermont and Guiffrey nor Read give the texts on which their assumption is based. Therefore I had recourse to M. Gustave Macon, Archivist of Duc. d'Aumale in Chantilly, in order to obtain if possible the text on which Flammermont relied. It resulted that the passages in question, which I give here, afford no conclusions of any kind concerning the degree of relationship of Julianne Androuet with Jacques I Du Cerceau.⁶²¹

Note 621. Macon examined the entire series of "Verneuil" and copied for me all passages referring to Du Cerceau and de Brosse. I here express my most courteous thanks to him for this great kindness. The passage referred to states:-- "Julienne Androuet, widow of the late Jehan Brosse, architect while living, dwelling at Verneuil-sur-Oise, in her own name and as instructor and guardian of the children of the said deceased and of herself, has said and declared, that she intends to hold --- a house, chambers, granges, stables, gardens and a suitable place, located at Verneuil before the cross of Amont --- the city --- (and 5 pieces of land." Terrier (local survey) of Verneuil, declaration of Sept. 12, 1585".

It fortunately became possible by means of a document supplied to me by Baron Pichon in Paris, for me to be able to deduce a more certain conclusion on this point. This is a power of attorney subscribed by Jacques II Du Cerceau on May 23, 1597, in his own name and those of four women,⁶²² as joint heirs of a house, that his father Jacques I purchased in Montargis. Among these is first mentioned Julianne Androuet, widow of master Jehan Brosse in Verneuil. It is not understood that Julianne, who at latest was already married in Verneuil in 1561, and had settled there, if she were merely the sister of Jacques I, how she could be with her children joint

heiress of a house, that Jacques presumably only purchased somewhat later in Montargis. But if Julienne was a daughter of Jacques I, this inheritance appears entirely natural. Moreover those executing the power of attorney are designated as joint heirs of the estate left by the blessed master Jacques Androuet, "their father". This determines with certainty, that Julienne was the daughter of Jacques I and the sister of Jacques II. Therefore the statement of the royal accounts is literally correct, that the latter was the uncle of Salomon de Brosse.

Note 622. 1. Nobleman Jacques Androuet, architect of the king, Sieur Du Cerceau for himself and as possessor of the rights ceded by the good woman Julienne Androuet, widow of the deceased M. Jehan Brosse, while alive architect living at Verneuil.

2. Dame Marguerite de Reñidorf, widow of the deceased nobleman M. Baptiste Androuet Du Cerceau, also while alive architect of the king, in the name of and jointly with the mother and guardian of the minor children of the said deceased and of herself.

3. Constance Androuet, widow of the deceased M. Robert Mayoul, while alive provost of Mouy and dwelling in Rue S. Thomas du Louvre.

Giving authority to appear in their names before the provost of Montargis in the cause in which M. Georges of Amiens for --- in the bailiwick of Gien and Elisabeth Androuet, his wife, are sued and summoned at the request of Erme Bailly and his wife, as occupants in part of a house located in Rue des Juifs in the said city of Montargis, and belonging to the said constituents, the wife of the said d'Asnieres and the other coheirs to the estate of the late M. Jacques Androuet, their father, which the said Pierre and Etienne Strumetz and Bailly charge with being subject to 10 s. T. of rent and several years of arrears, demanded from them --- the said power of attorney --- to summon the heirs of the deceased G. de Fert me, having sold to the said deceased Androuet that house subject to the rents.

The meaning of these statements was first communicated by Guiffrey.⁶²³ We quote him here from the copy made for us by

the courtesy of one of the archivists, Vicomte Delaborde.⁶²⁴ Concerning the consequence and the important part played by de Brosse, these statements are of especial importance.

Note 623. In *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 1 et seq.

Note 624. *Archives Nationales*. Register formerly numbered O 10632, now O 1 # 2387. -- The register contains a series of salary lists of the officials of the palaces of the Louvre, Tuileries, Vincennes, Fontainebleau etc., from 1605-1656.

Salomon de Brosse occurs in the years 1618 and 1625 in the following form:--

Folio 15 r, year 1618. Officers who have salaries for serving in all the residences and buildings of his majesty.

To Salomon de Brosse, architect, both for his former salary and for increase by the death of the late Sieur Du Cerceau, his uncle, the sum of (2400) IIIMIIIM livres.

Folio 26 r, year 1625. The same statement verbatim with the following additions:-- ---- his uncle and without any discount in view of his merit and the actual and ordinary service rendered to his majesty, the sum of (2400) IIIMIIIM livres.

Guiffrey makes prominent the fact, that in 1625, when on account of the bad times the salaries of all royal masters were reduced about one-half, that of Salomon de Brosse was paid in full, "without any deduction whatever, in consideration of the actual and regular service performed for his majesty". Berty has already proved, that this reduction of the salaries of the other artists already occurred in 1624.⁶²⁵

Note 625. Berty, A. *Topographie Historique de Vieux Paris* etc. Continued by H. Legrand. Paris. 1866-1868. Vol. 2. p. 204, 218. Based on a register in the Sorbonne.

396. Du Cerceau as Architect of Chateau at Verneuil.

Since Salomon de Brosse was already married to Fleurance M Mestivier in 1582, and since further he was himself born there, then his father Jehan Brosse did not first settle there in 1568, as previously assumed, but in 1562 at latest, in case Salomon was already married at 20 years. The marriage of Jehan Brosse to Lulienne Du Cerceau cannot therefore have occurred later than 1561.

By this determination it becomes necessary to place several

years earlier and at latest in 1561, the beginning of the famous Chateau at Verneuil, whose erection can alone explain the lengthened stay of architects in such a village. Since it would be further entirely illogical to assume, that Du Cerceau, who already about 1560 had published numerous works, bore the title of an architect of the king, and also had commissions from the king and his mother, had worked merely as the assistant or representative of his son-in-law, who in the year 1568 was merely "master architect living at Verneuil", it is therefore fixed with certainty by these different circumstances, that Du Cerceau and not his son-in-law Jehan Brosse was the creator of the Chateau of Verneuil.

This final correction is not only of especial importance for the determination of the personality of the elder Du Cerceau and his role; it permits the further relations of the families of Du Cerceau and de Brosse to be better estimated, and the origin of certain elements of chateau architecture to be more accurately recognized.

397. Relations to Metivier and Du Ry.

Read assumes that Salomon's wife, Fleurance Mestivier, was the sister of the royal architect Antoine Mestivier, whose successor was Jean Androuet Du Cerceau on Sept. 30, 1617. (Art. 382).

On the buildings at Coulommiers and Monceaux, to be described later, we shall see employed for Salomon de Brosse another architect and countryman from Verneuil,⁶²⁶ namely Charles Du Ry, the father of a well known family of architects. Read believes that in him is seen a pupil and friend of Salomon. Might he have likewise been the son-in-law, who accompanied him to Rennes in 1618?

Note 626. According to some, Charles Du Ry was from Argentan. Read says that the name of Du Ry frequently occurs in the registers of Verneuil.

Close relations of Du Ry with de Brosse appear to be established by the following.

By means of the architect Henri Labrousse, Read came to see a volume of original drawings by de Brosse, in which were the following notes.

"This book belongs to Charles Du Ry, architect of the build-

buildings of the king, working for Madame the duchess de Longueville at her Chateau of Coulommiers-en-Brie, in the year 1613 in which the said Chateau was commenced".

An earlier not calls him ---- "Charles Du Ry dwelling at Verneuil-sur-Oise", and an erased note states "I belong to de Brosse, 1607", and then "I belong to Du Ry".

In the already mentioned article in the journal "France Protestante", Read gives a brief list of the drawings on the 49 sheets of this portfolio. Neither Read nor the family of the former possessor could inform me of its whereabouts.

The close relations between these Huguenot architects, for whom Verneuil-sur-Oise had become a second home, we shall see extended further in the third generation between Jean I Du Cerceau and Paul de Brosse, son of Salomon. This intimacy also results from the choice of god-parents, which another architect selected for his children.

398. Training and Studies.

Concerning the architectural training of Salomon, we have no information whatever. Yet since Read justly emphasizes, that both of his two great chateaus, the Palace Luxemburg and the Chateau at Coulommiers, recall in some degree the Chateau of Verneuil, this strengthens the natural conjecture, that Salomon received instruction from his father and his great uncle Du Cerceau.

Just as little do we know whether de Brosse was ever in Italy. By the exclusively Italian-antique tendency of his style in its application to French needs, one might assume a rather long sojourn in Italy. It might have occurred in the period from 1593-1612, when every vestige of the abode of de Brosse is lost. But the contrary is implied, that he was already married in 1582.

On the other hand at that time and in Salomon's circumstances, a sojourn in Italy was not entirely necessary, in order to explain the style, to which he was inclined. He had already been married for two years, when his great uncle Du Cerceau published his last work, and was thereby in position to enjoy his instruction for a long time. But the elder Du Cerceau knew more than most of us about that last manner of Bramante, from which he had seen and measured models and drawings.

As his drawings frequently show, he had partially indicated and contributed such a treasure of Italian architectural knowledge from the golden age, that Salomon could have derived from this source everything Italian in his style, in case it had never happened to him to travel in Italy.

399. Relations to the severe Italians.

Besides the ever greater attractive force of that country in that period, a sojourn in Italy would be most probable by reason of a certain relation of the severe style of this Huguenot to the already mentioned severe masters of the counter reformation in upper Italy. (Art. 278).

For a better understanding, we again give the names of these Italians with some of their works in brackets, in which the connection of style most plainly appears:-- Palladio, Domenico Cortoni (Gran Guardia at Verona, 1614), Pellegrino Tibaldi (court of Palace Arceviscovado at Milan, 1570-1598), Fabio Mangoni (Court of Collegio Elvetico at Milan, between 1610 and 1629), and Francesco Ricchini (Court of Palace di B Brera at Milan, only after 1651). This relationship of style is at least evidence, that in certain circles in both countries ran a common current of spiritual earnestness. Even in Ammanati is sometimes found, as with the preceding masters, this firm adherence to the severe style of the last manner of Bramante.

More remarkably is it sometimes affirmed, both in reference to Palace Luxemburg as well as the Chateau at Coulommiers,⁶²⁷ that the drawings for both came from Italy.⁶²⁸ This is certainly incorrect, if literally taken. But this kind of transference must either indicate, that de Brosse was in Italy, or for the palace first named, it refers to the Italian elements, which undeniably come from Florence, as we shall see.

Note 627. The Palace Luxemburg and the Chateau of Coulommiers have the same author and the same age, and are two brothers in spite of some differences in expression, but have the same build and the same look, derived from the same original type. See Daubergne, A. Notice sur le Chateau neuf et l'Eglise des Capucins des Coulommiers. Paris & Caen. 1853.p.9.

Note 628. Daubergne says in reference to the Chateau at Coulommiers by de Brosse; -----"that the artist whose glory

dominates the reign of Louis XIII, may have consented to join the suite of some pupil of Bernini, or of Bernini himself, is impossible! Evidently M. de Fleigny and M. Cordier have been led astray by some tradition".

400. Conjectures concerning an earlier Activity.

It is not least astonishing, that we know nothing whatever of the architectural works of such a famous architect until at least his fiftieth year. Read is of the opinion, that after 1593 he may have executed works in Chateau Monceaux-en-Brie for Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrees. This would rather be possible, than that the conduct of such works should be ascribed to his uncle Jacques II Du Cerceau, and that de Brosse worked there later for Marie de Medici. Likewise as Read thinks, since he built in 1623 the second Temple at Charenton, he might perhaps have already erected the first one, built in 1606. Finally it is not impossible, that Salomon built the Hotel of queen Margot in Paris, apparently begun in 1606, since in the years 1578 and 1579, the father of Salomon was already her architect and secretary. Since Marie de Medici already busied herself in 1611 with the preparations for the building of her Palace Luxemburg, it is probable rather, that she had already counselled with Salomon thereon. In any case, the erection of an important structure, like the Aqueduct of Arcueil, permits the conjecture of a not unimportant previous architectural activity.

The prominent employment that can be considered in the case of de Brosse, at least during the fourteen last years of his life, led him to a certain compliance and a specially marked position among the royal architects. He had a residence in Palace Luxemburg, which he had built; besides the small and still existing manor house and lands of Mont-la-Ville in Verneuil itself, he possessed in the vicinity the small fief of Plessis-Poumeraye, from which he derived the title of "Sieur de Plessis", that we found in the marriage contract of his daughter Martha, as previously stated in Art. 393.

401. Architectural Works.

The more important works of Salomon will be more fully described later. We here mention only those, for whose introduction no further opportunity is afforded, and only so much as

necessary is said of the former, as to show the style of the master and the position occupied by him.

The Aqueduct of Arcueil near Paris is famous as a structure recalling the works of the Romans, to supply water to the queen's gardens, Palace Luxemburg and the adjacent quarter.

On July 17, 1613, the corner stone of it was laid by the young king. On Oct. 27, 1612, the structure was let by contract to Jehan Coing for 460,000 livres; it was completed in 1624. It is about 1280 ft. long and 79 ft. high. With its 24 arches of about 26.3 ft. span and piers about half as wide, strengthened by buttresses, it makes a very monumental, though rather massive impression. Its semicircular arches, like those in Palace of Justice at Paris, appear broad and of wide span.⁶²⁹

Note 629. Illustrated in Planat, P. *Encyclopedie de l'Architecture*. Paris. 1888-1892. Vol. 1. p. 224.

The Chateau of Monceaux-en-Brie built by Primaticcio is not only ascribed to Jacques II Du Cerceau, but likewise to Salomon de Brosse. (Arts 167 and 375.⁶³⁰).

Note 630. De Brosse also built for the beautiful Gabrielle the Chateau of Monceaux near Meaux; this monument is one of those conferring most honor on that artist. (*Biographie Universelle*).

Charles Dy Ry, designated as a master mason at Paris, worked in 1615 with Sebastian Jacquot, contractor for the masonry of the Jeu de Palme, and Pierre Fourrault, master mason and stonecutter, dwelling at the said Monceaux, under the supervision of Salomon de Brosse on the Chateau of Monceaux. The contractors for covering the roofs and for the joinery are likewise named.

Since only fragments of this chateau are preserved, it is impossible to decide on the extent of the works carried on there by Henry IV (Art. 400) and later by Marie de Medici. Palustre is of the opinion, that the entrance pavilion (Fig. 116) may have originated them; but he was insufficiently instructed concerning this building. The reasons for this view are in nowise convincing. They might apply chiefly to the internal works and the completion of the buildings around the external court and the garden terraces.⁶³¹

Note 631. Register K. K. 193 of Archives Nationales contains accounts of the buildings of the queen mother and of the king from 1614 to 1620 and of fragments for Monceaux. Brosse there occurs as ordinary architect of the queen mother.

The famous Chateau of Blerencourt between Noyon and Laon was begun in 1612 or 1614, and as we shall see, is mentioned as a work of de Brosse. Not less important was the Chateau at Coulommiers (figs. 136, 272).

On March 7, 1613, was burned the famous great hall of Palace of Justice at Paris. De Brosse was entrusted with the rebuilding, which he completed in 1622.

De Brosse was called to Rennes in the year 1618 on account of the Palace of Parliament of Brittany. He traveled there with his son-in-law, whose name is unknown, arriving on Aug. 3 and remaining there until Aug. 22. His plans were accepted. The facade was only completed in 1654, but it was rebuilt by Gabriel after the great fire (1726). Ad. Ramee, who furnished these details to H. Read in 1865, was then substitute for the Procureur General in Rennes, and states that Gabriel made a still existing drawing of the facade by de Brosse.

The facade of Church S. Gervais (1616-1621) was properly the first non-gothic church facade, that was erected in Paris. This fact, together with its actual characteristics as an independent composition, may have contributed to its great and enduring fame.

Salomon's facade of the small Capuchin Church at Coulommiers (Fig. 165) is likewise interesting.

De Brosse erected in 1623 for the Huguenots the famous Temple at Charenton, which will be mentioned later.

According to an oral statement of Destailleur, a thick volume of original drawings by Salomon de Brosse, different from that previously mentioned, might be in Chateau Monjeu (Talleyrand 632) near Autun.

Note 632. Built for the President Janin.

Among the works of Michel Lasne is a large copperplate engraving in memory of Pope Gregory XV with the statement:-- "Designed by Salomon de Brosse, engraved by Micael Avinius". It represents the Pope as sitting on a throne beneath a triumphal arch.

Sauval ⁶³³ praises the rusticated entrance portal of Hotel de Soissons at Paris as one of de Brosse's masterpieces and adds:-- "No one in France has heretofore thought of decorating the paces by portals of such extraordinary and majestic size". Brice ⁶³⁴ ascribes to him a great rusticated portal behind the Church of Grands Augustins in Paris.

Note 633. In *Histoire et Recherches des Antiquites de la Ville de Paris*. Paris. 1724. Vol. 2. p. 216.

Note 634. Brice, G. *Description de Paris*. Paris. 1685. Edit. of 1752. Vol. 4. p. 100.

402. Position of Salomon in Architecture.

The works of Salomon de Brisse have in a certain way the character of an isolated phenomenon in French architecture. Others appear to have felt this without coming to a clear decision concerning their nature and to an understanding of the role of this architect.

From the enthusiasm of two centuries for the facade of S. Gervais, men have passed into another phase, in which it is believed that other researches must be made in architecture. It is the more interesting that nevertheless, as the following judgments show, the works of de Brosse attract attention to these masters.

"The great hall of pas-derdus in Palace of Justice at Paris," Henri Martin writes, "and especially the Aqueduct of Arcueil near Paris, restored after the Romans, show that in any other epoch de Brosse would have been a great architect".

Leon Vaudoyer, one of the most important and also most cultured French architects of this century, justly calls Salomon de Brosse an eminent architect, whose works still cast some glory on French architecture at the time, when it was menaced with an approaching decadence.⁶³⁵ Two years previously, the same Vaudoyer and Albert Lenoir had placed him beside the great French architects of the 16th century.⁶³⁶

Note 635. See "Patria", Col. 2171.

Note 636. As for us, the author of the Temple of Charenton, of the Aqueduct of Arcueil, of Palace Luxemburg, of the Palace of Justice, appears to have his place marked beside Philibert de L'Orme, Pierre Lescot, Jean Bullant, Du Perac and Du Cerceau.

See Lenoir & Vaudoyer. *Etudes d'Architecture en France*.
Magasin Pittoresque. 1845. p. 77.

Lemonnier asks why Salomon de Brosse, who was still rich in knowledge, full of talent, and even capable of grand conceptions, did not occupy a greater place in history? Does he end a style or commence one? Lemonnier is inclined to assume, that Salomon's talent was greater than the part played by him, and that the French school of the 17th century developed little from him.⁶³⁷

Note 637. See *L'Art Français au Temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin*. Paris. 1893. p. 234.

403. Character of the Works of de Brosse.

We will now briefly state the characteristic marks of Salomon's style. The fact that all his works, even those of such diverse character as the Huguenot Temple of Charenton and the facade of S. Gervais at Paris, exclusively show the most decided Antique-Italian tendency of the high Renaissance, is then especially striking. At least in architecture, it indicates an exaggerated sympathy for the antique tendency and the energetic adherence to a style principle.

Another peculiarity of de Brosse is the singular impression of grandeur and power, that he gave to his works, without trying for great dimensions. The peculiarity under our eyes is based on the solution of the scale of the order and on the proportions; it is rare, even in Italy. L. B. Alberti on the facade of S. Francesco at Rimini, and Raphael in the loggia of Villa Madama have impressed on their orders something unusual, like de Brosse on the arcades of the hall of Pas-perdus in P Palace of Justice, and the facade of S. Gervais. Even in Rome, the latter would be unique in their way. This grandeur is felt on the Aqueduct of Arcueil, and even on Palace Luxembourg, the unified subdivision and treatment of the masses producing this impression in a manner, in spite of the not very high stories.

This touch of the grand in his works is an extremely rare phenomenon in French architecture since the early Gothic. Likewise before de Brosse, a vestige of it is found in the facade of the Tomb Chapel at Anet (Fig. 159), in an unsatisfactory form in the western half of the great gallery of the

Louvre, and in its introduction at Charleval. (Figs. 119, 132).
 638 After de Brosse, this feature also remains so rare, that it attracts attention as somewhat peculiar. On all the works of the great king, it is only found on the Colonnade of the Louvre in 1665, then in 1732 on the facade of S. Sulpice, and something of it on the two palaces on Place de la Concorde at Paris. (1762-1770).

Note 638. Whether this touch likewise existed in Primaticcio's Chateau of Monceaux-en-Brie (Fig. 116), with its great order, cannot be with certainty decided by means of the representations.

The almost crude forms, strongly contrasting with the usual character of French architecture, that de Brosse gave to his works, is likewise remarkable, especially on the facade of S. Gervais. His other works possess, though in a lower degree, something of the character of the "rude cavalier" of the time of Henry IV, who was still accustomed to the rough life of the camp and had grown up in a fight for an important matter.

There is finally a striking character of severity, earnest and rather cold, in all of Salomon's works, that first occurs with him in French architecture. At Palace Luxemburg in Paris, one feels "a stern Majesty", such as the court of Palace Pitti does not exhibit, and which does not permit inspiration to predominate.

404. Relations with Corneille and Poussin.

The first conclusion presenting itself is, that our master is not quite so isolated, as at first appears to be the case. The more closely Salomon de Brosse is studied, the more his relations with Poussin and Corneille come into the foreground, at least on certain sides. If "austere simplicity and lucid arrangement", as Henri Martin says, be really the chief characteristics of Cinna and of Polyeucte, then is de Brosse an intellectual relative of Corneille. The cold, correct, not unpleasant beauty of certain figures of Poussin, like the figure of Truth, which is exalted in the paintings of the Louvre of the period, and further the moral and thoughtful earnestness, the wise, intelligent and rightly calculated composition, with sometimes a certain grandeur of conception, all

these peculiarities found in the works of Poussin, are likewise characteristics of the architectural creations of Salomon de Brosse. The cold and dignified earnestness of Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), to which Flemish nature and Jansenism contributed, is similar to that of the Huguenot de Brosse.

405. Sources of his Character and Style.

The common cause of these phenomena must be sought in the same sources. Our comparison is not a fanciful one, as might appear from the words of Henri Martin.⁶³⁹ He has merely forgotten to mention de Brosse among his kind.

Note 639. "In the first half of the 17th century, the stronger, if not the more brilliant of the two", Henri Martin writes, "the same spirit seized upon the intellectual domain and that of earthly existence; politics, philosophy, poetry, and the fine arts pursue the same ideal of reason and earnest greatness; Richelieu, Descartes, Corneille and Poussin are brothers". *Histoire de France*. Vol. 12. p. 2.

The great earnestness of noble spirits in that period, both among the Catholics as well as the Protestants, must be considered as a fruit of the wars of religion, but the coldness, as a result of the predominating tendency of reason.

The touch of grandeur with de Brosse, as well as the belief in lofty and heroic ideals with Corneille, are on the one hand the fruits of the highest good, for which they strove with such courage and constancy, on the other hand as a result of the greatness of the personality of Henry IV and of his government (Art. 215). Henry the Great, who raised France from an abyss to new prosperity, and his entire government was far better adapted to call forth artistic interpretation, grand impressions, and assured individualities, like de Brosse, Poussin and Corneille, than the times of Richelieu and of Louis XIV. The fact that these first appeared under his successor is connected with the early death of Henry IV, and changes nothing in the origin of these characters. They sprung from the age of Henry IV, and they form its characteristics. Salomon de Brosse is the real architect of Henry IV, and his style is the symbol of the great and earnest phases of his government.⁶⁴⁰

Note 640. This connection between de Brosse and these str-

strongest and greatest phenomena of French art and literature must aid in making better known than heretofore the peculiar and deepest sources, from which these originated, or at least the impelling forces, which strongly influenced them.

From the same sources likewise springs a decided impulse of manly vigor, which differentiates the age of Henry IV and the first half of the 17th century from the age of Louis XIV and the phases preceding this. There were required the ever increasing conquest of the Jesuits in School, dwelling, and near the throne, to make possible an era of Louis XIV with its weakening and disappearance of independent characters.

How shall be explained here the precedence of architecture with Salomon de Brosse before Corneille and Poussin? It does not always precede the development of literature.

In the time of Henry IV, architecture was under other conditions than literature. It was an art, which in Rome under Pope Julius II and then in France in the last years of Francis I had reached a climax and maturity, that it has never since attained. Yet both periods had by far never exhausted this treasure; for evil times had destroyed in the bud the most splendid results. This aroused in many, especially in minds of severe tendency, the hope of calling this splendor again into life by adhering to the principles of that period. For the architecture of that period, the climax in France lay in the past; for literature and painting, it lay in the future. To this fact is it to be ascribed, that Salomon de Brosse, before Corneille and Poussin, was able to express in architecture something of that impulse of grandeur and of earnestness, which was peculiar to the strong minds of the age of Henry IV.

406. Position of Salomon de Brosse.

In the period from 1614-1626, Salomon de Brosse was regarded as manifestly the best living architect of France. He was the bearer and guardian of the treasure of the attainments of the high Renaissance. He received this from the hands of his uncle Baptiste Du Cerceau and his father, and he transmitted it to Francois Mansart and Lemercier.

407. De Brosse as Creator of the Grand Style.

De Brosse may likewise be regarded as the last great architect of the 16th century, as well as the first architect of

the age of Louis XIV and of the Grand style. Still more than Jean Bullant and perhaps for the first time since the Romans, de Brosse has introduced the "antique scale of the monumental" again in architecture north of the Alps.⁶⁴¹ Like perhaps no second Frenchman, de Brosse has also comprehended the virile character of antique Roman architecture.

Note 41. Read very truly says:-- "The work of Salomon de Brosse is distinguished by a beautiful unity; it is grand." It is the transition between Du Cerceau and Mansart. He introduced the style of Louis XIII; he foretold the grand style of Louis XIV". -- Read has not exaggerated in all this. We even go further than he in this recognition.

Before Richelieu, Poussin and Corneille, 20 years earlier than the "Cid" of the latter, the architect of Henry IV and of Marie de Medici originated the art tendency of the great century. Salomon de Brosse is therefore the first in the series of important Frenchmen, who follow the combination of the two great sources of the age of Henry IV. One may say that the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse inaugurated the grand style in France, just as the Huguenot Sully commenced the series of the four great ministers of the 17th century. Both together created the so-called Huguenot style, that was much employed in Holland, Prussia, north Germany, and in part in England; Sully with his Dutch brick architecture, de Brosse with the impulse toward the coldly reasonable and earnest. Whether Salomon de Brosse influenced his famous contemporary Salomon de Gausse (Art. 414), likewise a Huguenot, I am unable to state.

From what has been said may already be seen, how the replies to some of Lemonnier's questions have led to important, interesting, and in part unexpected results. But we are not at the end of de Brosse's influence on French architecture.

403. The Royal Scale.

If the touch of grandeur in the monuments mentioned and by some of his successors be merely the result of a grander conception of architecture by these different masters, and be a peculiarity entirely independent with each of them, yet there exists an intellectual relationship between de Brosse, Perrault, Servandoni, and J. Ange Gabriel. One may say of the works of these masters, that these are the only ones in the ar-

architecture of the last four centuries, which exhibit in France a truly "royal scale" and character,⁶⁴² not only by their magnitude, but by the merit of their composition. This poverty in comparison with Italy is the more striking, because kings have nowhere else done so much for architecture, as in France. It is interesting to see that herein also de Brosse, the architect of Henry IV, took the lead of others, or built further on the foundation laid in Charleval by his great uncle Du Cerceau. The works of Perrault and of Gabriel exhibit a much finer treatment of the details, than those of de Brosse, caused by the entire development of that age. On the other hand, French architecture after about 1660 entirely lacks anything of that touch of strong virility, that is peculiar to all his works. By this tendency is justified the feeling of Lemonnier, that the French school has developed but little from him.

*ote 642. The impression of the court of the Louvre by Pierre Lescot is rather artistic and distinguished, than royal and majestic in the exact meaning of the words.

409. Influence of de Brosse.

Besides a great style relationship with de Brosse, very striking on the other hand is the touch of virile splendor in the compositions of Daniel Marot, whose emigration at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is termed by Destailleur a great loss for architecture in general. But he was also a Huguenot, and he aided in infusing new life into the Huguenot style in Holland and perhaps also in England. (Art. 407).

We must be satisfied with determining the facts here. They are connected with the religious and political phenomena mentioned in Art. 229.

Some vestiges of the influence of Salomon de Brosse must after all be found with Francois Mansart and with Lemercier; and especially in the bold treatment of columns in some of their earlier works. With Mansart, these are the court facade of the building of Gaston d'Orleans at Blois (1635), and the facade of his former Church des Feuillants at Paris, as shown by a comparison of Fig. 167 with the front of S. Gervais in Fig. 166. With Lemercier, comparison is invited by the bold columns of the three-aisled passage in his pavilion de l'Horloge of the Louvre (1624); this was not connected with

the forms of P. Lescot, as on the facade. Finally, the influence of the facade of S. Gervais must have been very strong in France, as we shall see in connection with church architecture. Even in the Cathedral of Nancy, the central portion is to be entirely referred to the latter. This facade was the first one north of the Alps, that originated in any degree in the spirit of the Italian high Renaissance. Even the Jesuits imitated it in their way in S. Paul at Paris. To its purely monumental severity must it be partly due, that later the Val-de-Grace and the Dome des Invalids were not also erected in the Jesuit style.

It is evident from the preceding, that the influence of de Brosse was very considerable, at least by some of his peculiarities, just as in France and in Protestant Europe. His famous Huguenot Temple of Charenton influenced similar buildings in Geneva, Berlin and in other places.

2. Masters of the Age of Louis XIII.

A. Less important Masters.

410. The Masters.

For masters working during two different periods of time, it is frequently difficult to decide in which phase they are to be placed, especially when one possesses insufficient information concerning the character of their works. Several of the following masters had already begun their work in the age of Henry IV.

For a better understanding of the position, that some of the well known architects of this time occupied, we give the following extract from a salary list of the royal masters from the year 1624.⁶⁴³

Note 643. Archives de l'Art Francais. Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 337.

Salomon de Brosse	2400 livres.
Clement Metezeau	2400 ,,
Sieur Bourdoni, sculptor in place of Pierre Frangueville	2400 ,,
Sieur Francyne, engineer and superintendend of the water supply and fountains of his majesty	1800 ,,
Sieur de St. Mauris ⁶⁴⁴	1800 ,,
Jacques Le Mercier	1200 ,,

Quintin Varin, painter	1200 livres
Claude Mollet, gardener, for designing in all the gardens of his majesty	1100 ,,
Paul de Brosse	800 ,,
Jean Androuet, called Du Cerceau	800 ,,

Note 644. "Retained by his majesty to serve for designing paintings and devices, that he wishes to make in his residences and galleries".

411. Jean Androuet Du Cerceau.

a. Jean Androuet I Du Cerceau is the fourth and last master of that famous family of architects, which rose to an important position. He was born before 1590, was still under age in 1602, and still lived in 1649. We see him designated in 1617 as son of Baptiste Du Cerceau (Art. 206), and on account of his father's services to the deceased queen, and for his own knowledge, he likewise became one of the architects of the king. We leave the more important facts to follow, that we possess concerning this master.

First on Sept. 30, 1617, was Jean Du Cerceau appointed by the king in consequence of the death of Antoine Metivier, of whose salary of 800 livres, 500 were assigned to him,⁶⁴⁵ the other 300 being received by the sculptor Thomas Boudin. His salary amounted to 800 livres in the year 1625, but was in that year reduced to one-half, as for most artists. He already had this salary in 1624.⁶⁴⁶

Note 645. Androuet (Jehan), called Du Cerceau, architect, in the place and position of the late Antoine Metivier, at the sum of 800 livres salary ordered by his majesty to the said Metivier, the sum of 800 livres by potent of the last day of September, 1617, the said sum of 800 livres. (Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français. 1872. p. 15. -- According to the appointment of Boudin (p. 13), the potent was of Sept. 30, 1618).

Note 646. See Archives de l'Art Français. Series 2. Vol. 2. (1862-1866). p. 340.

In 1632, he owned stone quarries in partnership with his cousin Paul Brosse, son of Salomon. Both bore the title of "ordinary architect of the king", and they worked together on the new fortifications of Paris. In 1639, Jean Du Cerceau u

undertook in partnership with Denis Laud and Mathurin Du Ry the rebuilding of the Pont-au-Change at Paris.

1647, Aug. 6, still in a lawsuit he bore the title of "ordinary architect of the king".⁶⁴⁷

Note 647. Illustrated in Geymüller, H. Les Du Cerceau etc. Paris. 1887. Figs. 118, 119.

Jean Du Cerceau built the important Hotels de Bretonvilliers⁶⁴⁸ and de Sully. The latter, in Rue S. Antoine, is still preserved. (Figs. 54, 304).

Note 648. Courteous communication of H. Lemonnier.

Another Jean Du Cerceau, architect from Verneuil-sur-Oise, thus related to Jean I, died in 1644 at the age of 21 years.

412. Paul de Brosse.

b. little is yet known concerning Paul de Brosse, son of Salomon de Brosse, who was likewise one of the royal architects and worked much with his cousin Jean I Du Cerceau. I am indebted to Ch. Read for the following statements.

1617, he was already married to Anne Bourree (or Bourse, B Buree or de Bourree).

1618, May 26, occurred the baptism of his daughter Anne.

1619, he was already architect of the king.

1620, one of his nephews was baptized.

1624, he was mentioned on the list of royal masters with a salary of 300 livres.

1634, he was still "ordinary architect of the king", living at Verneuil-sur-Oise.

1636. A de Brosse, probably Paul, with Lemer cier as colleague, was architect of the Cathedral of Troyes.

1636, as M. Paul de Brosse, architect and engineer of the king, he baptized a natural son.

1644, March 9, his two daughters Anne and Florence married two brothers, Caesar and Anthoine de Montdesir in the Catholic church at Verneuil.

413. Charles Du Ry.

c. Charles Du Ry (born before 1576) was already mentioned in Art. 397. Apparently from Argentan in Normandy, but like de Brosse formerly settled in Verneuil-sur-Oise he appears to have played the part of an architect representing Salomon, or of a contractor in friendship with him. The appella-

appellation of "celebrated architect of Argentan" is still scarcely intelligible; for in a list of the year 1636, he is mentioned with a salary of only 400 livres, although he could then have been not less than 60 years old.

Already in 1613, he commenced with his son Matthieu to superintend the erection of Chateau Coulommiers and of the Church of Capuchins there.⁶⁴⁹ In 1615, he is also found busied at Chateau Monceaux for the queen mother, likewise under de Brosse.

Note 649. In the settlement of accounts on Nov. 14, 1622, between Catherine de Gonzaga and her intendant Sieur de Beauvillain, he is designated as M. Charles du Ry, mason of the chateau, and at another time merely as masson (mason).

Charles is the ancestor of the family Du Ry of architects. We mention their names according to the series.⁶⁵¹ Charles, Matthieu, Paul, Charles II, Simon-Louis and Jean-Charles-Etienne. After Paul, who as a Huguenot left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, these masters were always employed in Cassel, where all of them attained high positions, and the last died in 1911.

Note 650. To Charles Du Ry, master mason at Paris, the sum of 201 lt 12 st ordered to him for the true account rendered for the masonry work, which he has made for the repairs to the Chateau of Monceaux, which sum has been paid in cash by the said Sieur de Brosse, architect of the said lady queen.

Note 651. According to Lanee. Vol. 1. p. 243.-- France follows Dussieu's statements.

414. Salomon de Caus.

a. Salomon de Caus or Caux was born about 1576 in Dieppe or the vicinity. He was almost entirely employed in foreign countries, in Heidelberg and elsewhere. He returned to France in 1619 for a time. Besides the preparation of designs and advice for a never constructed bridge in Rouen, nothing is known of his work in his native country.

Charles Read published his burial certificate of Feb., 1626⁶⁵². He is believed to have died only in 1641.

Note 652. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francais. Vol. 11. p. 305.

B. Chief Masters.

415. Clement II Metezau (earlier Mettezeau).

Born at Dreux on Feb. 6, 1581, buried on Nov. 29, 1652, and is the last famous architect of this family. (Arts. 379, 380). Clement was likewise a son of Thibaut, and he was architect of Louis XIII and of Louis XIV. He is especially famous on account of the dyke, by which he cut off Rochelle from the sea and from English aid, causing it to fall in 1628.

1615, Sept. 25, Clement was appointed by the king with a salary of 800 livres annually.

1624, Louis XIII maintained Claude Rouhier with Mottezau, so that Rouhier might be instructed in architecture.

1625, his salary amounted to 2400 livres. This was not, like those of most other masters (Art. 305), reduced one-half, "in consequence of the service to which he will anew be subject, to watch over the continuation of the new building of the Louvre and to have an eye thereon",⁶⁵³.

Note 653. Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francaise. 1 2. p. 40.

1626, he bore the title of "ordinary architect of the king".

1627, Nov. 27, he drew the plan for the dike of Rochelle, and traveled there again.

1636, his salary was raised to 300 livres "in consideration of his deserts and of the ordinary services at present rendered to the king".

In the following are mentioned the names of the principal works ascribed to Clement.

Chateau de la Meilleraie in Poitou.

Chateau Chilly on the road to Orleans, built for Marshal d'Essiat; both credited to him by d'Argenville.⁶⁵⁴

Note 654. See D-Argenville, D. Abrege de la Vie des plus fameux peintres. Paris. 1740.

Early writers ascribe to him:--

Hotel de Longueville at Paris (Fig. 57), originally de Luy-nes, later d'Epemon, begun before 1621.

Church de l'Oratoire at Paris, indeed the design (corner stone in 1621) and the building of the nave. The choir was built in 1630 after his design by Lemercier. The facade originated at a later time.

Cloister of the Assumption at Dreux in 1632.

Southern transept of Church at Dreux.

Metezau was one of the masters, that had his residence in

the gallery of the Louvre. He died there as ordinary architect and engineer of the king and was buried on Nov. 29, 1652.

In a more remarkable manner was Clement II Metezau likewise brought into connection with two of the chief works of Salomon de Brosse: the facade of S. Gervais in Paris, which must be his work according to T. Donnant,⁶⁵⁵ while Gauthierinot⁶⁵⁶ regards it as a work of both masters. The same Donnant says that Palace Luxemburg at Paris is the work of Metezeau. These statements of fellow countrymen of Metezeau, moved by local patriotism, cannot essentially change the authorship of de Brosse.⁶⁵⁷

Note 655. According to Berty, author of a reliable manuscript (M.F.283) of the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal at Paris.

Note 656. See his *Traite sur l'Architecture*. Paris. 1888.

Note 657. A. de Montaignon thinks, that Metezeau might have been the contractor for the building of the facade of S. Gervais. Berty, who maintains this view, believes that since this concerned a Catholic church, a Catholic master may have been joined with the Protestant de Brosse. Finally, Read refers to the possibility of a painter's error in Sauval, who mentions one Monart as the master executing the facade, when Metezau might perhaps be meant. (See our statement concerning Fr. Mansard (Art. 41c), as well as Berty, A. *Les grandes Architectes Francois*. Paris. 1860. p. 129.).

416. Jacques Lemercier.

b. Jacques Lemercier or Le Mercier (born at Pontoise about 1535, died in 1654) was with Fr. Mansart the busiest architect of the time of Richelieu. Far more than royal architect was he the actual personal architect of the mighty cardinal, for whom he was required to develop a great practice in architecture. We give for him the following notes and dates.

1618, Lemercier was already one of the royal architects with a salary of 1200 livres.

1620, with Salomon de Caus, he was sent to Rouen to study the erection of a bridge.

1624, he still had a salary of 1200 livres, while de Brosse and Clement Metezau each received 2400 livres.

After 1624 entrusted with the continuation of the court of the Louvre, he built the northern half of the western side w

with the famous pavilion de l'Horloge and the western part of the northern side.

1627, he began in Poitou the truly royal Chateau Richelieu and the City of the same name for the cardinal minister.

1627, he (or according to others, Clement Metezau) built C Chateau Silly or Chilly for marshal Ruze d'Essiat, father of the unfortunate Cinq Mars.

1629, he began in Paris for Richelieu Palace Cardinal, later Palace Royal, and he superintended its successive extensions. There remains of his buildings only the so-called Gallery des Princes.

He commenced at the same time for Richelieu the erection of the Church and the buildings of the Sorbonne at Paris. (Figs. 202, 257).

1632 (?), Lemercier began for Louis XIII the old Chateau at Versailles (Figs. 58, 273), of which the court of Marble still remains.

1633, Richelieu purchased the estate at Rueil near Paris, and he had considerable additions to the chateau built by Lemercier. ⁶⁵⁸

Note 658. See Bonoffe, E. *Recherches sur les Collections de Richelieu*. Paris. 1883. p. 92.

1636, he built with Paul (?) de Brosse the two turrets of the north tower of the Cathedral of Troyes.

1636, Palace Cardinal at Paris was completed. ⁶⁵⁹

Note 659. See the same, p. 6.

1636, in consideration of "his deserts and his present service", his salary amounted to 3000 livres. ⁶⁶⁰

Note 660. Jacques had a younger brother Francis, who represented him during his journeys and received a salary of 900 livres. (*Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 33, 34).

1639, Lemercier was first architect of the king.

1645, he stood at the head of the royal masters with a salary of 3000 livres.

1646, in consequence of the refusal of Fr. Mansart to simplify his design for the Church of Val-de-Grace, he was entrusted with its continuation and he apparently executed it up to the internal main cornice.

1652, as successor of Cl. Metezau, he built the choir of the

Church of the Oratory at Paris.

1653, he began the erection of Church S. Roch at Paris and executed the choir and a part of the nave.

As further works of Lemonnier, Lance mentions the Churches at Rueil and at Bagnolet near Paris, also Hotels de Liancourt, de Rochefoucauld and de Longueville. The latter was previously mentioned as a work of Clement Metezau. (Fig. 57).

Lemercier sojourned for several years in Italy, (apparently 1607-1613). According to a verbal statement of Destailleur, he engraved a model of Church of S. Peter in Rome.

His style appears to have always been severe with a classic tendency. Many regard his pavilion de l'Horloge in the Louvre as the best work of French architecture. In continuing the architecture of Lescot, it was difficult to create better, but easy to produce poorer architecture. On the internal columns of the passage beneath the pavilion, Lemercier employed a much bolder treatment, more in the style of de Brosse on the facade of S. Gervais.

Sauval⁶⁶¹ represents Lemercier as somewhat slow, but skillful, discreet, kind to the workmen, and as the best architect of his century. If he was not the Vitruvius, he was the Palladio of the century. In spite of the vast works entrusted to him, he did not enrich himself, and after his death, it was necessary to sell his splendid library for 10,000 crowns to pay his debts. On his advice, Derand's Jesuit Church of S. Louis (House of the Professed) was not orientated, for the reason of its better execution:-- "to the judgment of the said Lemercier were agreed all the Jesuits of the world", adds Sauval.

Note 661. See Sauval. *Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la Ville de Paris*. Paris. 1724. Vol. 1. p. 330, 464.

His two sons Jacques and Francis Le Mercier, "children of the deceased Sieur Jacques Le Mercier, while living an excellent architect of his majesty, each received annually 300 livres to enable them to pursue their architectural studies."⁶⁶²

Note 662. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 33.

417. Pierre Le Muet.

c. Pierre Le Muet of Lemuet (born Oct. 7, 1591 at Di-

Dijon, died in 1669) with Mansart and Lemercier is indeed the most important master of this period. He was likewise influenced by Salomon de Brosse, as the plan of the pavilions of Chateau Chauvigny shows, in comparison with those of Coulonniers (Figs. 136, 272). This is explained by the following fact.

Already in 1616, he bore the title of an architect of the king, and he received 300 livres for a relief model of Palace Luxemburg, begun after 1615 by de Brosse. In 1618, he was appointed to prepare models of the buildings for the intendants of the royal buildings.

After Fr. Mansart's retirement and Lemercier's death, by royal patent of March 5, 1655 (not 1645, as in Lance ⁶⁶³), he was entrusted with the building of Church Val-de-Grace, which he completed. He received annually a salary of 3000 livres for this.

Note 663. In Dictionnaire des Architectes etc. Paris. Vol. 2. p. 52, n. 2.

By him were erected in Paris the Hotels d'Avaux, de Luynes, de l'Aigle, and of the President Tubeuf, later of Mazarin. (Fig. 149).

After an important practice, he finished Chateau Tanlay, built its court gateway (Fig. 139), and erected Chateaus Chauvigny in Tousaine and de Pont in Champagne, which are peculiar in the forms of their pavilions, among other things.

Le Muet published a treatise on the orders of columns.⁶⁶⁴ More interesting is his "Maniere de bien Bastir",⁶⁶⁵ since he gives a series of designs of private houses, beginning with the smallest conceivable up to ever increasing ground areas. A third work relates to his executed buildings.⁶⁶⁶

Note 664. Traicte des Cinq Ordres d'Architecture dont se sont servis les Anciens, traduit du Palladio, augmente de nouvelles inventions pour l'art de bien bastir, par le Sieur Le Muet. Paris. 1623.

Note 665. "Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de Personnes", par Pierre Le Muet, architecte ordinaire du roy et conducteur des Desseins des Fortifications en la province de Picardie. Paris. 1647.

Note 666. Augmentations de Nouveaux Bastimens faicts en F

France, par les Ordres et Desseins du Sieur Le Muet. Paris. 1647.

418. Francois Mansart.

d. Francois Mansart or Mansard (born Jan. 23, 1598, at Paris, died there on Sept. 23, 1666) is by the individuality of his works, as well as that of his personality, one of the most important, who have appeared among French architects. With de Brosse, he must have been the best architect in the 17th century. In spite of the fame of his contemporary Lemercier and of his grand nephew J. Hardouin Mansart, he appears to me as one of the freer, more harmonious, more sublime, and at the same time with bolder talents, than any other masters of his century, and of the three others of his name. M Mansart appears to have been permeated by what is due from the true architect to architecture, that like Felix Duban 200 years later, he preferred to renounce the fame of completing the Louvre in order to not act contrary to his architectural convictions. Saint Simon calls him "the great Mansart, who has left such a good reputation among architects". D'Aviler designates "Messieurs de Brosse and Mansart as two of the greatest architects of this century". ⁶⁶⁷

Note 667. D'Aviler, C. A. Cours d'Architecture etc. Paris. 1691. Edition of 1750. p. 36.

Francois was the son of Absalon Mansart, master carpenter of the king, and by the building of the important chateaus, hotels and churches, he most strongly influenced the development of architecture between 1630 and 1666.

Germain Gautier, brother-in-law of his father and one of the architects of Louis XIII, must have been his instructor. Yet Salomon de Brosse either directly or by his works exercised an important influence upon him, as appears from a comparison of his building at Chateau at Blois with those at Coulommiers and the church facades represented in Figs. 166 and 167. The similarity of the latter is so great, that one might take him to be the pupil or superintendent under Salomon; for Sauval mentions as such on the Church of S. Gervais one Monart, of whom nothing further is known.⁶⁶⁸ This might be a typographical error, as these are frequent in Sauval. Mansart was 19 years old at the laying of the cornerstone.

Note 668. Lance (in his Dictionnaire des Architectes Fran-

François) does not mention him. Charles Normand (in *Nouvel Itinéraire-Guide Artistique et Archéologique de Paris*. Paris. 1889-1892. p. 302) calls him Claude Mansart.

From the practice of Mansart, we emphasize the following important points.

1632-1634, he built in Paris the Church of Visitation des Filles de S. Marie (Fig. 62).

1634, he undertook the extension of Hotel Garnavalet at Paris.

In the years 1635-1638 fall the beginning and the erection of Hotel de la Vrilliere at Paris.

1635, he began at the Chateau of Blois the Building of Gaston d'Orleans.

1642 (not 1657), building the Chateau of Maisons near S. Germain-en-Laye.

1645, commencement of the Monastery and Church of Val-de-Grace at Paris.

For a better review of the activity of Mansart, we here mention (according to Lance) the most important of his buildings, that will be more fully described later.

Churches in Paris:-- The facades of the Feuillants (Fig. 1 167), those of the Convent of the Dames de S. Marie (Chaillot) and of the Minimes near Place Royale (Fig. 259); the high altars of the Filles-Dieu, of the Hospital of the Trinite and of the Monastery of S. Martin des Champs. Hotels:-- De Mazarin (1633-1649), the galleries de Conti, de Bouillon and de Albr-et, de Jars or Senozan; d'Aumont (Rue Jouy), de Coislin de Fieubert, de Chateauneuf (after 1765, de Laval), the gateway of Hotel Guenegard; apparently the Hotel-de-Ville of Troyes. Chateaus:-- at Fresnes (between Claye and Maux), at Berny, at Balleroy (Calvados, 1626-1636), at La Ferte-Reuilly (1659); portions of Chateaus at Choisy-sur-Seine, at La Ferte S. Aubin, at Petit-Bourg (between Paris and Corbeil), at Coulommiers, Richelieu and Govre in Brie.

Concerning the salary of Mansart, we have the following data:⁶⁶⁹-- In 1636, François Mansart, "architect", received annually 1200 livres; in 1645, he received for 3/4 year 2250 l livres salary; in 1656, he had 3000 livres, but reduced to one-half; in 1606, the sculptor Jenan Mansart received yearly 500 livres, and in 1613 his son Pierre (sculptor) also had 500 livres.

Note 669. *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*. 1872. p. 39.

The following cause appears to prove that our master possessed great independence of character and was very strongly impressed by what was due to the honor of his art. In all works undertaken by him, Francois Mansart always reserved the right of being able to make all the changes, that appeared proper to him. To this custom alone is it ascribed, that the building of the main facade of the *Houvre* (the later colonnade) was not entrusted to him, and that Bernini was first called to Paris. Colbert had requested him to himself choose one from several designs by him, which were very beautiful, to which he would finally adhere. Mansart refused with the remark, that for the honor of his majesty, he preferred freedom to be able always to create something better.⁶⁷⁰ To this tendency toward continual improvement is it attributed, that he frequently had considerable portions of his buildings torn down in order to replace them better. At the Chateau at Maisons, he had the entire ground story torn down.

Note 670. *Archives de l'Art Francais*. Series 2. Vol. 2. (1862-1866). p. 248.

In consequence of the inflexibility of his will, the completion of his finest work was placed in other hands. That of *Val-de-Grace* is the work of Fr. Mansart up to the main internal cornice.(Probably merely the ground story). After he had in vain been requested to prepare a less costly design for the continuation of the building, the completion was transferred to Le Mercier.⁶⁷¹

Note 671. In the Chateau of Fresnes near Meaux, Fr. Mansart built the chapel after his model of *Val-de-Grace*. (*Archives de l'Art Francais*. Series 2. Vol. 2. (1862-1866). p. 255).

The peculiarity of his character is illumined by another, and as it appears, less praiseworthy arrangement planned by Mansart. As an additional source of wealth, he conceived the organization of a privilege, whereby all the copper engravers in France should be regulated, and should publish nothing without his judgment and sanction. The Academy opportunely succeeded in making the permission retroactive. The following idea was most singular and appears to indicate an unbecomable vanity. Jules Hardouin Mansart was ennobled in

1683 by Louis XIV. His grand uncle Francois Mansart nevertheless had a genealogy made for himself, according to which his family had produced architects during 800 years, giving their Christian names, years of birth and death, children, marriage and works under Hugues Capet and Louis the Fat ! "Nothing is lacking, this is boasting rising to neroism", says A. de Montaignon. ⁶⁷².

Note 672. Archives de l'Art Francois. Series 2. (1862-1866). p. 244.

With such a character, Mansart must have aroused much opposition, both from his employers as well as from his colleagues, and a famous satire "La Mansarade" on him was written and published.⁶⁷³ We are unable to decide whether this represents purely the invention of malevolent envy or that the complaints were justified.

Note 673. La Mansarade, satire against Francois Mansart, is printed in Archives de l'Art Francois. Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 242-260.-- This satire appeared in Paris on May 1. 1651.

His faults therein became prominent in comparison with the peculiarities of Bramante and other Italians. Mention is also made of the fall of the vestibule in Chateau of Maisons, and of a similar danger at the Gallery Mazarin. Then comes the derision of his household:-- "his servants, his horses and his carriage, which more closely adhere to the antique than his buildings,--- these are derived from those corruptions, like the houses that he possesses". The training of his horses is finally mentioned; to have his horses trained to keep step, as he did at Blois".

c. Architects of the Jesuit Order.

419. Etienne Martellange.

a. Etienne Martellange (1569-1641). We here stand before the works of an architect and painter, very different from those of the masters heretofore considered. Charvet has devoted to him one of those interesting and conscientious monographs, such as he has written on various masters, to which we refer for further information.⁶⁷⁴ It succeeds better than any other in giving an idea of the immense activity, that the Jesuit order began to develop in France, and of the influence it was capable of exerting on French architecture by its buildings and its colleges.

Note 674. Charvet, L. Biographies d'Architecture Etienne Martellange. Lyons. 1875.

By the discovery of a series of original drawings by Martellange, Henri Bouchot has been able to verify many of Charvet's conjectures and to considerably extend this view of Martellange's activities.⁶⁷⁵

Note 675. Bouchot, H. Notice sur la Vie et les Travaux d'Etienne Martellange, Architecte des Jesuites, suivie du Catalogue de ses Desseins etc. Extrait de la Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes. Vol. 47. Paris. 1886.

Etienne Martellange was born at Lyons. His father was likewise named Etienne and was a painter there. Like his two brothers, this son was a Jesuit and entered the order at Avignon in 1590. Bouchot conjectures, that he then went to Italy and sojourned there until the return of the Jesuits (1603 or till 1604). Charvet already spoke of two volumes of original drawings by Martellange, which the duke of Chaulnes had loaned to count Caylus in the 18 th century, and which have now disappeared. Henri Bouchot showed them to me in the Paris Cabinet of Copperplate Engravings, where he had found them again under the erroneous name of Stella.⁶⁷⁶ He further showed me five other volumes of original drawings, that he had likewise discovered in the same Cabinet in Paris.⁶⁷⁷ they contain plans of Jesuit colleges throughout the entire world or designs for such, which were sent to the general in Rome for his approval. Many of the drawings are by Martellange and contain his Latin, French or Italian notes.

Note 676. The same. The numbers of the two volumes are U b 9 and U b 9a.

Note 677. The 5 volumes in Cabinet des Estampes in Paris bear the name. "Plante di diversi Fabriche". (Plans of various buildings). H d 4 to H d 4d.

Chauvet believes that Martellange may have been of Italian origin, and that his name was Martelenchi. Bouchot on his part emphasizes the ease with which he expressed himself in Italian in his notes.⁶⁷⁸ We note thereon, that his Italian is not only as good as his French, but that the expressions used by him are entirely those of Italian architects, so that he must have at least dwelt long enough in Italy to have learned

the language much better than foreign architects are accustomed to do, and he must likewise at least have received a corresponding architectural training. An occasionally peculiar spelling also occurs in his French, but that custom is not unusual in both countries. Bouchot says that the use of Italian in the notes later increases more and more.⁶⁷⁹ Yet he wrote in 1627 the long and severe criticism on the design of D Durand for the facade of House of the Professed in Rue S. Antoine at Paris (now S. Paul et S. Louis) in the Italian language. In this frequently occurs the use of "canne" in his dimensions. Charvet believes from this, that he sojourned much in Avignon, where this measure is common. But the same measure is with the "palmo Romano", which most architects in Rome employed, and even in 1627 in the criticism mentioned, he writes, that the doorway was 21 palmo Romano.

Note 678. See Bouchot. p. 5.

Note 679. See the same. p. 28, 29.

According to Piganiol de la Force,⁶⁸⁰ Martellange took part in the building of this church at Paris. Chauvet believes, that at most this could have been only a technical employment, which was perhaps laid upon him by the duty of absolute obedience to his order. Piganiol says, that Martellange had designed to simply copy the Church of Jesuits at Rome. The style of his Noviciate at Paris was entirely Roman.

Note 680. Description de Paris etc. Paris. 1742. Vol. 4. p. 371 et seq.

The title of Martellange was "temporal coadjutor". Of the part played by him under Henry IV and Louis XIII Bouchot writes:-- "He inundated France with heavy and cold churches, yet not without power", the greater number of which still exist. Bouchot gives the list of churches and colleges in whose erection Martellange participated. They will be found later in the Section on the buildings of the Jesuits, where we shall describe some of his chief buildings. ⁶⁸¹

~~Note 681.~~ According to Charvet, this was at Chambéry on March 29, 1603. According to Bouchot, p. 5, 24, he received this title at Avignon in 1590.

After his appointment as temporal coadjutor (1603), Martellange executed an entire series of designs for the buildings

of the order. He worked on the greater number at the same time. Charvet succeeded in establishing the work of Martellange at eight different colleges. By the fortunate finding of the drawings mentioned, Bouchot has extended this practice to 26 colleges. Martellange was, as Charvet writes, the architect general of the order in the provinces of Lyons, Toulouse and even of Paris; he accompanied the provincial fathers on their inspections at the time, when they concluded agreements with the municipalities for the organization of their colleges.⁶⁸² On the grounds of new materials found by him, Bouchot compares his practice with that of an "inspector director of works", whose fame in consequence of his great experience extended even to Rouen and Rennes.⁶⁸³

Note 682. Bouchot. p. 10.

Note 683. The same. p. 61

Father Coton, confessor to Henry IV, already writes on July 24, 1606, to the general of the Jesuits in Rome, that has designated Martellange as "distinguished architect and painter", and has asked him from the provincial father in Lyons for the College de la Fleche. Martellange must indeed have been an uncommonly industrious and likewise able personage. His plans for the building of the General Almshouse at Lyons, now Hospital de la Charite, are for the time a very prominent undertaking, that even yet deserves full recognition. (Fig. 2 216). Charvet emphasizes the decorative exaggeration and the mannerisms in forms, into which the Jesuits later fell, and that were entirely foreign to Martellange; by their simplicity and strength, his numerous works exerted a healthy influence on the architecture of that time. Herein they remind us of the character of those of the great Huguenot master, Salomon de Brosse, whose friend Martellange must have been.⁶⁸⁴

Note 684. Charvet. p. 211.

To judge from the engraving by J. Marot,⁶⁸⁵ his doorway of the Noviciate was just as severe as a work of de Brosse. The laurel pendants suspended beside the doorway jambs are as powerfully treated in scale as de Brosse's foliage on the Church of S. Gervais at Paris.

Note 685. Reproduction there. p. 99.

Bouchot is of the opinion, that E. Martellange may have bu-

built the facade of the Church of Minimes at Nevers, since he has drawn it.⁶⁸⁶ This view appears to me improbable, if one considers his facade of the Noviciate at Paris. In the Chapter on the Technical, we shall later see, that Martellange made some contributions to the work of Father Durand on stone-cutting. According to Destailleur, Martellange also aided M Mathurin Jousse in 1626 in his "Translation of Viator's Perspective". A. de Montaiglon and Charvet⁶⁸⁷ are of the opinion, that this edition of 1626, "extended and illustrated by master Estienne Martellange", perhaps did not appear, since the edition of 1635 says nothing more of Martellange.

Note 686. The same. p. 23.

Note 687. Charvet. p. 214 et seq.

Martellange, who managed the stone work, must have ceased to practice in 1633. Charvet says, that from this time until his death (Oct. 3, 1641), he appears to have busied himself with smaller works in painting. On the ground of dated views of buildings, Bouchot would first place this change of employment in the year 1637. By the aid of these numerous dated drawings of buildings in various places, Bouchot has established a chronological list of localities in which Martellange sojourned from 1605 to 1639.⁶⁸⁸ Without being exhaustive, this collection affords an interesting view of the extraordinary activity required of the Jesuit architect.

Note 688. Bouchot. p. 35.

420. Francois Derand.

b. Francois Derand⁶⁸⁹ (1588-1644) was born in the diocese of Metz and entered the Jesuit order in 1611. To this native place may it be ascribed, that in contrast to the simple and severe Roman style of the Lyonesse Martellange, he was strongly inclined toward the Roman-Flemish Barocco.

Note 689. Martellange writes his name as follows:-- "Design made by the R. P. Francesco de Rand for the Parigi with his own hand". (Cabinet des Estampes. Vol. H d 4b. Fol. 225. -- Derand subscribes himself in 1625; "your reverence's servant in Christ, Franc. Derand. (Vol. H d 4b. Fol. 254).

Derand is especially known as the builder of the Maison Professe of the Jesuits at Paris with their Church in Rue S. Antoine. This was originally S. Louis and is now S. Paul et S. Louis.

The design of Derand was preferred to that of Martellange. Derand sent in 1625 his design from the Maison Professe to Rome, where it was accepted. In a view of the building drawn in 1627 by Martellange, there appears merely the apse above ground and the foundations of a portion of the right side.⁶⁹⁰ It was completed in 1641. It will be mentioned in the Chapter on Religious Architecture.⁶⁹¹

Note 690. Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. Hd 4b. Fol. 221.

Note 691. Adjoining the Church S. Paul et S. Louis, the buildings of Lycee Charlemagne are likewise the work of father Derand.

H. Destailleur possessed an interesting album with 67 original drawings, that he was inclined to ascribe to father Derand, since 18 of the sheets had a subscript monogram, in which it was believed could be read De in 17 cases with an r as a third letter. This was sold after Destailleur's death under the name of Derand.⁶⁹² But on closer examination of folios 3, 64, and especially 16, that it is a V. Also in the title page is only one D and a V, both connected with the date of March 1, 1603. It therefore cannot refer to Derand, who was only 15 years old in 1603, while the drawings are those of a master, whose manner is already matured. Most sheets in this volume are dated 1615 and 1616.

Note 692. Catalogue des Dessins et Tableaux provenant de la collection de feu M. H. Destailleur. Paris. 1889. p. 22. 122.

421. Paul Closse and Saint-Bonnet.

c, d. Paul Closse, temporal coadjutor, built the College at Chalons-sur-Marne,⁶⁹³ completed in 1678, and father Saint-Bonnet erected in 1701 the Astronomical Observatory of the College at Lyons.

Note 693. Charvet. p. 188.

D. Other Masters.

422. Francois II de Royers.

a. Francois II de Royers de la Valseniere (1575-1667) belongs to an architectural dynasty⁶⁹⁴ originating in Piedmont, that was employed for five generations in the then papal Avignon, and also in Lyons and Carpentras.⁶⁹⁵ We mention the following works from his practice.

Note 694. Charvet, L. Biographies d'Architectes. Les Roye-

Royers de la Valseniere. Lyons. 1870.

Note 695. With this master, we mention four others, assigning them numbers for the sake of clearness. We use the epitome given by Lance's *Dictionnaire des Architectes* after Charvet.

No. 1. Francois de Royers de la Valseniere worked in 1536 and 1531 in Lyons for marquis de Saluces and came from Piedmont.

No. 2. Michel-Antoine-Raymond de Royers de la Valseniere, son of No. 1, was employed by the council of the city of Avignon to estimate the values of the houses of the city.

No. 3. Francois II de Royers de la Valseniere, son of No. 2, was born in August, 1575, and died March 22, 1667, at the age of 92 years.

No. 4. Francois III de Royers de la Valseniere, son of Francois II, was the first architect of the Hotel-de-Ville at Arles in 1666, and he was replaced in 1675 by Jacques Peytret. In 1683, the consuls of Arles summoned him before the court on account of the payment of his commission. He is designated as "gentleman of Avignon".

No. 5. Paul de Royers de la Valseniere, son or nephew of F Francois II, designated as "the noble Paul de Royers de la V Valseniere, squire, qualified architect at Lyons". In the years 1660-1664, he is found in charge of the building of the royal Abbey of the Benedictines de Saint pierre in Lyons, whose plans were furnished by Francois II at the age of 84 years.

Before 1612, he built the staircase of the Chapel S. Pierre de Luxembourg at Avignon.

1622 and 1623, he superintended for the council the decorations for the festal entries of Louis XII and of Cardinal Barberini as legate of Avignon.

1642, he was architect of the vice-legate and superintended the improvements at the College da Roure, now Hotel de la Recture de Vaucluse.

1636, he was architect of Chartreuse de Villeneuve-lez-Avignon, whose plans he prepared in 1634. On a later drawing for this, he subscribed himself as Francois des Royers de la Valseniere. (Aug. 25, 1644).

1640, he began the erection of Palace Episcopal, now Palace of Justice, at Carpentras.

1645, he furnished the plans for the restoration of the Ch-

Church at Garomban near Carpentras.

1659, Mar. 18, was laid the cornerstone of the royal Abbey of Benedictines de S. Pierre, according to the design supplied by him; since he was already 84 years old, his son or nephew Paul was entrusted with the superintendence.

1667, Mar. 22, he died at Avignon.

423. Other Masters.

concerning the following architects arranged in alphabetical order, we give from Lance ⁶⁹⁶ the more important facts in regard to their practice.

Note 696. See Lance.

b. Emmanuel Bouquet, architect and sculptor from Loudun, built in the first half of the 17th century the most important houses in Rouen; he changed to Catholicism in 1660.

c. Jacques Curabel (born 1585) passed for the best constructing architect of his time, superintended under Lemerrier the building of the Sorbonne, and published a criticism of the work of Desargues on stonecutting.

d. Charles David grew up, as it were, with the extension of the Church of S. Eustache at Paris, on which he worked for his entire life. He must have erected the former unfinished facade, and he died in 1650 at the age of 98 years. By the inscription on his tomb, he was designated as :-- "sworn of the king in his works of masonry, dean of the sworn and citizen of Paris, architect and superintendent of the building of the Church there (S. Eustache). He lived with his wife Anne Lemerrier for 53 years.

e. Christophe Gamare began in 1646 the building of the great Church S. Sulpice at Paris. He further superintended there the Church of Incurables and the Church S. Andre-des-Arts, the transept facade of S. Germain-des Pres (not l' Auxerrois), and the former facade of the Hotel-Dieu. He was in 1626-1643, with his son Guillain, "master of works of the city of Paris".

f. Gilles Herault was designated in the year 1640 as "architect and superintendent of the buildings of Monseigneur the Cardinal de Richelieu".

3. Masters of the Period of Louis XIV.

For a better survey, we divide these masters into two groups:-- the first contains the more important architects, and

the second group comprises in alphabetic order the other known names. Where no special sources are given, the statements are chiefly based on the frequently mentioned *Dictionnaire d des Architectes* by Lance.

A. Important Masters.

424. Louis Leveau.

a. Louis Leveau or Le Vau (1612-1670). Besides and between Francois Mansart and J. Hardouin Mansart in the middle of the 17th century, Leveau was the most employed architect. From 1653 until his death (1670), as "first architect of the king", he had the supervision of the royal buildings. He dominated the first ten years of the government of Louis XIV.

The two first buildings to make him known were Hotel Lambert at Paris, in which Le Sueur already painted in 1648,⁶⁹⁷ and the famous Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte of the intendant Fouquet. Some doubt prevails in regard to the exact date of the building of the latter. Fouquet wished to set the beginning in 1640; D'Argenville writes that it was completed in 1653; others place the chief activity in building just before 1660. Louis XIV left on Aug. 17, 1661, the famous festival, which sealed the fall of Fouquet. It is therefore of value to obtain from other sources data concerning Leveau's position at this time.

Note 697. *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Vol. 2. p. 345.

His burial certificate contains the following designation and title:-- "Messire Louys Leveau, counsellor of the king in his councils, intendant and master general of the buildings of his majesty, first architect of his buildings, secretary of his majesty, house and crown of France". He died on Saturday, Oct. 11, at 3 A. M., and he was buried the same day.

We find further statements.⁶⁹⁸

Note 698. *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francois*. 1872.p.37.

1656, Louis Leveau, architect of the king, received 3000 livres salary, which was paid to him in full.

1656, Francois Leveau, another architect received 500 livres without reduction and appears to have received 600 livres from the Chambre aux Deniers.

Leveau had two sons, who took part in his buildings. Louis died in 1661.

The preceding statement refers to Francois.

The royal account books finally give the following statements concerning the practice, position and salary of Leveau.

1666, Dec. 9, "Note that he has paid to M. Le Vau, according to order, the sum of 6000 livres for part of the reimbursement of the charge as quadriennial intendant of buildings--- 6000 livres".⁶⁹⁹

Note 699. Guiffrey, J. Comptes des Batiments du Roi sous le Règne de Louis XIV. Paris. Vol. 1. col. 157.

1668. "To M. Louis Le Vau, first architect of his majesty, for his appointments 6000 livres, that was entirely paid, in view of the actual service rendered to his majesty in his buildings --- 6000 livres".⁷⁰⁰

Note 700. See the same, column 292. -- He stands at the head of the list of Jan. 17, 1669, of the offices with salaries for serving generally in all the royal houses and buildings of his majesty".

1670. "To Sieur Le Vau, first architect of the buildings of the king - - - 6000 livres".⁷⁰¹

Note 701. See the same, col. 461. -- At the head of the list of Jan. 21. 1671.

The following may be said in regard to his practice.

Leveau built the interior of Chateau Vincennes (Fig. 140) as a royal country house.

1654, he was appointed successor of Lemercier on the building of the Louvre and of the Tuileries. He finished the southern wing of the court with the pavilion (Fig. 332) begun by Lescot, and executed the eastern wing excepting the colonnade, and the eastern half of the northern side to the central pavilion. At the Tuileries, he built the middle pavilion and the adjacent wing to the ground story.

1661, Leveau began the erection of the College des Quatre Nations at Paris, now Institute de France (Fig. 198), which Dorbay and Lambert completed after 1668.

1665, as first architect of the king, he contributed to the extension of the Chateau of Louis XIII, two pavilions and an orangerie.

Leveau built in Paris Hotels de Lionne, de Pons, Deshameaux, d'Hesselin, and Lambert, the last two on the island of S. Lo-

Louis; Hotel de Rohan in Rue de l'Universite; Chateau de Livry, later du Raincy (Fig. 242), de Seignelay (1662), the latter for Colbert; du S. Sepulchre near Troyes, and of Bercy. The Chateau of Bercy has already been mentioned by Lance as a work of Francois Mansart.

During the erection of the colonnade of the Louvre by Claude Perrault, Leveau retained his position as architect of the Louvre.

Leveau was the first architect of the great Church S. Sulpice at Paris, and probably likewise of the Church S. Louis en l'Isle and of the Chapel of Salpetriere, usually attributed to Bruand.

Concerning the principal works of Leveau, especially his practice in Vaux, at the Louvre and in Versailles, we shall have to return to him. He and not J. Hardouin Mansart fixed the type of facade or its axial system in Versailles. Perhaps one is too severe against him in comparison with J. Hardouin Mansart. It appears to me, that the difference between the capabilities of both was not so great. Perhaps he ventured more than the latter in his solutions. In several works may be seen the endeavor to combine a colossal and a smaller order. (Figs. 198, 241, 242).

425. Francois I. Blondel.

b. Francois Blondel I (1618-1686), who should not be confused with two later architects of this name. He was Seigneur des Croisettes et Gallardon, and only after long continued travels did he commence at about the age of forty years to study the profession of military engineering and then of architecture, in which he acquired an important name by various works and writings.

He began in 1665 with the construction of the Bridge of Saintes. Of his three city Gates of Paris, the Gate of S. Denis is especially known as a triumphal arch (Fig. 63). He likewise executed the Hotel de Rouille at Paris.

Interesting is the choir ending, which he built on the five sides of the late Gothic apse of S. Laurent at Paris. In this peculiar arrangement, in the midst of these reminiscences of his admiration of Church S. Peter and for Palladio, one feels the work of a man, who was accustomed to reflect upon

the nature of architecture, and who knew all its contemporary rules.

Louis XIV appointed Blondel "marshal of the camps and armies of the king;" he became in 1671 a member of the Academy and in 1672 its director.

Among his writings, the two following should be mentioned here. The first bears the title:-- *Cours d'Architecture enseigné dans l'Académie Royale* (Paris. 1675); it comprises the instruction, that he gave to his pupils. The second is called:-- *Resolution des quatre principaux Problèmes d'Architecture*. (Paris. 1673).

426. Claude Perrault.

c. Claude Perrault (born about 1613, died Oct. 8, 1688). The name of Perrault has attained special fame by the building of the colonnade of the Louvre, after the competition with Bernini and by the fact, that he was not at first an architect. The latter circumstance is a particular thorn in the eye for many French architects, like Viollet-le-Duc and Lance, who have returned to the Gothic conception of the architectural profession. They seek to lessen Perrault's services to the utmost. We shall endeavor to give as many points of view as possible, in order to reach a just decision.

Claude Perrault, learned man and artist, doctor and physician, anatomist and architect, was one of the most versatile spirits, as Henri Martin says, that ever won results in all domains. He belongs to those, who at once became members at the founding of the Academy of Sciences. A peculiar light is cast upon the manysidedness of Perrault by the statement of some payments made to him in the accounts of the royal buildings.

1671, March 26:-- To Sieur Perrault, physician, for the work done by him and the attention given to the buildings in 1669 and 1670,⁷⁰² 4000 livres.

Gulffrey. *Comptes des Bâtimens etc.* Vol. 1. col. 368.

1678, Jan. 28:-- To Sieur Perrault, in consideration of the architectural designs made by him for the Louvre, the Arch of Triumph, and other places,⁷⁰³ 4000 livres.

Note 703. See the same. Col. 1012.

The other payments made to Perrault between 1668 and 1687 state:-- in consideration of his application to medicine,

1500 livres, -- or to Sieur Perrault, physician, for his profound knowledge of medicine, or for works for the Academy of Sciences, or in consideration of his particular knowledge of chemistry.

In the same accounts, the following refers to Perrault's work on Vitruvius:-- Jan. 15, 1668, 300 livres were paid to the copperplate engraver Pitau on account for the plates, which he engraved for a translation of Vitruvius for the king. The work of Perrault appeared in 1673.

Perrault's first design for the completion of the Louvre dates from 1664. After the departure of Bernini, Claude with the aid of his brother Charles became his successor. The cornerstone for his colonnade was laid in 1665 (Fig. 223); the building was completed in 1680. Different ideas of Perrault for the ornamentation of the angle pavilions were not executed.

~~The other payments made to Perrault between 1668 and 1683
state that in consideration of his application to medicine~~

Perrault built in 1668-1671 the Astronomical Observatory at Paris. Likewise from him come the Church S. Berwit-le-Betourne, where he was buried, and the altar of Notre-Dame-de-Savonne in the Church des Petits-Peres at Paris. He prepared a design for a new Church S. Genevieve at Paris, and published two works: the "Architecture Generale de Vitruve, reduite et abrege", (Paris. 1674), and the "Ordonnance des cinq Especies de Colonnes selon la Methode des Anciens". (Paris. 1683).

Lance asks,⁷⁰⁴ what has become of the two folio volumes with the drawings of Perrault, collected by his brother Charles in 1683, the author of the famous "Contes de Perrault", and which belonged to the marquis de Marigny and later to Charles X. I saw them in 1867 in the Imperial Library of the Louvre with all the original drawings of the designs of the Louvre of that period; with the exception of those of Bernini, which were preserved elsewhere, they were lost in 1871 with the entire library of the Louvre, when burned by the Commune. But the most important designs for the Louvre were engraved.

Note 704. The same. Vol. 2. p. 197.

Of the two reasons on which Lance might depend,⁷⁰⁵ to establish Leveau as the designer of the colonnade, not one point is proved by the statement of Boileau. This bears the character

of malice and ignores that Perrault was more than merely a member of the faculty of medicine. As for the second basis, the engraving of A. Herissot must be scarcely more than a superficial and bungling work. Of the five statements given by him, three are notoriously false. The two others, even if they were true, would not change the authorship of Perrault. His burned drawings, that I have seen, and which could come neither from Leveau nor from D'Orbay, were as good as those of hundreds of actual architects of the last four centuries, and they showed, that Perrault was entirely capable of correctly giving the Louvre colonnade in general and in detail, everything that composes the architectural character of this monument. Further, no one has asserted, that as Lance says, Perrault became from one day to the next, an architect from a physician.

Note 705. See Lance. Vol. 2. p. 197.

The "somewhat Gothic" idea of Lance, that only one who is at the same time a "mason", so to speak, deserves the name of architect, is exaggerated, and the Renaissance has extended this. It has recognized that one may be an excellent master mason and can erect large and substantial buildings, without having a vestige of an architect within himself. Such buildings are then to be seen. And even in the Gothic period, where practice in construction was much more necessary than since the Italian Renaissance, there were architects, who were much sought after chiefly as designing masters, as may be seen in the annals of Milan Cathedral.

Composition yet remains a "something" in architecture. Herin has Perrault manifestly a refined feeling for simple, noble, beautiful proportions. The drawing by which he won in the competition for a triumphal arch over Leveau and Lebrun (Figs. 324, 325) likewise proves this. Even if the line of the base of the statue be not entirely freed, and the solution of the doorway in the colonnade be ugly, this columnar facade, with the tower facade of Notre Dame, then remains the sole architectural monument in Paris, which arouses the impression of the monumental and of the majestic in the higher sense of the word, when one comes from Italy. And Claude Perrault has incontestably executed this, and he alone. This

fame is his and it suffices for the honor of an "architect".

That Leveau was entrusted with the technical execution is not impossible. It might be deduced from the following payment from the royal accounts, that it referred to a model by Leveau for another part of the Louvre, as for example the facade along Rue de Rivoli or the new facade next the Seine, with the extension of which he was still entrusted. It runs:--

1688, Jan. 9:-- To Saint-Ives, for his complete payment for the joinery work, that he has done for the model of the building of the Louvre, of the design of M. Le Vau - - 819 livres.⁷⁰⁶

Note 709. Guiffrey. Vol. 1. column 185.

427. Jean Marot.

d. Jean Marot (born about 1619, died in 1679) from Paris is today chiefly known by the great number of architectural drawings and compositions, which he engraved partly by himself, partly with his son Daniel and another Marot (Jean Baptiste). These engravings, 700 to 800 plates in at least 30 series, form the "Oeuvre de Jean Marot", from which numerous illustrations have been taken for this volume. Many of his series have neither title nor date.

By these works Marot becomes, with Du Cerceau, A. Bosse, Le Pautre and Israel Sylvestre, one of the most important sources for the study of French architecture. We owe to him the knowledge of many vanished architectural works, of which he gives accurate drawings (for example, the Mausoleum of the Valois; Figs. 21, 44, 45, 197). From some of his engravings Destailleur conjectures, that Jean Marot went to Italy, perhaps with Philippon, who was a cabinet-maker, like Marot's father. Jean Marot's wife was also the daughter of a cabinet-maker, Galbrand.

In the year 1669, Jean Marot bore the title of architect of the king and dwelt in Rue Guisarde in the faugourg S. Germain-des-Pres. In this year and in 1670, we see him construct various grottos at the Chateau S. Germain-en-Laye.⁷⁰⁷

Note 707. Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais. 1877. p.188.

The following works in Paris are attributed to him:-- Hotels de Pussort, de Montemart, that of the Cologne banker and art collector Jabach (de Jabba) in Paris, whose first design is represented in Figs. 5 and 309, de France Monceaux, also Chat-

Chateaus de Turny in Burgundy and Lavardin in Maine, the baths of the Chateau at Maisons, and finally the former facade of Church des Feuillantines at Paris.

Marot's design for the principal facade of the Louvre shows in contrast to most other designs two orders in the court as well as externally; it was conceived more in the style of French chateaus and manifests a very skilful architect. ⁷⁰⁸

Note 7⁰⁸. Illustrated in Blondel, J. P. Cours d'Architecture. Paris. 1771-1777. Vol. 3. Plate 67.

We must here limit ourselves to mentioning the titles of the following literary works.

a. According to Destailleur, his earliest dated engraving was of 1640, being the Representation de la Sepulture du Marquis de Rostaing.

b. Recueil de plusieurs portes des principaux hostels et maisons de la Ville de Paris etc. 1644. 16 Pls.

c. Desseins de toutes les parties de l'église Saint-Pierre de Rome. ~~mesurés exactement~~ on the spot by Jacques Zarade, architect and engraver of the king in the year 1659. 13 Pls.

d. Recueil des plus beaux edifices et frontispieces des eglises de Paris, dedié to Henri de Harlay etc. 34 Pls.

e. Le magnifique Chasteau de Richelieu. 34 Pls.

f. Architecture Francaise de Jean Marot. Without title. 195 Pls. On the index stands; Table of contents of the plates of M. Marot, father and son.

A second edition appeared by P. Mariette in 1727, the last edition from very work plates being by Jombert in 1751.

g. Recueil des Plans, Profils et Elevations de plusieurs palais, chasteaux, eglises, sepultures, grottes & hostels, bastis dans Paris & aux environs par les meilleurs architectes du royaume - - desseignes, mesures & graves par Jean Marot, architecte parisien. 112 Pls.

h. Marot, Jean. Architecte et Graveur. Petite Oeuvre d'Architecture. Paris. 1764. 50 Pls.

Most of the illustrations in this volume taken from Marot belong to the works mentioned under f and g. By the impossibility of designating their places therein accurately, we must be satisfied with referring to the two volumes H a 7c and H a 7d, designated in the Paris Cabinet des Estampes as "Oeu-

"Oeuvre de Jean Marot".

These volumes also contain a number of J. Marot's compositions, as for example the first and unexecuted design for Hotel Jabbach in Paris (Figs. 5, 309), also ideal buildings,⁷⁰⁹ a series of "new designs" made for alcoves and engraved by J. Marot". A series of fireplaces with the statement, "design of Jean Marot". These series are preliminary steps to Jean Lepautre, and otherwise contain distant reminiscences of Du Cerceau.

Note 709. Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. X a 7c, folios 127-129.

In a series of tombs composed by Marot, one would believe that certain figures were by Du Cerceau.⁷¹⁰ Besides other grounds, the friendship may be considered, which existed between the father of Marot and the grandson of Jacques Du Cerceau. A sister of Marot had in 1623 a Du Cerceau (Jean ?) as god parents with the daughter of Charles Du Ry.⁷¹¹

Note 710. Same, folios 106 to 117.

Note 711. Communication of Ch. Bead to Destailleur. See the latter's Notices etc. p. 131.

On the other hand, the connection with Le Pautre is likewise explained more fully, in that he took part in the engravings of several of Marot's series, especially in the figure elements, just as did Stefano della Bella. Destailleur states this and suggests, that the value of Marot's compositions for interior decoration, such as ceilings, doors, vases, locksmith's work, etc. is not sufficiently appreciated, and that this is sometimes better than at all other times.

428. Daniel Marot.

e. Daniel Marot (born about 1660, died after 1718) was a son of Jean Marot and probably his pupil. Starting in ornament from the tendency of Jean Lepautre, he contributed to its change in the direction of the masters, which we have designated as the group of Berain-Daniel Marot. (Art 331). In architecture itself, his tendency was much more severe and comparable with that of Salomon de Brosse. (Art. 409). We can judge of it chiefly by his engraved compositions alone.⁷¹²

Note 712. See Oeuvres du Sr. D. Marot, "architect of William III, king of Great Britain, containing several ideas useful to architects, painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, gardeners and others; all in favor of thus applying themselves to the

fine arts." Hague, no date (about 1712). Republished in facsimile by P. Jessen; Das Ornamenten werk des Daniel Marot, copied in 264 photographures. Berlin. 1892.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he left France and became famous by his works and publications as architect of William III in England. The design of the gardens at Hampton Court in England came from him. He worked in Holland on the new Palace of Loo and on the great audience hall at the Hague.

Destailleur gives details concerning his various works as engraver, and regards his emigration as a great loss for French architecture. (Art. 409).

429. Jules Hardouin Mansart.

f. Jules Hardouin Mansart, called Mansart or Mansard, (born at Paris Apr. 16, 1646, died May 11, 1708), was the son of Raphael Hardouin and of Marie Gaultier, of a niece of Francois Mansart and a grandson of his sister. He was a pupil of his great uncle, taking his name after his death. He worked under Liberal Bruant on Hotel de Vendome, when Louis XIV entrusted to him the preparation of the plans for the only later erected Chateau of Clagny for Madame de Montespan. Hardouin Mansart understood more and more how to secure the favor of the king, rose to ever higher offices, even to the rank of count, and he was entrusted with such a great number of important buildings, that aside from the Louvre and the beginning of Versailles, he might be considered as the personification of architectural activity under Louis XIV. He died so suddenly at the age of but 63 years, that men spoke of poisoning.

The following survey of his architectural works is given according to Lance.

1674, he undertook important works of enlargement of Chateau of S. Germain.

1675, he erected the Hotel-de-Ville at Arles.

1676, he began work on Chateau of Clagny near Versailles, whose main building was completed in 1679. In this period also falls the erection of the little Chateau de la Menagerie at Versailles.

1679-1685, he erected the stables at Versailles.

1679, he commenced the buildings of the pleasure Chateau of Marly.

1680, according to a memorial medal of this year, the rebuilding of the principal facade of the Palace at Versailles was probably completed. In this time likewise falls the building of the great Commons at Versailles with the kitchens in the ground story and the officials dwellings above them.

1680 (about), Hardouin began the second Church of the Hotel des Invalids, the real principal church with the dome.

1683, he was ennobled.

1684, he began the Church of Notre Dame at Versailles, finished in two years.

1684-1686, he executed the Place des Victoires at Paris.

1685, with Jacques Gabriel, he commenced the bridge Pont Royal at Paris.

1685-1686, he erected the buildings of S. Cyr near Versailles. He was at the same time entrusted with the construction of Place Louis-le-Grand, now Vendome. He was appointed first architect of the king.

1686, he built for duke de Bouillon the Chateau of Navarre near Evreux.

1688, he began the Grand Trianon near Versailles.

1692, he enlarged the Palace Royal at Paris by the Gallery d'Enee, painted by Coypel, which gave way to the present Theatre Francais.

1690-1707, he executed the roodscreen and the central spire of the Cathedral at Orleans.

1693, after the completion of the dome of the Invalids, he was made knight of the order of S. Michael.

1698, he built the Chateau at Vanvres, and about the same time the Chateau of Boufflers.

1699, he constructed at S. Cloud the lower part of the great cascade, and ornamented the stairs of the Chateau.

1699, Jan. 7, in order to do him greater honor, the king transferred to him the office of superintendent of buildings, that Colbert and later Louvois had held.

1699, he began the Chapel of the Palace of Versailles, which Robert de Cotte finished.

1700, in January, he was called to Nancy to give advice to the duke of Lorraine for the beautifying of the Palace and gardens. About the same time (1699 ?), he began the so-called "Vow of Louis XIII", by which was understood the decorati-

decoration of the choir of Notre Dame at Paris. This extended to the pavement, the choir stalls, and several statues about the altar of the choir space, and it in part still remains.

In the park of Versailles, the two last so-called "Groves of the Colonnade" and of the Dome", later called "Bath of Apollo," were by Hardouin Mansart.

1702, he built the new facade of the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons instead of the one injured by fire. Robert de Cotte superintended the building.

He built in Paris Hotel Pieubet (on Quay des Celestins), that of Reick de Penautier, and the high altar of the Convent of Filles-Bien. He erected in the province the Chateau of Lu-neville for the duke, and those of Chamarande, of Villout, a and of Pinon; the statement, that he built that of Blerancourt near Blois, is indeed based on a twofold error in Lance. (Art. 396). He completed Chateau Monfrin, built various things at the Chateau at Chambord, and placed roofs over several of its terraces. In the Archbishop's Palace at Rouen, he constructed a court gateway and the principal stairway, and the bishop's Palace in Castres, not the Hotel-de-Ville.

Mansart prepared for himself a house in Rue des Tournelles at Paris, as well as a Hotel in Rue de la Pompe (nos. 35 and 37) at Versailles; further the Chateau of Sagonne, where he received the visit of the king. He received from Louis XIV the following titles:-- "councillor of the king, chevalier of S. Michel, count de Sagonne, Baron de Jouy, Seigneur de Neuilly, of Augy-sur-Bois, Chateau-sur-Allier, Vendre etc."⁷¹³. In the Chapter on the standing of architects will be found the series of offices conferred upon him.

⁷¹³. Concerning the authority coming to him as a nobleman, see *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*. 1882. p. 131.

Hardouin, as it appears, first built at the Chateau at Clagny and at the stables at Versailles the mansard roofs named after him.

J. Hardouin Mansart had a brother, who was only called Michel Hardouin. We find him designated in 1684 as "architect of the buildings of the king". He married Nicole Genevieve Nanteuil, daughter of the famous Robert Nanteuil, "designer and engraver in ordinary to the king".⁷¹⁴

Note 714. See the preceding. 1870. p. 248.

B. Other Masters.

430. Other Masters.

g. Antoine Bergeron, "sworn of the masonrys of the king", took part in 1660 in the superintendence of Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte.

h. Austine de Bordeuse (or Bordeaux), as Lance writes and according to the statement of Stocqueler, erected the famous Taj-Mahal near Agra. Shah Jehan had him build apparently within 22 years the mausoleum of his favorite wife Nourjehan, (Moomtaza Mahal ?), who died in 1645. If this authorship be true, then would it be the strangest contradiction of Palustre's theory, than in France, only whatever is built entirely in the Italian style, could be the work of Italians. The Taj is entirely executed in the Indian-Persian and not in the French style. 715

Note 715. According to W. Emerson, one must probably see there the work of an Italian. (See Trans. R. I. B. A. 1869-1870. p. 195; 1883-1884. p. 155.

i. Charles Etienne Briseux (born 1660 at Beaune-les-Dames, died Sept. 23, 1754) built the Hotel d'Augny at Paris.

He published the following works:-- Architecture Moderne, or the Art of building well (Paris, 1728); also L'Art de bastir des Maisons de Campagne (Paris, 1743); further, Traite du Beau essential dans les Arts, more particularly applied to Architecture. (Paris. 1752).

k. The brothers Bruand, the elder brother Jacques (son of Sebastian Bruand, "general of the royal buildings, bridges and roads of France") was "architect of the buildings of the king and of the duke of Orleans".⁷¹⁶ His works are, the House or Office of the Cloth Dealers at Paris (Fig. 61), and the Jabach House at Cologne, and further the Chateau at Fayelle. He died on Sept. 7, 1664 at Paris. His son Jacques (1663-1752) was likewise an architect.

Note 716. In the notice of Sebastian Bruand, Lance gives the latter title to Sebastian also, but not to his son.

Liberal, the younger brother (born about 1637) died on Nov. 22, 1697, as "squire, councillor secretary of the king, the house, crown of France and of its finances, architect in ord-

ordinary of the buildings of his majesty". By him are in 1671 the plans of Hotel des Invalids and of the first Church (the one behind the domed structure); the Chapel of the Salpetriere, the Hotels de Matignon and de Belle-Isle, and the Palace of the duke of York at Richmond. He had a son Francois.

l. Pierre Bullet (born about 1639, died 1716), pupil of Francois I Blondel, superintended for him the building of Gate S. Denis at Paris and erected the Gates S. Martin and S. Bernard from his own designs.

There are by him in church buildings the Church S. Thomas d'Aquin at Paris, and the Church of Dominicans Reforme; also the altar of Church Sorbonne, and two chapels in the transept of S. Germain-des-Près belong here.

Of secular buildings are to be mentioned:-- the Hotel of the banker Jabach, Rue Neuve-Saint-Merry at Paris, Hotel Crozat (Fig. 284) and that of Count d'Evreux, Place Vendome, both in Paris; Chateau at Issy, and the front portion of the archbishop's Palace at Bourges etc.

As architect of the king and of the city of Paris, he published in 1676 the Plan of Paris in 12 sheets. We further find mentioned as publications, L'Architecture Pratique (Paris, 1691); Traite sur l'Usage du Pantometre (Paris, 1675); Observations sur la mauvais odeur des fosses d'aisance (Paris, 1696). He was member of the Academie d'Architecture after 1685.

m. Francois Carlier sojourned in 1712-1715 in Spain in order to execute works after the designs of Robert de Cotte, which were the gardens of Buen-Retiro and of the Palace of Madrid, in the latter the great Cabinet of the Furies; under Ferdinand VI, he built in Madrid, the Convent of S. Francois de Salles.

n. Jean-Sylvain Cartaud (born in 1675 at Paris, died there on Feb. 15, 1758) was after 1742 member of the Academy and architect of the duke of Orleans and Berri. He executed the facade of the Church of Petits-Peres (1739) and the Church of Barnabites at Paris, also the Hotels Duchatel and Crozat at Paris (Rue de Montmorency), lastly the Chateaus of Montmorency (1708) for Pierre Crozat, and of Bournonville, as well as the country house of D'Argenson in Neuilly.

o. Cayart built in 1701-1705 the French Church at Ber-

Berlin; he used as a model the Temple at Charenton, but changed to two internal orders instead of a single colossal one. (Fig. 209).

p. Roland Freart, Sieur de Chambray (born at Chambray, died in 1675) was sent to Italy in 1640 to obtain Italian masters for France, and he brought Poussin back to Paris (Art. 277). He published in 1650 his "Parallèle de l'Architecture Antique avec la Moderne, with a collection of ten principal authors, who have written on the five orders", and he translated the Treatise on Painting of Leonardo da Vinci.

q. Chamois worked toward the end of the 17th century. For Louvois, he built the Hotel in Rue Richelieu and Chateau at Ghaville near Paris; further the Monastery of the Visitation in Faubourg S. Germain at Paris, and the Convent of the Benedictine Nuns at Ville-Leveque. etc.

r. Gordenoy published in 1714 a Treatise on Theoretical and Practical Architecture.

s. Cottard built in Paris about the middle of the 17th century the Hotel de Bizeuil, known as Hotel de Hollande (Rue du Temple), also the Chapel and the Hospital de la Merci (Rue du Chaume), which Boffrand completed. He published 6 plates of "New Designs of joining wainscoting with panels of glass", and he was also architect of the king.

t. Jean Courtonne (born at Paris in 1671), after 1728 in the Academy, became in 1730 professor as successor of Bruand (son) and was architect of the king. He built the Hotels de Noirmoutiers (1720) and Matignon (1721) at Paris; also for the Carthusians there (Rue d'Enfer). He published in 1725 at Paris his "Traite de la Perspective pratique, avec Remarques sur l'Architecture etc."

u. Charles Augustin Daviler or D'Aviler (1653-1700) was the author of the well known "Cours d'Architecture" (Paris, 1691), which survived many later editions, and in which he used the counsels of Dorbay. On the way to Rome, he was in 1674 with Desgodetz captured by pirates from Tunis, where he was held captive for two years and built a mosque. Both reached Rome in 1676, where Daviler remained five years. Employed at first under Mansart, he went in 1691 to Montpellier to erect a triumphal arch after the drawings of Dorbay, and

he remained at work in that vicinity until his early death.

He built the bishop's Palace at Beziers and the archbishop's at Toulouse, also various works in Garcassonne, Saint-Pons, Toulouse and Nimes. He likewise published a translation of Scamozzi as a "Traite des Cinq Ordres".

v. Delamair (died 1745) built after 1697 for Prince de Soubise the present Hotel des Archives Nationales with the beautiful court; he also erected Hotel de Pompadour in Rue Grenelle-Saint-Germain at Paris.

w. Girard Desargues (born at Lyons) built about 1660 a great stairway in Palace Royal at Paris and that of Hotel Aubey, which were esteemed the most convenient in Paris. He also executed the stairway in Hotel of marquis de l'Hopital.

x. Antoine Desgodetz (1653-1728) in 1674 was captured by pirates on the way to Rome with D'Aviler and Foy-Vaillant. He is chiefly known by his work "Les Edifices Antiques de Rome," very accurately measured and drawn. (Paris, 1682). This was long esteemed, and is still so by some, as the best source for the knowledge of the old monuments of Rome, and it was produced at the order of Colbert. Desgodetz seems to have built little, but he published several other works, whose titles are to be found in Lance.

y. Claude Desgots, nephew of Le Notre, was likewise a landscape architect. He designed in England for the royal gardens, designed the garden of Palace Royal in Paris, and in its vicinity the parks of Bagnolet and of S. Maur. He went to Rome in the year 1675 as a pensioner. He rebuilt later Chateau Periguy in Burgundy and a monumental stairway in the Chateau at Anet.

z. Francois Dorbay, also d'Orbay (died 1697), was pupil and son-in-law of Levau. He superintended the latter's work at the Louvre, at the Tuileries, and at the College des Quatre Nations. Besides various churches and monasteries in Paris and Lyons, he built the Hotel des Comediens Francais in Paris, and the Chenil-Neuf (Dog-kennel) in Fontainebleau. Since its foundation, he was member of the Academie d'Architecture.

His son (1679-1742), likewise member of the Academie, was "Comptroller of the buildings of the king". Another Dorbay,

son or nephew of the latter, received in 1739 the Grand Prix d'Architecture.

aa. Albert Dupave, in 1696 with the sculptor Fleury, was entrusted with the decoration of the facade of the Cathedral of Toulon. In the year 1718, he had to work for the duke of Savoy. He designed the gardens of the Palace of Victor Amadeus in Turin, and must also have designed La Veneria, the royal country house in the vicinity of the latter.

bb. Charles Errard, painter and architect (born in 1606 at Nantes, died in 1689 at Rome), was from 1666 to 1673 and from 1676 to 1683 Director of the French Academy in Rome; at 18 years of age, he went to Italy for the first time. He sent from thence in 1670 the plans for the Church of the Assumption in Paris. He executed the following internal decorations; in 1655 works in the apartments of the queen mother in the Louvre, 1666, in Palace of Parliament at Rennes, the great hall of audience and the great chamber; 1657, those of the theatre in the Tuileries; 1661 and 1662, various works in Versailles, and earlier the gallery of Chateau Dangu near Gisors. He participated in the works of de Chambray (Art. 430 p) and executed the plates for them.

cc. Pierre Francine. (Art. 336).

dd. Daniel Gittard ⁷¹⁷ (born Mar. 6L, 1625 at Blandy, died Dec. 15, 1686) was son of Jean a carpenter, had a brother Pierre, who worked in Vaux, and several other brothers, who were master masons in Paris. Daniel built in Paris the beautiful Hotel de Saint-Simon, that of la Meilleraie, and the still preserved House of the composer Lulli with great composite pilasters and sculptures. (Corner of streets of S. Anne and of Petits-Champs). He had an important part in the building of Church S. Sulpice in Paris, and he was the fourth of the eight architects, who at the founding of the Academy of Architecture by Colbert on Dec. 31, 1671, were invited into it.

Note 717. Archives de l'Art Francais, Documents. Vol. 6. (1858-1860). p. 87.

ee. Gabriel-Philippe de la Hire (born 1697) prepared the design for the pulpit of S. Etienne-du-Mont at Paris, and under Vauban, he superintended the building of the Aqueduct

of Maintenon. He was son of Jean La Hire.(Art. 389 h).

ff. Antoine Lepautre (born Jan. 1621 at Paris, died Feb. 2, 1682) was architect of the king and "comptroller general of buildings" of the duke of Orleans. His principal works are Hotels de Beauvais (Figs. 280, 281), with fine court design), de Gesvres, de Chamillart, de la Seigliere de Boisfranc in Paris, Hotel des Gardes in Versailles, and Hotel de L Lauzun in S. Germain; two wings of the former Chateau in S. Cloud, and the upper part of the cascade and Chateau S. Ouen near Paris. His designs for Chateau Clagny were not accepted, and new plans were prepared by J. H. Mansart. Of church buildings, there are by him the Church of Port-Royal, and the design (1657) for the facade of Church of Jacobins at Lyons.

gg. Simon Maupin was architect and surveyor of the city of Lyons. We shall return to him on the occasion of mentioning the Hotel-de-Ville of that city, begun in 1646.

hh. Pierre Mignard, nephew of the painter of the same name, was born in 1640 at Avignon. His chief work is the Abbey of Montmayours near Arles. He built in Paris Gate S. Michel and the facade of the College S. Nicolas. He was professor as well as member of the Academy from its foundation and died in 1725.

ii. Armand Claude Mollet (died 1720) was grandson of the famous landscape ~~artist~~ Claude.⁷¹⁸ Like his father Charles, he was also master of the gardens of the Louvre. He built in Paris the Hotel of the count of Evreux, later Palace Elysee, Hotel de Humieres, superintended the rebuilding of H Hotel de Mazarin, and erected Chateau Stains near S. Denis.

Note 718. See Chapter on Designs of Gardens concerning him.

kk. De Noinville, a pupil of J. H. Mansart, built in 1688 at Dijon the Place Royale, and began there the Church S. Etienne; he commenced there in 1697 the facade of the great hall in the Hospital.

ll. Predot erected in 1685 for J. H. Mansart the Houses of Place des Victoires at Paris, according to the contract of Sept. 12, 1685, with the aldermen of the city. At the inauguration of the statue of the king (Mar. 18, 1686), the houses were not completed.

mm. Pierre Puget (born in 1622 at Seon near Marseilles, died there in 1694) was at the same time sculptor, painter

and architect, and he went to Italy about 1640. A specialty, that made him famous, was the decoration of ships with double galleries, figures and reliefs, the type of which he established in the Ship La Hire, built by him in 1643-1646.⁷¹⁹

Note 719. If the last statement and date be correct, and which are derived from Henri Martin, he began this ship at an age of only 21 years.

Not less famous was Puget for the gateway of Hotel-de-Ville of Toulon, whose atlantes support a balcony with the energy of Michelangelo (1655-1657). Not easily understood is the statement of Lance, that Puget required seven years (1663-1670) for constructing the high altar of Church S. Sero in Genoa.

The renovation of the city of Marseilles undertaken in 1668 was influenced by him. There is extant a design by him for Place Royale there and for the Hotel-de-Ville. He built in 1672-1674 the Halle de la Poissonnerie et de la Boucherie, also in 1675 the facade of Church Carthusians, both at Marseilles. He built in Aix at about this time the Hotel d'Aiguilles, and in 1679 the Chapel of Hospital Charite. He erected his own house in Toulon in 1672.

nn. Alexander Richard, a Jacobin monk, superintended in 1653-1676 the erection of the facade of his Monastery at Lyons, after the design of Le Pautre. Robert Rogier built the foundation thereof in 1657, but was replaced by Richard on account of his slowness.

oo. Ferdinand de Saint-Urbain (born June 30, 1653 at Nancy, died there Jan. 11, 1738) lived 10 years in Bologna and 20 years in Rome, was chiefly employed as a metal engraver. From 1703 to 1726, with several interruptions, he erected the principal Church of Pont-a-Mousson.

pp. Sebastien le Pautre de Vauban (1633-1707), the famous engineer, fortification engineer and marshal, likewise deserves mention here. To him is due gratitude for very intelligible advice to those desiring to build, especially country houses.⁷²⁰ By him was the design for the great Aqueduct of Maintenon, which La Hire erected under his supervision. The magnificent proportions of the arches show a very sensitive master.

Note 720. Plusieurs Maximes bonnes a Observer pour tous ceux qui font batir. Extracted from this in Planat's Encyclo-

Encyclopedie. Paris. 1892. Vol. 6, p. 685 et seq. Art. Vauban.

qq. In conclusion, we mention from Lance the following names without entering into further details concerning them:-- Francois Auger (1696), Barthelemy (1638), Jean Beaussiere (died 1743), Antoine Bergeran (1660), Bernard Blanc (1692), Jean de Bodt (1670-1745), and Nicolas Bourgeois (1711), an Augustine monk.

In Lorraine are found Andre, first architect of the duke (1707), Beteau (1698-1716), and Pierre Benedict, first architect of duke Leopold (1700).

4. Masters of the last time of Louis XIV, of the Regency, and of Louis XV.

A. Famous Masters.

431. Robert de Cotte.

a. Robert de Cotte (1656-1735) was indeed the most important architect of the last ten years of the reign of Louis XIV, and then of the Regency. Even the development of the Regency style is ascribed to him. (Art. 335). His influence also extended to foreign countries. The list of offices and dignities, which fell to him, gives ⁷²¹ an idea of the high position that he attained. He was therein scarcely inferior to his predecessor, J. H. Mansart, whose pupil and brother-in-law he was.

Note 721. De Cotte was "Chevalier of S. Michel, councillor of the king in his councils, first architect, intendant of buildings and of construction, gardens, arts and manufactures of his majesty, Director of the Royal Academy of Architecture, Vice Protector of the Academies of Painting and Sculpture". (See Destotilleur, R. Notices etc. p. 212)

Robert was god-son of Francois I Cotte, who took part in the siege of Rochelle as engineer, and son of Francois II, who published in 1644 a book on the five orders, and was architect in ordinary to the king.

Of his architectural creations, the following may be mentioned, according to Lance.

In Paris:-- Hotels d'Estrees, de Bourbon-Gonde (1716), later belonging to the duke de Maine, de Lude in Rue du Bac, de Meulan near the Capuchins, the House in Rue du Bac beside the Hotel de Belle-Isle. Also by him was the enlargement of Hot-

Hotel de la Vrilliere for the count of Toulouse, with the famous golden gallery (Figs. 64, 355; also Art. 328); also the enlargement of the Library Royale in Paris, now Library Nationale; further the completion of Church S. Roch, whose facade (Fig. 170) was not only built by his son; also the facade of the Church of the Oratory, the high altar of the Cathedral Notre Dame, and that of the Novitiate of the Jesuits, both after the design of J. H. Mansart, and lastly the completion of the Palace Chapel of his brother-in-law at Versailles, as well as that of the Grand Trianon, where the portico is by him.

Outside Paris, there are by de Cotte: the archbishop's palaces at Verdun and Strasburg, and the bishop's country house Frascoati near Metz, Place Louis XIV in Lyons, now Bellicour (1728), the grain magazines, the facade of a concert hall, and the design for the tower of the Hotel-de-Ville (Fig. 306); for Bordeaux he furnished in 1728 the design for the decoration of Place Royale executed by Gabriel. Robert de Cotte also worked much for foreign countries; Lance gives the following designs or executed works, mentioned after d'Argenville and Dussieux (how much of this statement is correct will not be investigated here); Chateaus for the Elector of Bavaria, for counts Zinzendorf (in Vienna?) and Hanau; also for the Elector of Cologne, Palaces in Bonn, Brühl, Poppelsdorf and Godesberg, then the chapel of the archbishop's Seminary in Bonn; finally designs for the Royal Palaces in Madrid and Buen-Retiro, as well as for several chateaus of the duke of Savoy, especially for that at Rivoli.

Eight volumes of original drawings and sketches by Robert de Cotte are preserved in the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris.⁷²²

Note 722. Concerning their contents, see Destailleur, p. 212 et seq.

Jules Robert de Cotte (1683-1767), son of Robert, likewise an architect, completed several works by his father and was his successor as general intendant of the royal buildings.

432. Jacques Jules Gabriel.

b. Jacques Jules Gabriel (1667-1742), son of Jacques II of the same name,⁷²³ godson of Maurice I (1631), architect of the tower of the Church at Argentan and great grandson of Jacques I, who in 1607 began the new Hotel-de-Ville at Rouen,

should not be thrown too much into shadow by the fame of his own son Jacques-Ange, the builder of the Palaces on Place de la Concorde in Paris. After the death of Robert de Cotte, he manifestly occupied the first place in Paris. He was ennobled even in 1709.

Note 723. On Jacques II Gabriel in the years 1684-1688, see *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1876, p. 316-- and for the other Gabriels, see Lonce.

We see him in the following series of positions.

1699, he was received into the Academy of Architecture.

1709, he was "comptroller of the interior" of the Palace of Versailles.

1718, "first engineer of the bridges and roads of the realm."

1722, knight of the order of S. Michel.

1730, "comptroller of the buildings of the king".

1734 or 1735, he became "first architect of the king".

1737, "inspector general of the royal buildings".

To Jacques Jules Gabriel are ascribed important decorative works in the chateaus of Versailles, Marly, Meudon and Chambord. It is difficult to accept, that an architect like him, who was already in 1709 "comptroller of the interior of the Palace of Versailles", and who was indeed after 1735 "first architect of the king", should have exercised no determining influence on the internal decoration of the Palace at Versailles, but have left the designing thereof to Verberckt and Rousseau.⁷²⁴

Note 724. In reply to my inquiry concerning this, P. de Nolhac stated to me, that he also conjectured, that Gabriel at least designed the principal arrangement of the decoration. (See Notes 549-551 and Art. 353).

The chief works of Gabriel are the following.

In Paris:-- the Hotel des Chambre des Comptes (1730), beside the Sainte Chapelle; the Hotels de Morey or de Biron and de Varangeville, as well as the College de Navarre. In Bordeaux:-- the Hotels de la Bourse and de la Douane, which were completed by his son in 1749. In Rennes:-- the Hotel-de-Ville, the Cour du Presidial and the Tour de l'Horloge. In Lyons:-- the Salle et la Chapelle des Etats. For Nantes, a design for beautifying the city; further the portals (facades ?) of the Cathedrals of Orleans and of La Rochelle; lastly the

Chateau S. Hubert near Rambouillet and the new buildings of the Abbey at S. Denis.

As his father Jacques II had built the Bridge Pont Royal at Paris, so Jacques Jules erected the Bridges of La Guillotiere in Lyons, of Poissy, Charenton, S. Maur, Pontoise, Ile-Adam, pont Saint-Maxence, Beaumont and Blois (1723). For the latter, he received a pension of 2000 livres.

A description of the course of his famous son Jacques-Angé Gabriel, whose Palaces on Place de la Concorde have already been mentioned (Art. 309), no longer belongs in the compass of this volume, since the tendency of his son already entirely pertains to the style of Louis XVI.

433. Germain Boffrand.

c. Germain Boffrand (born at Nantes May 7, 1667, died at Paris, Mar. 18, 1754) worked for three years with the sculptor Girardon, changed to architecture in 1685, and at first worked under his patron J. H. Mansart on the Orangery at Versailles, and on the supervision of the works of Place Vendôme.

Of cheerful disposition, nephew of the poet Grimault, he himself composed pieces for the theatre, which were brought out by the Italian Comedy Theatre in Paris.

Of his works created in France, the following may be mentioned here.

1709, great changes in Hotel d'Ormesson, Rue S. Antoine, Paris.

1710 (?), internal restoration of Palace du Petit-Bourbon (called Petit-Luxemburg) for Princess of Conde; later a further change of the interior for Electress Anna (Princess Palatine).

1711, decoration of Hotel de Broglie.

1728, he became architect of the Hospital General at Paris and built for it in 1747 before Notre Dame, the former Hospital of Foundlings.

1733-1735, he constructed the well in Bicetre, 561 ft. deep.

1735 (not already in 1708), he began the famous decorations in Hotel de Soubise, now Archives Nationales in Paris. (Art. 360).

By Boffrand is further the decoration of the great chamber in the Palace of Justice at Paris; also the decoration of Hotel de Mesme, where Law later had his famous Bank Generale; finally, the decoration of Hotel de la Premiere Presidence.

Lance also mentions the following works in Paris:-- Hotels de Guerchy, de Seignelay and de Brissac in Rue de Grenelle; de Montmorency, de Durat and de Voyer in Rue des Bons-Enfants; de Torcy and de Seignelay, both in Rue de Verneuil; de Tingry and Amelot; also the Houses of the painter Lebrun, Rue des Fosses-Saint-Victor, de Matran and of Prince Rohan in S. Ouen near Paris.

As "first engineer of bridges and roads of France", he built two bridges, one of stone in Sens, the other of wood in Montereau.

It is remarkable that Boffrand, one of the supporters of the style of Louis XV, is seen restoring the great Gothic rose window in the south transept of Notre Dame in Paris; I have seen his work, which was right good, but was removed by Viollet-le-Duc. He further restored in 1746 the Chapel of C Church S. Esprit, the facade of Church de la Merci, and the chapel de Noailles in Notre Dame.

His designs for an opera house and for Place Louis XV, now de la Concorde, were not executed. His great work on architecture was published in 1745.⁷²⁵

Note 725. Boffrand, G. "Livre d'Architecture, contenant les principes de l'art et les plans, elevations et sections de quelques edifices en France et en foreign countries". Paris. 1745.

Boffrand's practice in Lorraine was substantially the following. He became in 1766 first architect of duke Leopold and executed as such the following buildings.

In Nancy, the Palace Neuf, Cathedral, Hotels de Craon, de Curel, Ferrari, de Vitrimant, de Luxcourt, de Custines and de la Monnaie. In Luneville, the Palace, the Pavilion du Trete, Palace of prince Carl, Abbey Church S. Remy, now Parish Church S. Jacques, and Hotel de Craon; Chateau S. Leopold in the vicinity is ascribed to him. Near Nancy he built the Chateaus Malgrange de Harrone and de Croisman or Craon; Lance also attributes the former to Here de Comy; near Ramberviller the Abbey d'Autrai. Further ascribed to him is Chateau Bugnerville in the Vosges.

Boffrand created abroad for the Elector of Bavaria the hunting Chateau Bouchefort in Belgium, whose erection was inter-

interrupted by the battle of Ramillies (1706). He was further called in 1724 to erect the Palace Royal at Würzburg, designed by Neumann and modified by Robert de Cotte. ⁷²⁶

Note 726. See Planat, Art. Boffrand. (After Dusseaux, L. Les Artistes Français à l'Étranger etc. Paris. 1866).

He likewise worked for the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian-Emanuel, and for other German princes, and he erected a beautiful fountain in the gardens of Palace Favorite near Mentz.

434. Gille Marie Oppenordt.

Gille Marie Oppenordt (also Oppenord, 1672-1742). His father was Cander-Johan Oppen Ord, "cabinet-maker" to the king, naturalized from Gueldres in 1679. He was pupil of J. H. Mansart, and in 1692 went to Rome as a pensioner, and remained six years in Italy.

Lance mentions the following of his works.

1700, Tomb of marchioness de Lenville.

1700, Church Noviciate of Reformed Dominicans at Rome.

1704, high altar of Church S. Germain-des-Prés at Paris, and high altar of Church S. Sulpice there.

1706, Tomb of Marie-Anne des Essars in S. Benoit.

1710, chapel of S. Jean Baptiste in Cathedral of Amiens.

1721, he was entrusted with the continuation of the works of Church S. Sulpice; he constructed the second order of the facade of the north transept.

Also by Oppenordt are; the small Chateau at Montmorency for Pierre Crozat and its orangery, the interior of Hotel of the Grand Prieur of France, and the enlargement of Hotel of Pierre Crozat in Rue Richelieu, wherein Oppenordt had a comfortable apartment and died.

435. Juste-Aurele-Meissonnier.

e. Juste-Aurele-Meissonnier (1693-1750), "architect and first designer of the chamber and cabinet of the king, was born at Turin. He was an architect, painter, designer of funeral ceremonies and goldsmith, also an artist, who chiefly influenced the taste of the 18th century.

Meissonnier's very free tendency was already mentioned in Art. 370. Not as many statements concerning him are available, as would be desirable. The chief sources must be the great work known as Oeuvre de Meissonnier. ⁷²⁷ Bestaillieur also

mentions a second work,⁷²⁸ a comparison of various monuments.

Note 727. Oeuvre de Just-Aurele-Moissonnier, painter, sculptor, architect etc.; designer of the chamber and cabinet of the king. First part executed under the direction of the author. Paris. 1723-1735. (About).

Note 728. Parallele Generale des Edifices considerable, from the Egyptians, the Greeks and until the later Moderns, drawn at the same scale by J. A. Moissonnier.

From the engravings of his "Oeuvres", we have collected here as data all the plates containing dates.

1728, Chandeliers of carved silver. (Pl. 6).

1733, Chronological Chart of the king. (Pl. 10).

1735, Garden sledge of the first dowager queen. (Pl. 16).

1725, Golden sword guards for the wedding presents at the marriage of the king. (Pl. 18).

1723, Refreshment pail for M. the duke. (Pl. 21).

1727. Book of goldsmith's work for the church. (Pl. 34).

1734. Cabinet of M. count Bielenski, grand marshal of the crown of Poland. (Pl. 43).

1735. Sofa for the same. (Pl. 50).

1730. Project for the angle of a portable salon for the king. (Pl. 36).

1724. Wind dial of M. the duke of Mortimart. (Pl. 54).

1733. Project for a tomb built for M. the president of Dijon. (Pl. 99).

1727. Project made for M. the curate of S. Sulpice for the chapel of the Virgin. (Pl. 57).

1726. Project of the portal of Church S. Sulpice. (Pl. 61).

1735. Project of a great table epergne and of two dishes executed for my lord duke of Kinston. (Pl. 61).

We likewise collect the data from the engravings, that afford conclusions concerning his designs or works.

House of Sieur Brethous in Bayonne. (Pls. 3-5 and 1-26).

Project of salon of princess Satorinski in Poland. (Pl. 40).

Cabinet of M. count Bielinski (in Poland), executed in 1734. (Pl. 43, No. 87).

Project of doorway of apartment for Mme. baroness de Besenval. (Pl. 48, No. 91).

Project of ceiling of a house in Rue de Rochechouart. (Pl. 57)

Memorial of marble and bronze for M. baron de Besenval, executed in Church S. Sulpice at Paris. (Pl. 56, No. 100).

Various designs of altars for Church S. Aignan at Orleans, Church S. Leu at Paris, and Church S. Sulpice there.

Meissonnier's fanciful composition for a grotto (Fig. 66) was previously described. Another composition (No. 29 of his "Oeuvre") is yet more bizarre if possible, but combined throughout with great skill.

436. Francois de Cuvillies.

f. Francois de Cuvillies (1698-1768) from Soissons, was pupil of Robert de Cotte. On the recommendation of the latter, he was appointed in 1725 by the court in Munich as an assistant architect, and in 1738 as first architect of the Elector, in 1745 becoming architect of the emperor Charles VII.

Cuvillies was an artist of important talents, who appears to have contributed to not only spreading, but also to developing the style of Louis XV in Germany, toward the Rocaille and Rococo tendencies. His works in Nymphenburg have already been referred to (Art. 365). He seems to have been employed to a great extent in Bavaria, where his son, Francois the Younger (1734-1805), was likewise established.

Cuvillies by himself and with his son published a series of works on architecture and especially on decoration. Destailleur designates the former as perfected examples of the style of Louis XV, and the latter as still more important. He gives the contents of them on the basis of the splendid work of Berard.⁷²⁹ These works contained more than 700 plates.

Note 729. See Destailleur. p. 239. -- Berard's work appeared in *Revue Universelle des Arts*. 1859.

437. Francois II Blondel.

g. Francois II Blondel (born in 1683 at Rouen), not related to Francois I, built there the Hotel des Consuls, then in Paris among other works the altar canopy of the chapel of S. Mary in Church S. Sauveur (Fig. 65); in Geneva and its vicinity, he erected three hotels and country houses. His designs for the festivals at the two marriages of the Dauphin (1743 and 1747) are contained in the work mentioned below.⁷³⁰

Note 730. *Recueil des Fetes* given by the city of Paris on the occasions of the two marriages of M^r. the Dauphin, executed

executed from the designs of Fr. Blondel. Paris.

Some believe that Francois II and Jean Francois Blondel, a apparently father of Jacques Francois, might be the same person. ⁷³¹

Note 731. See Planot. Vol. 2. p. 355.

438. Jacques Francois Blondel.

h. Jacques Francois Blondel (1705-1774), nephew of t the second Francois, likewise born at Rouen, built after 1764 much in Metz and later in Cambray and Strasburg. He had opened in 1739 in Paris an architectural school, and he became in 1756 professor at the Royal Academy of Architecture. Of his numerous publications is especially to be mentioned his "Architecture Francoise" (1752), which has furnished several illustrations for this volume.

439. Jean-Nicolas Servandony.

i. Jean-Nicolas servandony (1695 or 6 - 1766) gave h himself out for a Florentine, but he must himself have assumed this Italian sounding name. ⁷³² His father forwarded travelers between Lyons and Italy as a coachman.

Note 732. He wrote it with "y" and not with "i" as it is often found.

This independent master must have spent several years in I Italy in his youth, and he studied painting under the architectural painter J. Panini and architecture under Giovanni Giuseppe Rossi. He came to France about 1724 and for 18 years (after 1731) superintended the decorations of the Paris Opera House. He was received into the Academy of Painting in the latter year. In the year 1732 he received the first prize in competition for the facade of Church S. Sulpice (Fig. 173). It was completed up to the two now different towers. Destailleur considers Servandony as the one, who began the strong r reaction in the sense of the so-called style of Louis XVI against the free tendency of the style of Louis XV, by the last named work, by the decoration of the chapel of S. Maria and of the organ screen of the same church. He traveled much and superintended the festivals at many European courts. In the year 1755, there was conferred on him by the elector of Saxony, the title of royal architect and decorator.

The Triumphal Arch, tha he erected in 1754 in Paris, as

Lance states, was a decoration for the laying of the corner stone of the Place before S. Sulpice. The opening was shaped like the Palladio motive, beneath which stood the statue of Louis XV, and showed a semicircular doubled portico; before each arch stood two detached columns, crowned by goddesses of fame. An engraving by the architect Patte represents the entire decoration; it is kept in the Louis XVI style.

Servandony at least sometimes had a passionate character, (1631), and he must have not at all understood how to manage properly with many. In spite of earning great sums, he appears to have died in poverty.⁷³³

Note 733. *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francois*. 1888. p. 262. Also see Lance.

Among his works, Lance further mentions:--

The main gateway of Hospital de l'Enfant Jesus, Rue de Vaugirard; a circular chapel in Hotel de la Live, both at Paris; the Church at Coulanges-la-Vineuse in Burgundy; the high altars of the Cathedral of Sens and of Carthusian Church at Lyons; a well with half dome in the cloister of S. Choix-de-la-Bretonnerie at Paris; in Vaugirard the "country house" of the priests of S. Sulpice, and the stairway in Hotel d'Auvergne at Paris.

B. Second Group of Masters.

440. Other masters in France.

k. L'Assurance (Cailloteau, called "Assurance", died 1714) was at first draftsman with J. H. Mansart and Robert de Götte, who derived profit from him, if the Memoirs of S. Simon may be believed. From 1799 he belonged to the Academy.

He built in Paris the Hotels de Montmorency (Rue Montmartre), de Rothelin (Rue de Varennes), de Rivie (Rue Saint-Marc-Feyd-eau, 1704), d'Auvergne (Rue S. Dominique-S. Germain, 1708), de Bethune (same street), de Chatillon, de Richelieu (Rue de Grenelle-S. Germain), de Montbazou (Rue Saint-Honore), and de N Noailles (Rue de Luxemburg); also with Girardin Palace Bourbon and with Aubert the Hotel de Lassay.

l. L'Assurance (Jean Cailloteau, called "Assurance", died 1755), son of the preceding, was in 1716 pensioner in Rome, and entered the Academy in 1723; in the same year he became comptroller of Chateau Marly and in 1749 architect in o

ordinary to the king, comproller of the buildings of Fontainebleau.

His chief works are:-- Chateau Bellevue for Mme. Pompadour (begun June 30, 1748, completed Nov. 1750); Hotel des Reservoirs at Versailles; further, works in the Chateaus La Celle near S. Cloud, Crecy near Dreux, Compiègne, and in Hotel d'Evreux, the later Palace Elysee; lastly, Hotels de Luxemburg (Rue S. Marc), de Sens (Rue de Grenelle-S-Germain), and Mole (same street).

Pierre L'assurance was in 1755 comptroller of Chateaus S. G Germain and Monceaux.

441. Other Masters.

m. Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762), sculptor and architect, went in 1722 to Rome as pensioner, where he remained 10 years. He designed and built the beautiful Fountain of Rue Grenelle-S-Germain at Paris, whose corner stone was laid in 1739.

n. Guillaume Camas, from Angers, built about 1750 the facade of the Capitol in Toulouse.

o. Delamire (bied 1745) is chiefly known on account of his practice for the prince de Soubise in Paris. The latter had purchased in 1697 Hotels de Laval and de Chaume, to which Delamaire built the present court with porticos of the Archives National, and the building which then belonged to the adjacent Hotels de Soubise and de Rohan. He also erected the Hotel de Pompadour in Rue de Grenelle-S-Germain at Paris.

p. Garobeare built in 1690 in Rodez the Great Seminary and the portal of the Carthusian Monastery, also in Vabres the Palace archbishop and the organ screen.

q. Jean-Charles Garnier d'Isle (1697-1745) was "comptroller general of the buildings of the king". In 1730 he became "designer of plants and parterres of the gardens of the king" in place of his father-in-law Charles Desgots. (Resigned). He designed the garden of Chateau Crecy near Dreux and in part that of Chateau Bellevue near Meudon.

r. Alexandre Le Blond (1679-1719) built in Paris in 1706 in Rue d'Enfer a Hotel for the Carthusians, and after 1708 Hotel de Clermont (Rue de Varennes). He wrote additions to D'Aviler's "Cours d'Architecture", went in 1716 to S. Petersburg as first architect to Peter the Great, where he died

after various works even in 1719.

s. Jean Hardouin Mansart de Jouy (born 1700) was son of Jacques I Hardouin Mansart and grandson of Jules, the famous architect of Louis XIV. He began in 1754 the facade of S. Eustache at Paris. (Fig. 175).

t. Jacques II Hardouin Mansart de Sargonne (1703-1776) was the younger brother of Mansard de Jouy. He became in 1742 architect of the king and built the Cathedral S. Louis at Versailles, completed in 1754.

u. A. M. Lecarpentier from Rouen (1709-1773) built numerous private hotels in Paris and designed grand plans for the Hotel-de-Ville of Rouen, begun in 1757, but never carried further.

v. Julien David Lewy (1728-1803) is the author of the work criticised by Stuart and Revett, *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de Grece.* (Paris. 1758).

w. Ferdinand de la Monce (1673-1753) was born in Munich, where his father Paul was architect and painter of the Elector of Bavaria, studied in France and Italy, and in 1871 settled in Lyons, where he built much. He drew the plates for the work, "*Essais sur l'Histoire des Sciences, des Belles-lettres et des Arts*", and those for the "*Description de la Chapelle des Invalids a Paris*".

x. Dominique Pineau (born 1718, still living in 1758) was architect and sculptor, and was born at Petersburg, where his father was sculptor to the Czar. In D'Aviler's "*Cours d'Architecture*", edition of 1750, it is stated that he had returned "some years" previously. For the latter work, he drew plates 59 c and 59 d. He must be one of the masters, who contributed to the development of the Rococo tendency, and took the place of Le Blond.⁷³⁴

Note 734. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*. 1878. p. 14.

In Paris he decorated Hotels de Villeroy, de Donroy, de Mazarin, de Troudaine, and in the vicinity of Paris, the Chateau of Prince Isanguien in Suresnes, as well as a House at Asniers. He worked on the chapel of S. Maria in Cathedral Notre Dame de Nazareth, and with Mansart de Sargonne on the Cathedral S. Louis at Versailles. There is a work by him on Table=

legs, and another on fireplaces, canopies etc. appeared in 1756.

y. De Ruze became in 1701 comptroller of the royal buildings at S. Germain-en-Laye, and in 1723 for 10 years was engineer and comptroller of the buildings there, as well as in Marly.

z. Claude Simon, architect of the king, executed in 1701 the bell tower of the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons from the design of Robert de Cotte.

aa. Guillaume de Tremblaye, a friar of Abbey S. Etienne at Caen, erected in 1702-1724 the buildings of the "Conventual House" of the Abbey, and showed himself there as a good architect. The buildings of the Abbey of S. Trinite in Caen and those of the Abbey S. Denis (now School of the Legion of Honor) are likewise attributed to him.

bb. There may also be found in France the following architects of this time, whose names are alone known:-- Jean Carpentier, Jean F. de France, Simonnet, Tanneveau or Tannerot, Nicolas d'Ulin, De Vigny, Vilwys and Volard.

C. Architects in Lorraine.

In Lorraine, then separated from France, there are found employed during the period in question the following masters in addition to Boffrand. (Art. 433).

442. Nicolas Pierson.

cc. Nicolas Pierson (born 1692) was a Premonstrant monk, superintended the building of the Palace of the bishop at Toul, completed the Premonstrant Church in Pont-a-Mousson, and executed the Church S. Marie there. He built a wing and the towers of Monastery Etival, the Church of Bougival in Lorraine and the facade with two towers of the Church of Salival. He prepared the plans for the Abbey Jand'hours, that his pupil friar Arnold erected, and for a country house, which the duke of Lorraine desired to build near Pont-a-Mousson.

dd. Jean Nicolas Jenneson from Nancy, architect of duke Francis III of Lorraine, worked in 1729 on the Palace ducal. He built and completed in 1731 Church S. Sebastian at Nancy, the Chapel S. Pierre at his own cost, also various private houses.

ee. Emmanuel Here de Corny (1705-1763) developed from

Nancy a very great architectural practice in the service of king Stanislaus, whose councillor and first architect he became in 1750. He published several works, among them in 1753 his "Plans et Elevations de la Place Royale de Nancy". He was ennobled in 1751 by the king of Poland, and received from Louis XV the order of S. Michel.

His more important architectural creations are the following:-

In Lunéville, the towers and organ with its screen of Church S. Remy; in Nancy, Church de Bon Secours and the Monastery des Minimes, as well as the House de la Charite in Rue S. Catherine; further in the domain of secular architecture in Nancy, the eight buildings and the Triumphal Arch on Place Royale, the buildings and porticos around Place Carriere with the Triumphal Arch; the Hotels of Place^S Stanislas and the Fountain; then Hotels Consulaire and de la Bourse, as well as a part of the Cour d'Appel. He built many things in the gardens of the Chateaus at Lunéville and Commercy, in the latter being the Pavilion Royale at the end of the canal; also the Chateau de la Malgrange and the gallery of Chateau d'Einville.

5. Masters employed in the Provinces.

443. Sources.

As a supplement to the notices of different masters, we may indicate some sources in which may be found further information concerning the masters employed outside Paris.

For the number of masters in Lyons, see Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais, 1882, p. 53; among 5000 names of artists and tradesmen, more than 1200 fall in the 15 th century, among the latter being 105 master masons or masons. For the sculptors in that city in the 16 th to 18 th centuries, see the same. 1887. P. 289.

For the artists in Provence (Artistes Provençaux) in the period from 1670 to 1722, see Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais, 1883, p. 257, and 1890, p. 152-216; in the period from 1688 to 1716, do. 1891, p. 251; in the time of 1606-1650, do. 1892, p. 97; for other artists from 1702-1723, do. 1892, p. 156; for the masters during the time of 1671-1763, do. 1892, p. 284; in the time of 1684-1785, do. 1894, p. 30.

For the artists in Toulon, see the lists of them in Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais, 1894, p. 193-353; 1887, p. 49; 1888, p. 145; 1889, p. 303.

For the artists in Bordeaux during the period from 1341 to 1637, Guiffrey makes various communications in *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1872, p. 127.

Concerning the art works at Bourges in the period from 1230 to 1792, many interesting details may be found in the same source, 1880-1881, p. 209-292.

For the artists in Troyes in the 14 th and 15 th centuries, as well as in earlier times, the same source contains many statements; 1884-1885, p. 337; 1887, p. 65, 97, 147. Among the sculptors working there in the 15 th century were many Flemings and several Germans.

6. French masters abroad.

444. Sources.

We then have to disclaim in this connection any mention of the works of French architects in foreign countries. It has been shown on the one hand, that their number is too great, and on the other, we could examine too slightly the data preserved concerning them.

The French are accustomed to refer in this matter to the already mentioned work of Dussieux; ⁷³⁵ *Lance* also contains many such notices. ⁷³⁶ The statements of both authors must nevertheless be accepted with discretion.

Note 735. Dussieux, L. *Les Artistes Français à l'Etranger*; "Researches on their works and their influence in Europe. Paris. 1856.

Note 736. *Lance*. p. XVIII-XXI.

Guiffrey emphasizes that even in the 3 rd edition of the work of Dussieux, there is a great lack of authentic documents gathered from the sources. In the latter respect, the documents given by Guiffrey ⁷³⁷ as coming from the royal contracts, are established data and prove, as he says, the extension and influence of French art in all Europe from the middle of the 16 th century until the present time. Yet there are among the 85 artists, concerning whom he makes statements, evidently many, who went abroad in order to further train themselves.

Note 737. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1878. p. 1-87.

Guiffrey's statements extend from 1693 to 1792. The purpos-

purposes of travel are very diverse, as well as the length of time, for which the artists were permitted to travel:-- for one 3 months, for others a year, and for many 3 years. For some it is simply "to travel" or "to travel and cultivate his talents". Belleville in 1786 was sent to England and Holland for two months "to develop himself". Bellisard was sent to Spain in 1790 "to draw the Roman and Arabian monuments". Antoine, "architect of the king and belonging to his Academy", was sent to Italy in 1777 "to acquire the new knowledge".

Of Roumier, who went to Italy, it was said in 1733, "to obtain there the light, that he may be lacking in the fine arts", and to be able to perfect himself therein as he may be able".

Oppenordt, "cabinet-maker of the king", was sent in 1694 to Notre Dame of Loreto. It was entirely different with Le Blond (1716), "architect to his majesty the Czar;" he went to Russia with his family and workmen of all kinds, 45 persons in all.

Finally, we may refer to the work mentioned below.⁷³⁸

Note 738. Volobreque, A. L'Art Français en Allemagne. Report on a mission etc. 1895. Paris.

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HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE

Part II.

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Volume 6

FRENCH RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

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DIVISION II. ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN FRANCE.

By Dr. Heinrich Baron von Geymüller.

B. Structural and Esthetic Style Tendencies of French Renaissance Architecture.

Frequently the manner in which an architectural style is composed of a number of style elements and modes of composition, that are in part common to other architectural styles, is especially suited to bring the spirit of the style nearer to our understanding. Examples of important methods of composition, that appear accidental, when classified, throw an entirely new light on the aims and capabilities of the style, and appear to us much more clearly and impressively. These facts have induced us to treat in the manner here followed a series of such style phenomena, as well as the relations of the French Renaissance to construction and technics.

Chapter 6. Relation of French Renaissance Architecture to Construction and Technics.

a. Structural Problem of the Renaissance.

445. Introductory.

Although men usually assume, that French Renaissance architecture and Renaissance architecture in general, in contrast to the Gothic style, neither invented a new structural system, nor adopted an already existing one as a thorough and combining basis of the style or of its domains, as for example of church architecture, yet the most correct possible representation is required, concerning the part played by construction or structural systems in the realm of the Renaissance, and particularly in the French. Herein the desire to build rationally even leads to unusual arrangements, such as shown by the varied thickness of the walls of the drum beneath the dome of the Institute of France. (Fig. 67⁷³⁹). Misunderstandings are here not only a historical mistake, but frequently a maiming of the powers and ideals, which the Renaissance placed in our hands and entrusted to posterity.

Note 739. From Blondel, J. F. *Architecture Française* etc. Paris. 1752-1758. Vol. 2. Pl. 155.

Although it invented no new structural system, the Renaiss-

Renaissance indeed solved a problem of the very greatest importance in the domain of construction. It opened the way to the modern principle of adopting all structural systems at a need. It gradually introduced into the world the modern and permanent basal idea of freedom of conscience in construction, combined with the conditions of esthetic harmony.

446. Limits of this Study.

A structural system and technical procedure, that gradually comes into fashion, and that is observed to keep pace with esthetic changes, aside from "steel" introduced in our days, are the same procedures, which are more or less general in all civilized states, thereby known to every architect. Therefore in this place is required no complete description and scientific detailed statement of them. We can limit ourselves to speak only so far of construction and technics, as they may have afforded architectural solutions, motives and peculiarities in style, and have contributed to the artistic appearance of the parts in a notable manner.

Therefrom will result elements valuable for the determination of the style tendency, as well as of the views and ideals of the French architects.

1. Mission of Freedom of the Renaissance in the Domain of Construction.

The mere circumstance, that the Renaissance directly followed the Gothic, required it to follow other paths in perfecting its mission of progress. To busy itself with architecture, to broaden the field of its undertakings, was the first problem presented to it, that of a twofold freedom. The Renaissance must first loose architecture from its exclusive connection with a single structural system. This onesidedness had as a result, that the entire powers of the architects had been restricted within rather narrow limits. To widen the intellectual horizon of the architect and to elevate it in many ways was thus the second problem of freedom.

447. Emancipation from the Fetters of a onesided structural System.

If one reproaches the Renaissance with a presumed ground of inferiority in comparison with Grecian and Gothic, since it has invented no structural system for itself, he forgets the

mission and the problem, that were entrusted to it in the systematic development of the divine order of the world and of the history of civilization.

Such reproaches show how little we are accustomed in the series of architectural styles, for each one to judge their works according to the four basal domains, that compose the true value of every one.

Works as an expression of esthetic feeling or of an intellectual ideal.

Works in the realm of pure esthetics.

Works of purely structural nature, which serve as means for the expression in the first two domains.

Capacity for fulfilling the different needs of a culture period developed in all directions.

Without a glance at the actual state of things, to which the Gothic had led, understanding and judgment of this question are entirely impossible. I here allow Choisy to speak, since his thorough acquaintance with structural questions is generally recognized.

"The history of Gothic architecture is that of the most astonishing and incessant effort of logic in art.

From its beginnings to the last moment it had a single aim, to reduce the masses.

It then began by separating an active skeleton from the inert mass of the vault.

When it reached the end of its development, there remained of the structure merely a kind of framework with open spaces".

The manner in which the combining and uniting of art with the structural forms was attained by it, was doubtless an undertaking of which not merely the Gothic masters, but mankind in general may be proud. This led to acquisitions, that for all time are a valuable and indispensable instruction to architects, and place precious materials in their hands, always to be recognized in the use of freer architectural styles, in whatever relation its decorative forms stand to the construction employed, and how far they depart therefrom.

But in spite of these prominent works, there were still different sides in Gothic architecture, that indicate for it a role, that cannot be designated otherwise than as a system of

onesided restraint and a tyranny.

Stones had become the tyrant of architecture; men termed architects merely masons or stonecutters, architecture itself was the art of masonry, even God as Creator of the world was called the Sovereign Mason.

But no special insight was required to recognize, how onesided was such a conception of the development of architectural forms, and how little suited the membered system, to which it had led, was to solve the varied problems of architecture, which the culture of the Renaissance, i.e., that of the future, had introduced.

After 350 years of such onesided restraint, a new and just as exclusively restricted connection with whatever structural system men might devise, was the last that architecture required and had to suffer. There would have been a new restriction, that would have hindered the Renaissance from adopting a new means of construction, from satisfying each new requirement, from continually growing young, and from remaining the architecture of the future. By the new inspiration of the Italian conception of architecture, by its Renaissance, was this restraint broken down.

The means employed by the Renaissance for this mission of freedom, was the return to the ancient Roman principle of construction and of decoration, the restoration of their independence from each other.⁷⁴¹

Note 740. These style tendencies were previously referred to in Art. 187; but they are now treated in a somewhat different sequence.

Note 741. With his own clearness and his knowledge of the subject, Cholsy made it distinct, that this Roman principle was never dropped by the Italians, not even during their so-called Gothic period. "This independence of the ornament and of the structure of the edifice", says Cholsy, "renders the Italian Gothic substantially transformable. - - When in the 14th century antiquity recovered honor, - - - architecture had nothing at bottom to change; it made itself Roman, just as before it had been Gothic, the covering alone was modified".

Cholsy's History of Architecture. Paris. 1899. Vol. 2. p 603.

448. Consequences of Gothic Onesidedness.

448. Consequences of Gothic Onesidedness.

To the onesided connection with a single structural system was added the entire carelessness of architecture for the sister arts. There remained to them only to play the part of decorative arts. Men had degraded them, so to speak, to industrial arts.

2. Relation of the Construction to the Interior.

449. Creation of an internal Style.

Another problem for the Renaissance was the return to earlier structural forms or the development of new ones for the treatment of those domains, which the Gothic had greatly neglected. It was an extension of a system of forms and construction, that had been developed exclusively in the building of churches and cathedrals.

An architectural style, whose ideal merely consists of the thinnest slender columns and the largest openings possible, is little prepared with such means to solve the problem of the proper treatment of the interior.

Of a culture and art of the manner of living, the Gothic scarcely had an intimation.

Here was sketched out the problem of what the modern world required, and the Renaissance expressed this programme in a striking manner.

Outside church architecture and some palace halls, the Gothic had strikingly neglected the development of interiors, that are necessary for habitation or for secular festal receptions.

Burckhardt's refined artist's eye had likewise looked into the innermost nature of the Renaissance, when he introduced for it the appellation of an "internal style", and this at a time, when the fewest realized a clear conception of the scope of this designation.

One must say, that the conditions, which produce the beauty of the interior and its subdivision, as well as the harmony of grouped beauties of the interior, became an actual and ideal law of the Italian Renaissance.

When the Renaissance had elevated architecture from a "style with the thinnest possible supports" to an "internal style", it set before architecture for all time its true mission:--

to become "interior forming" in the most perfect manner. To its existence for four hundred years and its development is it due, that for this purpose and in the present phase of the Renaissance, all structural systems heretofore originated concur, so to speak, and our choice may be permitted to fall on the one best suited for the given problem.

For an architectural style as well as for the time in which it was developed, this is an indication of the highest culture, freedom and intelligence.

3. Structural Ground Principles.

450. Capacity for Assimilation and Acceptance of new Elements.

Instead of having no structural system, the Renaissance, thanks to the architectural principles which unite it, is able to adopt past structural systems, as well as every new structural element and material, and to treat them in harmony.

Thanks to the coexistence of both most diverse intellectual conceptions and of the combination of the vertical and the horizontal modes of composition, from which it originated, it awarded to both their constitutional rights, so to speak, and made possible a sound collaboration.

This combination ensured to the Renaissance always the cooperation and participation of all sound artistic powers. By the quality of its sources and principles arose a kind of "architectural marriage". By the opposed intellectual fecundation of the Grecian-Roman-Italian and of Gallo-German feeling and culture forms, so far as human powers avail, was laid the foundation and conditions for the eternal freshness and healthy life force of its style and of its constitution.

As Burckhardt once said to me:-- "The world was not completed for a long time; - the Renaissance has never been worked out"!

451. Capacity for remaining Modern.

By this elasticity and extensibility of its structural principles, by these inexhaustible sources of its ideas and feelings, the architecture of the Renaissance is therefore now not only "modern" in the strongest sense of the word, but it possesses everything in order to always remain "modern".

Thus one may say, that the Renaissance introduced the free-

freedom of conscience into architecture, just as soon thereafter the Reformation should open the way for it in the religious domain.

But while the Renaissance placed at the command of the architect a never before existing freedom in ideas, in feeling, and in construction, it accompanied these with an earnest meaning. By the examples of the previously flourishing styles, from which it originated, the Renaissance makes the architect able to determine at all times, how far he may go without forgetting in a dangerous way the principles of the accompanying construction, and without falling into lawless, limitless and corrupt caprice.

b. Transformation and Influence of the structural Spirit of the French.

452. Changes in Views.

In what manner has the transition from Gothic opinions to those of the Renaissance been accomplished? To what phenomena has the gradual development and extension of these principles led?

Therefore it is worth while to investigate these questions, since it is interesting to know, whether the eminent, bold, constructive and technical talent of the French Gothic masters vanished at once, or whether it sought expression in another manner.

As in the realm of the spirit and of all forms, we likewise see in that of construction a time of transition to the new customs. Then must reference further be made to the three following phenomena.

2. First is it to be mentioned here, as Choisy ⁷⁴² has correctly done, the opposition of native and national Gothic principles. One may add thereto, that reminiscences of the mode of thought, of feeling and of construction produced by the Gothic have continued until the present day. At one time this is in the choice of a form, at another in the choice of a procedure.

Note 742. Choisy. Histoire de l'Architecture. Vol. 2. p. 602, 603. -- He writes:-- "The Renaissance in Italy only implies a reform in the system of ornament; with us it will encounter as an obstacle some system of traditional construction".

-- He had stated somewhat earlier, -- "The traditions of construction in France opposed the adoption of classical proportions".

Gothic structural and technical methods of execution would mostly be retained, so long as they could in any wise be combined with composition and details ever more permeated by Italian forms.

454. Indications of Construction.

The custom of French Gothic to regard the form as an expression of the construction -- or rather more correctly stated, to employ a system of structural forms, that corresponded to their ideal of understanding and feeling, and which was most happily combined with the treatment of the members and details and became inseparable, -- influenced in manifold ways the French Renaissance.

On it is based the style tendency designated by the French as the principle of accenting the construction. It essentially consists in honestly showing the various elements of construction, the material, the forms, details or proportions. For modest means this is often the proper way, at least to show the genuineness of the opinions of the owner. It frequently lends to the building a certain charm, but can likewise become "evidence of poverty", and in some circumstances exhibit a lack in the higher monumental sense.

So far as I am aware, this tendency is foreign to the Italians. They are never pleased to ogle and coquet with the construction on its own account. It is and remains a means of producing the desired art form and nothing more.

On the contrary, the French often have true joy in being ingenious, intellectual and inventive in construction, like to exhibit structural truth, the application of a stereometric rule, an ingenious arrangement, a difficulty overcome, or skill in any manner for itself alone.

We have frequently met with this fact:-- in the reaction in the sense of the severe tendency under Henry IV (Art. 229); in the brick architecture of the style of Louis XIII, (Arts. 290-293), and in the realistic-rational style tendency from 1594 to 1774.

In France the enclosures of the doors and windows are always

cut in a series of ashlar, that are bonded with the adjacent masonry or toothed into the same. It does not disturb the French architect, if the portion of the bonding not belonging to the enclosure extends the color of the enclosure proper further into the masonry as an irregular spot.

In Italy are never found such bondings, which affect in a disturbing way the net form of the enclosure. The jambs are mostly inserted in the recesses left for them after the construction of the walls. Likewise on facades, especially for churches, the covering art form is frequently set as a facing much later than the masonry shell.

455. Results of a varied Mission.

Thirdly must reference be made to the difference in the mission of Renaissance architecture, that in contrast to the 12th and 13th centuries, was no period of structural improvement by means of fanciful and intellectual or thoughtful, but complex solutions of the static equilibrium of buildings. On the contrary, it was to be a time of decided structural simplification. This is a result of the penetration of the antique and Italian spirit, which kept in sight rather the entirety of the work and its beautiful treatment, rather than the purpose of combining as many elements as possible in its realization.

The method of construction was more and more influenced by this esthetic manner of design and composition.

This fact is to be connected with the following historical phenomenon. We frequently see in history a style, which, so to speak, was embodied in and grew with a strong structural system, followed by a style with freer structural principles. The Hellenic temple style, fettered by the length of stone beams, we see succeeded by the architecture of Rome, that has great interiors for great ideas, and frees the rights of taste and of decoration from the exclusive necessity of only expressing structural functions. We likewise see after the Gothic style, closely restricted by the structural system of its churches and cathedrals, the architectural return to freedom, brought to it by the Renaissance.

456. Difference between conditions in Italy and France.

Unfortunately it must be generally admitted, that the French

French Renaissance did not understand or found little opportunity to realize the structural freedom won by the Italians. In Italy itself, the development in its finest course in the time of Julius II was broken off by the political conditions of the country and the tendency of Jesuit art. When France gradually dropped the certainly often spirited and interesting tendency of the early Renaissance of Francis I, the harm had already occurred in Italy, and there followed then only the restricted arrangements of church architecture established there.

The small heights of the stories, the adherence to the general arrangement of cathedrals produced by French Gothic, the fact that scarcely any were to be built anew, was added thereto in order to hinder the Renaissance, both in private and in church architecture, from attaining the ideal development, for which it had the means. Only with the great undertakings of the 19th century do more favorable opportunities for its further development appear to begin.

The result of this is, that the French Renaissance became in a much smaller degree than the Italian, a style with great and beautiful interiors, as well as the imposing proportions of the buildings and of their stories on the exterior.

The noble, the majestic, the grand in architecture, and again the magical charm of really harmonious proportions of interiors are very rarely found here. One meets them in those buildings, which adhered least to the national peculiarities.

But the richer development of French Gothic, as well as the strong adherence to its results again brought to France many advantages.

To this connection between the Gothic structural system and the antique details are due such an interior as that of S. Eustache in Paris and portions of external composition, such as the transepts of S. Clotilde aux Andelys. (Fig. 163); further a series of church fragments, beside which Italy has nothing worthy of a place in this tendency.

For many problems of the Renaissance as well as in the future, this domain of the French Renaissance therefore presents more instructive models and suggestions than the Italian, those at Milan excepted.

We shall have to further emphasize these differences in the following, both in church architecture as well as in Palace construction.

3. Examples of varied methods of Construction.

1. Stone Slab Ceilings on Ribs.

457. Origin of this Construction.

The first structural motive is that here mentioned, which developed into a characteristic peculiarity in style. Fig. 68 ⁷⁴³ shows one of the most brilliant examples of this arrangement and deserves prominence.

Note 743. From Rouyer, E. & A. Darcel. *L'Art Architectural in France etc.* Vol. 2. Pl. 1. Paris. 1859-1866.

The elements of the motive were developed within the Gothic style; the idea is still substantially Gothic. Certainly the early French Renaissance made this motive prominent as at least restricted to a kind of chiefly decorative structural system.

The idea of permitting the semicircular arch and horizontal covering elements to act together is much older, and it especially appears where a horizontal floor is to be placed above the round arch, or where the termination in a horizontal crowning line is required, such as a cornice.

This idea actually occurred in the late Gothic, but commonly in the old Roman architecture and its arcade subdivisions; examples of it are found in the Early Christian churches, houses and tombs of Syria, ⁷⁴⁴ and Fig. 35 exhibits an example from the noblest and purest time of Gothic in the treatment of the windows of the castle chapel at S. Germain-en-Laye. ⁷⁴⁵

Note 744. Voûte, M. de. Syrie Centrale. Vol. 1. Pls. 8-17. Paris. 1865-1874.

Note 745. About contemporary with this example was the strengthening of the splendid, yet overbold choir at Beauvais, after the fall of the vaulting, the ridge rib of the transverse compartments of the cross vaults being strengthened by a horizontal stone course, supported by the crown of a side arch and by tracery filling as in Fig. 85, and which rests on the new piers inserted between the old ones.

Antoine Saint-Paul, ⁷⁴⁶ like many of his countrymen, cannot abandon the idea, that French architecture might have passed

through a higher, nobler and independent form of development without the introduction of Italian art, asks himself -- though indeed timidly -- whether in this structural idea might lie the starting point for such an independent restoration, but which by the development of the style after the antique, might thereby be choked in its germ. We believe, that already in reference to the means of the technics at that time, this question may decidedly be assumed in the negative.

Note 746. Planat, P. *Encyclopedie de l'Architecture*. Vol. 6. p. 358. Paris. 1893.

The distance between the ribs cannot be very great, since it is fixed by the length of the stone slabs. The structural stresses between the ribs are not so complete and direct as for compartments; the results of settlement must be considered. The considerable number of the ribs would rather seem a greater use of supporting members in proportion to the interior. 747

Note 747. Already the entire idea is at bottom little suited to the properties of stone. Only with the addition of a steel may we say that it enters into purer relations, as with the Eiffel system for bridges. With the Bridge over the Douro at Oporto and that of Garabit was found a freedom, in which the use of this combination reached a logical solution.

Also from the artistic point of view it is to be noted, that the covering of the interior and its shape naturally does not appear as harmonious as that with compartments, that follow the ribs and rest thereon without the interposition of a supporting tracery filling.

It is evidently rather a desire to produce a richly fanciful, brilliantly ornamental and piquant effect, than the hope of obtaining a structural system, that might permit really novel structural arrangements, that led to the application of this motive. In cases of not too great dimensions, where it yet avails to arouse our imagination, permitting a glance into a rather mysterious space, might this arrangement perform very happy service.

459. Examples.

According to Palustre, the vestibule on the north side of S. Etienne-le-Vieux at Caen, from the first years of the 16th

century must exhibit the oldest example of a stone slab ceiling supported by ribs.

Contemporary if not earlier (before 1509) and with this form of ceiling is the still preserved tower chapel of the Chateau of Gaillon. The panels of the ceiling are separated by four cross and four diagonal ribs. The clear span between the buttresses is 11.81 ft. and its thickness is 1.64 ft. In the polygonal end of the choir a rib springs from each angle of the half dodecagon.

The chapels of 1518-1545 built by Hector Sohier at S. Pierre in Caen exhibit the same arrangement with greater imagination and are executed with the richest treatment of forms.

The choir of Tillieres (Eure), erected in 1543-1546 at the cost of cardinal Jean le Veneur of the family of counts of Tillieres, is of extraordinary magnificence. It consists of two bays and a three-sided apse. Beside the south side of the choir rises the baptismal chapel with two bays. The ceiling of the latter is represented in Fig. 68 with the visible date of 1543. Instead of a single keystone at the crown of the bay, this is formed by a square or a lozenge between four keystones, so that two diagonal ribs spring from each support. The arch spandrels are here not filled with tracery, but with rich sculptured arabesques. Likewise the stone slabs of the ceiling are decorated in rich relief by grotesques, cartouches, coats of arms, satyrs, animals, naked men and women in a scarcely ecclesiastical style, under the influence of the Italians of Fontainebleau.

In the charming chapel of S. Maria of the Church of La Ferté-Bernard, slender columns with round arches, that form a pretty interposed perforated spandrels between the ribs and the stone ceiling. The ribs commence against very large and very rich pendant keystones, surrounded by slender little hanging columns.

Likewise in the three chapels in S. Jacques at Dieppe, built at the cost of the famous Rhetorician Jean Ango, is the filling perforated over the ribs. According to Palustre, this is in the style of Hector Sohier.

The chapels at Vethuil and Magny, which Palustre includes in the works of the Grappin family, also show examples of this treatment of the ceiling.

2. Arcades, Dome construction and the Technics of Vaults.

460. Arcades.

Arcades are composed of round arches, but are mostly accompanied by pilasters or half columns with entablatures. Likewise here was the adherence to the small axial dimensions of Gothic bays in churches a hindrance to the development of Renaissance spaciousness.

461. Dome Construction.

As a result for this striving for simpler, but greater and more widely spaced architectural units, as well as a desire for greater heights, must be regarded the development of imposing domed bays.

This is so strongly one of the forms of expression of the Latin-Italian mode of design in contrast to the northern, that we find it in Italy with Arnolfo on the Florence Cathedral, in 1298 already on a new path. Even if with half Gothic guise, its dome is already a complete Renaissance idea, though somewhat smaller than those. But in France the 16th century adheres substantially to the Gothic arrangement of churches. Only with the second period of the Renaissance does Italian dome construction appear. But even then it is employed with dimensions, insufficient to show the tall dome in the best light. Under C (Church Architecture) will dome construction be more fully treated.

462. Vaulted Construction.

Until in the middle of the 16th century, and sometimes even later, the principle of the ribbed vault was chiefly retained everywhere.

Vaults were seldom constructed of bricks, but almost always of cut stone.

Concerning the innovations then introduced in vault construction, Choisy is perfectly correct in saying of them, that they are not advances.

The art of modern stereotomy, that Choisy mentions and assumes it to commence with Philibert De l'Orme, soon lost the charm of fanciful solutions, in order to form plain, cold and heavy surfaces.

In the stonecutting of the round arch, the voussoirs had projections for sake of bonding with the courses, and that

cracked with the slightest settlement. Similar things occurred in the stonecutting of the intersections of the lunettes with tunnel vaults, arrangements resulting from a false conception of the monumental.

Choisy's expression,⁷⁴⁹ "that the French, trained in the school of the masters of the middle ages, did not conceive of decoration independent of the construction," is indeed truly an expression of its innermost mode of thought. However one meets with exceptions and inconsistencies. The sculptured relief ornament of the inclined tunnel vault over the staircase of Henry II in the Louvre, for example, is in nowise designed with reference to the voussoirs of the vault.

Note 749. Choisy. Vol. 2. p. 703. *Histoire d'Architecture*.

3. Half Timber Construction.

463. Example at Chartres.

One of the first half timber structures to be described here is the so-called House of queen Berthe at Chartres (Fig. 69⁷⁴⁸), erected in the time of Louis XII in still half Gothic forms. It exhibits the case of a tolerably wide stairway projecting in a semicircular. Its projection first begins about 5.25 ft. above the ground. The whole is supported by a middle and two side posts, further by three freely projecting beams supported by framing and corbels. Everything is constructed in oak. All posts, sills and rails are covered by finely carved ornaments. This stairway is still very well preserved, even though also overhanging at the left, the settlement at the middle is quite unimportant after 400 years. Above the roof of the main building, it continues as a tower with a steep conical roof.

Note 748. From Calliat. *Encyclopedie d'Architecture* etc. Series 2. Vol. 6. p. 460. 1897.

464. Examples in Normandy.

In Rouen, where half timber construction was earlier very common, the same was characterized by the great number of closely set posts with occasional bracing. In the example of a House represented in Fig. 70,⁷⁵⁰ in Rue du Bon-Espoir in R Rouen, on the contrary, the exclusive filling of the surface with S. Andrew's crosses, even doubled and intersecting, is striking.

Note 750. From Berty. Renaissance Monumentale en France. Vol. 2. Paris. 1864.

Likewise other cities in Normandy, such as Bayeux, Caen and Lisieux are rich in half timber houses from the first half of the 16th century. Sometimes the second and upper stories project about 1.97 ft. In other cases each of the three upper stories projects about the width of a beam at the height of the floor. The uppermost story is arranged as a steep gable, within which is generally constructed an arch projecting 1.31 to 1.64 ft. and extending the entire width of the building.

Two pretty examples of the last kind are seen at Nos. 52 and 54 of Rue S. Pierre in Caen. The middle and corner posts are wide and are richly decorated by candelabra motives, figures and canopies. Intermediate posts are narrower, one stepped above like a buttress, and they are carved with slender posts and finials. On the House No. 54 are visible no diagonal braces. On the House No. 52, only in the four panelings of the third, i.e. of the middle storey, are arranged the S. Andrew's crosses, not disturbing by concentration at that place.

465. Example from Paris.

A much later example of this tendency, dating from the tasteless time of Henry IV, is shown by Fig. 71.⁷⁵¹

Note 751. From Galliat. Vol. 9. Pl. 79.

All visible braces and crosses are avoided. The posts are all treated as fluted pilasters at equal distances. This House with the date of 1607, formerly in Rue S. Antoine at Paris, is no longer preserved, but unfortunately torn down and published by Galliat.

Other examples of half timber facades will follow later.

4. Examples of Roof Construction.

466. Different Systems.

One may state, that since the beginning of the Renaissance, four systems of roof construction are found.

In the first period of the style was still employed the medieval system of roof construction, in which all rafters act as trusses. This may be seen on the north wing of the Chateau at Blois. Choisy mentions a passage of Le Muet, that descri-

describes this system as still in use in his time.

The roof framework over the tomb-chapel at Anet is represented by Du Cerceau as being erected after this system. However it is to be assumed, that De l'Orme sometimes employed also the Italian system of trusses, which were placed about 13.12 ft. apart, and by means of purlins supported the rafters lying between the trusses.

About 1680, J. Hardouin Mansart introduced the Mansard roof, named after him. (Art. 429).

Domed roofs of square plan, that have the external form of a cloister vault, were frequently employed to cover pavilions. Among later undertakings of this style is also the wooden dome of the Grain Hall in Paris, built in 1782. (Architects, Legendre & Molinos).

467. System of Philibert De l'Orme.

We will speak somewhat more fully of the system named after Philibert De l'Orme.

As stated above, there was invented by this master a system of roof construction named after him, which was still sometimes employed in the 19th century. ⁷⁵²

Note 752. Choisy recalls that the system of Philibert De l'Orme is the same that older buildings in Vienza and Padua already showed in the 15th century, and that was likewise common in the oldest structures in India. He assumes that the later examples originated independently of each other and of the earliest. (See his *Histoire de l'Architecture*. Vol. 1. p. 155; Vol. 2. p. 619, 703.

Since in every treatise on construction a sufficient explanation of the advantages and objects of De l'Orme's roof construction is given, it suffices in structural respects to recall its existence by Figs. 72-74. On the other hand, it is necessary to make a few remarks on the stylistic opportunities connected with it. Likewise are the circumstances in which De l'Orme made his invention, to be more closely determined when possible, since it throws light on the history of the origin of some important monuments.

468. Subdivision for large Spans.

By Figs. 72-74 ⁷⁵³ may be seen an example of the application, which De l'Orme proposed to make of his system of roof.

It is a "hall or basilica", as he calls the interior 153.7 ft. in clear width. It is here interesting to find a form of building in the middle of the 16 th century, that exhibits 300 years earlier the same form, that men had commenced to use in the 19 th century for great railway or exhibition halls; one would believe that he saw in Fig. 72 the germ of the Palais de l'Industrie of the World's Exposition of 1855 in Paris, or that of the new Frankfort Central Railway Station. De l'Orme is seen to contend with the difficulties of the subdivision of the end walls, just as the engineers and architects of the Halle des Machines of the Paris Exposition of 1889 sought to conquer them.

Note 753. From De l'Orme. Nouvelles Inventions pour bien bastir. p. 31, 49, 30. Paris. 1561.

There are the difficulties, to find the motives and scale for the subdivision for interiors of very great span, which must be brought into harmony with the forms, caused sometimes by openings of much less width, and also occur in the other parts of buildings, that adjoin the great interiors. This is chiefly striking in Fig. 72 in the use of a great order as the central motive of the great arch of the front end of the hall.

De l'Orme utilized the framework of the roof in order to add at its ridge a covered view gallery in the sense of the "alleys", that he executed on that of Chateau La Murette.⁷⁵⁴

Note 754. De l'Orme writes of this composition, that the great hall with some pavilions, that he at first intended, must be of such extraordinary span, that he first desired to construct a longitudinal wall in the second story to form two galleries, one of which should be cool in summer, the other one warm in winter, the upper part being of as great width as desired. (See the same edition of 1626. Chap. 23. p. 304.

Besides the roofs in La Murette, De l'Orme mentions other employment of this system in Chateau Limans in Anet,⁷⁵⁵ both for the duchess of Valentinois (Diana of Poitiers).

Note 755. See the same edition of 1626. p. 291, 292, 296-297, 300.

By the aid of the system of De l'Orme, Henry II desired De l'Orme to build at Pecq, at the base of S. Germain, a bridge

of a single arch over the Seine, that would have been the finest work ever seen, says De l'Orme himself.⁷⁵⁶

Note 756. See Memoirs. p. 57.

469. Occasion of the Invention.

Let us now seek to clearly understand the occasion, that led to this invention.

According to his statement in Chapter 23 of his "Nouvelles Inventions", which appeared in 1561, De l'Orme made his invention five or six years earlier, and therefore about 1555. In the "Memoirs"⁷⁵⁷ we find the words:-- "The queen mother, who was the cause that I made the invention in carpentry for the game of pellmell, which she wished to have covered etc." According to the story in the letter to readers in his "Nouvelles Inventions" on the contrary, his discovery was earlier, and De l'Orme appears to have made it on the occasion of the completion of Chateau La Muette near S. Germain-en-Laye, entrusted to him. But when the master began to speak of this to the king, who was at table, it was ridiculed by the courtiers around the king, who said nothing himself, and De l'Orme decided to complete the building in the usual manner. Then indeed he covered the two pavilions with stones, of which he says in his "Memoire":-- "I covered the two pavilions with ~~cut~~ ~~stones~~, since men would have been able to make everything in carpentry.

Note 757. See the same. p. 56.

Only when sometime thereafter the queen desired to have covered a hall for ball play in her Chateau of Monceaux-en-Brie, but for this the invention was not employed, yet De l'Orme appears to have succeeded in putting it into execution on La Muette, over the middle building only, as one should believe. What is then the meaning of the rather indistinct statement:-- "And the said alone caused me to desire to test it; then wishing greatly to render her very memorable service". Does he wish to say, that the influence of the queen aided him therein, or merely that the desire to obtain her favor was so great, that he risked the attempt on his own responsibility? It is assured that the experiment was made, and that Henry II commanded De l'Orme to write his work thereon, "Nouvelles Inventions". (Art. 149).

The words of Du Cerceau come to our assistance here. In the description of the small chateau in question, the matter is placed in a somewhat different light. Already on account of its purpose, the structure had been covered by vaults, that supported stone terraces, from which could be seen the finish of the hunt. Over this terrace, as Du Cerceau states, De l'Orme then erected his semicircular roof on the middle building, covered it with slates, and made a small adjacent terrace covered with lead, which Du Cerceau terms "alley", and whose weight had sunk the roof in a manner arousing anxiety. 758

Note 758. How does De l'Orme come to say, that wood of sufficient length was hardly to be found for covering the building in the ordinary way, and in that case the walls could not have borne its weight, since they also bore vaults and stone terraces? The thickness of the walls, the arrangement of the rooms and of the buttresses, especially in comparison with Fig. 263, at once suggests the idea of a structure intended for a ribbed vault.

The roof with plank arches actually appears as an addition not originally designed. The choice of an already sufficiently covered structure for testing thereon a new system for roofs, and in order to obtain a higher platform for the outlook, was a skilful conception and may have aided De l'Orme in obtaining permission for the experiment. 759

Note 759. In the dedication of his *Nouvelles Inventions* to Charles IX, De l'Orme says in speaking of the king:-- "He ordered me to make trial at his Chateau and yours, of La Muette".

The reason why Catherine did not turn to the architect of Diana of Poitiers for the building of her private Chateau at Monceaux, and she also was moved to go to the king, not in favor of an invention, which she did not desire to test herself. When De l'Orme wrote his book, Catherine had meantime become the powerful regent. It is very probable, that the future architect of her Palace of the Tuileries, in order to flatter her and to overcome her antipathy to him, then represented to her the hall for ball play in Monceaux and Catherine herself as the cause of his invention. He could do so with a certain justice, even if Catherine had done nothing in favor of Philibert.

When De l'Orme writes on the other hand, that his discovery originated on the occasion of the Chateau La Muette, then it is to be understood, that he first made use of it there.

In reference to the Chateau at Monceaux and its authorship, this opportunity will be touched on later.

d. Technical Methods.

1. Masonry.

470. Different Methods.

Walls were almost never constructed of ashlar in their entire thickness, just as frequently occurs today in France. These form a facing of the external and sometimes also of the internal surfaces, being of sufficient thickness and arranged in bond with the rubble masonry lying behind or between them. It is to be understood, however, that with the Renaissance the dimensions of the ashlar quite generally increased.

On the still remaining little octagonal tower in the angle of the court of the Chateau at Gaillon, the masonry of the somewhat older lower half is built of smaller and drayer stones, than those of the upper half, composed of more yellowish and larger ashlar.

The method now common in Paris, of cutting the facades for their entire thickness of the longest possible blocks of stone, almost without regard to architectural and decorative subdivision, and without inquiry whether a wide yellowish-white joint will cut across the face or breast of a figure, must not extend back farther than the middle of the 19th century.

Without doubt as already in the middle ages, masonry is still today chiefly executed by nomadic masons, who appear in spring, and at the first frost go to their homes in central France. They are designated according to these homes and have their specialties.

The Limousins execute "limousinage", i.e., rubble masonry set in plaster of paris or "meulieres" (grits) in hydraulic lime mortar.

The Creusois and the Marchois (from Limousine ^{et} Marche) make all kinds of masonry and also of cement work.

The brick masonry is executed by masons from French Flanders and from Belgium.

The toothed ashlar piers, which instead of pilasters or ba-

bands frequently subdivide the facades, were originally introduced to receive by better material the pressure of the main beams or girders of the ceiling, as made clear by the contract of April 28, 1528, for rebuilding the Chateau of Fontainebleau.⁷⁶⁰

Note 760. Les Comptes des Batiments du Roi. Vol. 1. p.25-45.

Examples are found, where the Renaissance decoration is inserted as a later addition and alteration in the masonry of an earlier structure. In the rebuilding of the Chateau of Fontainebleau after 1528, for example, on the pavilion of S. Louis, the pilasters and other Renaissance ornaments were simply bonded into the old hard masonry of the 13th century.

Choisy assumes, that the usual connection of the separate windows above each other into a band may perhaps have arisen from the manner in which windows in the new style were inserted in the round towers of the old castles. A breach was made therein from top to bottom, in which were built the new windows in a connected elevation.⁷⁶¹

Note 761. Choisy. Vol. 2. p. 713.

At my visit to the ruins of the Chateau of Gaillon itself in the year 1884, I saw in the clearest manner, for example, that the entire Renaissance decoration of the gate pavilion was inserted into somewhat older masonry.⁷⁶²

Note 762. I do not know, whether Courajod's remark, that the insertion of ornaments into earlier masonry, as one proceeds with faience, might be an Italian structural procedure, and this never occurred in the Gothic period in France, may be regarded as an absolute rule.

Many interesting problems relating to technical methods and customs are found in some contracts in Archives de l'Art Français and in Comptes des Batiments du Roi, works already frequently referred to. We particularly mention the contracts of 1527 and 1528 for the rebuilding and extension of the Chateau at Fontainebleau.

Further may be mentioned an interesting discussion, that occurred between master masons and master carpenters on methods of foundation with and without piles on April 20, 1499, on the occasion of rebuilding of Bridge of Notre Dame at Paris, and likewise on April 8⁷⁶³ and July 6, 1500.

763. Le Roux de Lincy. Recherches Historiques sur la Chute et la Reconstruction du Pont Notre Dame. 1499-1510. (In Library of Ecole des Chartes). Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 32 et seq.

Much of interest concerning the building of Bridge Pont Neuf is to be found in R. de Lastequie's "Documents inedits sur la construction du Pont Neuf," in Vol. 6 of the *Memoires de la S Societe de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Isle de France*. 1882. p. 1-94. Many of the conclusions drawn by Lastequie have been justified in our "Les Du Cerceau. p. 250 et seq.

2. Carving the Ornamentation after the Setting.

571. Examples.

Choisy states, that since the beginning of the Romanesque period, and still more during the Gothic, all stones were entirely cut and set after carving. The custom to construct the building of ashlar, when its members being merely roughed out, to lay out or to cut the surfaces and ornaments only after setting, (facing on the building or after setting), as such was in part common among the Greeks, and has now become the rule nearly everywhere in France, again occurred occasionally in the Renaissance in France.⁷⁶⁴

Note 764. Choisy, A. Histoire de l'Architecture. Vol. 2. p. 143, 259, 260. Paris. 1899.

In the interior of Church S. Maclou at Pontoise, of about 1540, may be seen arcade piers, on which the capitals are set with the leaf form only represented by bosses. Likewise the panels on the shafts and those of the entablature are not yet cut.

On the upper story of the transept facade of S. Clotilde aux Andelys, of about 1550 or 1600, the smooth bosses left on the pedestals, bases and spandrels of arches prove, that the unexecuted carving of the ornaments was only to occur after the setting of the ashlar of the previously cut structure. Also in the interior at several places where the casing is only begun. In Tours, in S. Germain-en-Laye and in Monceaux-en-Brie may still be seen occasional similar examples.

On the nearly contemporary tower of the Church of Gisors, which was not completed, on the contrary, all sculptures to the top are carved, and therefore were doubtless set after completion. ^{765.}

Note 765. See illustration in Rouyer & Dorcel. Vol. 1. Pl. 28.

On the Doric columns in the ground story of the Building of Gaston d'Orleans at Blois (1635), even to the present day the flutings on some columns are not entirely cut, as well as the subdivision of the architrave and frieze.

3. Importance of Stonecutting.

472. Opinions and Works.

Indeed for no other people do the technics of stonecutting appear to possess so great an attraction as for the French. It is not only regarded as a means for constructing the forms in the best structural manner, but the methods of stereotomy themselves become a source of incitement to attain to new combinations and to devise new solutions. Until the present day, one frequently meets on French buildings with evidence of the continuance of this intellectual tendency, that was developed on the masterworks of Gothic during 350 years.

Like the masons, the stonecutters came from definite regions. Most came from Normandy and Brittany; the Limousin also supplied very good ones; others came from Marche and Poitou.

Berty assumes, that the domain of stonecutting was not a subject of public instruction before the publication by De l'Orme, but formed a sort of privilege of a small number of constructors, who instructed their apprentices therein. He conjectures, that the methods employed retained something of the mystery, by which men long surrounded them.

From the words of the title of some later works alone it may be seen, that the science of stonecutting so-called was identified with geometry itself. This is a continuation of the views of Gothic architects, who at least in the 14th century, regarded geometry as the principal foundation of architecture.

About the middle of the 17th century appeared almost at the same time three works on stonecutting; those of Desargues, of Mathurin Jousse and of Father Durand.

In his preface, Durand⁷⁶⁶ criticizes much in the work of Mathurin Jousse,⁷⁶⁷ that appeared six months earlier, and emphasizes that these two works with that of De l'Orme were the only ones, that treat of the art of stonecutting.

Note 766. "L'Architecture des Voutes", or the art of cutting vaults, a very useful treatise, that is for all architects,

master masons, designers, stonecutters, and generally all those concerned with architecture, even military, by the Rev^d Father Francois Durand of the Company of Jesus. At Paris, by Sebastian Cramoisy, ordinary printer to the king, Rue Saint-Jacques, sign of the swans. 1643. By permission of his majesty -- From the dedication of this work to M. de Noyers, Baron de Dangu, it results that some of the discoveries of Martellange are due thereto. (Charvet. Martellange. p. 211.213.

Note 767. Le Secret d'Architecture, "faithfully revealing geometrical drawing, sections and developments required in buildings, enriched by a great number of figures adapted to each discourse for their explanation, by Mathurin Jousse, of the city of La Fleche. At La Fleche, George Griveau, ordinary printer to the king and the College Royal. By permission of his majesty".

Girard Desargues likewise published a work on stonecutting.⁷⁶⁸

Note 768. Brouillon project d'Exemple" of a universal method of the S. G. D. L. touching the practice of accurate drawing for stonecutting in architecture; and the explanation of a method of reducing to small scale in perspective as in geometrical, and for tracing all dials plane with equal hours for the sun. Paris. August. 1640. By permission".

The enjoyment of the French in stonecutting and technical solutions for it is recognized in De l'Orme in the different methods, he proposes in Chapters 11-14 of his 4th Book, in order to subdivide the stonecutting of a spherical dome according to various unusual methods by the aid of a middle principal area of square, triangular or rectangular ground plan.

In the so-called Basse Cour (lower court) at Fontainebleau, Philibert De l'Orme had built a flight of steps no longer existing, in which the stonecutting had to follow three different forms combined; the lower surface of the winding steps according to the system of the so-called S. Gilles' screw,⁷⁶⁹ combined with the ascending arches of circular ground plan from one pier to another, and finally a third form of arch, whose shape is so far not recognizable with certainty.

Note 769. This appellation is derived from an example found in the Priory of that name in Languedoc.

In the dome of the Chateau of Anet, built of great ashlar,

De l'Orme permitted the extrados itself to form the external line of the dome. The stonecutting is excellent, so that no defects seem to have occurred.

De l'Orme was so affected by the charm of what may be attained by geometrical drawing, that he expressed his opinion, that if Bramante had known it, he should have formed also the bases and capitals with inclined instead of horizontal ones, for his winding stairway in the Belvedere at Rome, as well as with rampant arches between columns instead of architraves. And even if he wished to use bricks instead of ash-lars for the vaults, he should have arranged a stone cross a arch at each twelve feet.⁷⁷⁰

Note 770. See his Architecture. Book 4. Chapter 9. p.125.

De l'Orme states that the architrave employed by him over the main doorway of Chateau Saint-Maur and the portico before the chapel in Anet were built as straight arches, in whose converging joints was cut obliquely and diagonally a hole of square shape, then filled by a stone prismatic dowel.⁷⁷¹

Note 771. See the same. Book 7. Chapter 15. p. 226, 237.

474. Pendant Keystones.

Vertical arches are frequently found, whose keystones are elongated as a pendant and support two suspended arches.

Fig. 24 already exhibited such an example from Gaillon. It is now exhibited in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, and leads from the second court into the garden on the right.

The construction and stonecutting of this fragment are arranged in the following manner. The tolerably high belt course above the arcade extends from one pier to the other, in the form of a horizontal arch constructed of three stones. The middle one forms the keystone and is elongated as a pendant. On its sides are cut the imposts and radial beds of the suspended arch. Between this bed and that symmetrically on the arcade pier is formed of one stone the entire arch, and whose upper bed exactly fits the under surface of the horizontal arch.

In Lyons are several examples of the same arrangement, among others that in Rue Treize Cantons, that in the Montee S. Bartnelemy, and in that already mentioned in the court of the House of Croppet de Varissan. In the latter, iron bars are

fixed in the side piers, and form a discharge over the free parts, that are partly suspended from these bars.⁷⁷²

Note 772. For these examples, see Martin, P. *Recherches sur l'Architecture a Lyons*. Paris. 1854.

4. Trumpet Vaults.

475. French Partiality.

A mode of construction, that more frequently occurs in France than in any other country, is the trumpet vault.⁷⁷³

Note 773. I remember no example in Italy. The *Dizionario tecnico dell' Architetto e dell' Ingegnere* etc. (Florence. 1887), is pleased to say of the trumpet vault, that it is a kind of vault of funnel form. Hence is evident the slight interest of Italians in this form of vault. The lack of a German word for this architectural form must be explained on the same grounds.

The trumpet vault cannot be absolutely designated as an element of esthetic beauty or of complete architectural satisfaction. It is a structural means for evading an occasion, when the form of the ground story does not permit it to attain the complete development of a higher room, without allowing the latter to project outward over the lower story. Here must the interesting, bold, piquant and precision of stonecutting frequently compensate for complete harmony. Here the satisfactory solution particularly depends on the good taste of the architect and on the relations of the trumpet vault to the load and to the forms of the adjacent parts of the building.

These circumstances and relations appear to make it a means, that corresponds better to the spirit of the French than to the genius of other nations. They distinguish three forms of trumpet vaults; the angle trumpet vault in a projecting angle, as at the transition of a square to an octagon; the corner trumpet vault for vaulting out a projecting corner of a building over the side cut off below, and the trumpet vault with a round tower, that supports a semicircular projection from a straight wall. The pendentive and the trumpet vault in a niche, i.e., the half dome in a semicircular niche are included in these classes of vaults.

476. De l'Orme's Trumpet Vaults.

One sometimes meets, as in Philipbert De l'Orme, with conoi-

combinations and complications of some of these types, as shown by the following examples. This master evidently had the greatest enjoyment in their construction. With great prolixity he describes their arrangement as well as the stonecutting.

477. Trumpet Vaults in Lyons.

In Rue de la Savaterie in Paris, De l'Orme also built a trumpet vault at the mansion of the banker Patoillet, and earlier in the year 1536, as he returned from Italy, two trumpet vaults in Lyons for M. Bailland (Billan), general of Brittany, at No. 3. Rue Juiverie.⁷⁷⁴ (Fig. 75⁷⁷⁵).

Note 774. See his Architecture. p. 91 v.

Note 775. From Martin.

De l'Orme had to join his new building to an older one, and to retain several doors, windows and a gallery in the second story resting on consoles. In the acute angle above the latter, he built a larger and more projecting trumpet vault with merely one story, while in the obtuse angle on the right above the cistern, he erected one in two stories, that must be beautified by one window, as in Anet. But the gallery connecting the two angle buildings rests on the wall, which De l'Orme set on two flying buttresses, that were supported below by a common pier.

Aside from the oval arch, the entire composition is as Italian as possible, and is strongest in that sense. that we have from De l'Orme. Likewise the detail of the Doric and Ionic pilaster orders; the volutes on the latter project flatly sideways; the mouldings already show De l'Orme's own firm connection of the members (mouldings). When De l'Orme had to furnish the king's chamber in the Chateau of Anet with a cabinet, for which no space could be found without curtailing other necessary rooms, he built this in circular form, almost rising on a trumpet vault over a projecting angle, resting at one side on a belt course, but on the other rising from a quadrant side arch, so as not to close the window of a side stairway. Not satisfied with this difficulty, he allowed the three windows to project from the circle like bay windows, and indeed the middle one differently from those at the sides, whereby the lower edge of the cabinet became a very ugly curved line, out which had to be accepted for love of the upper part.⁷⁷⁶

Note 776. See the same. p. 89.

In the example represented in Fig. 76⁷⁷⁷ of the former Gate Du Bac at Rouen, the two angle trumpet vaults evidently originated only from the desire of producing a more piquant effect, and by the ascending arches to better prepare for the horizontal arch of the half gable. These are turned, not above a flat diagonal plane, as shown in Fig. 79, but over niche-shaped recesses.

Note 777. From Israel Silvestre. Vol. 1. Pl. 28.

In Beauvais the House of the year 1562 with a trumpet vault at the corner (Fig. 77⁷⁷⁸) must be the work of a master named Petit. It lies at the corner of Rue de la Frette and of Rue Beauregard, and is called the Maison du Pont-d'Amour. The effect is good. The archivolts abut against the keystone, above which rises the angle pilaster, firmly and in a satisfactory way. The stonecutting in the illustration after the drawing of M. Naples is not correctly represented; the voussours are set around a circular block, as in Figs. 76, 78.

Note 778. From Gallot. Series 2. Vol. 1. Pl. 22.

478. Examples in Paris.

In the following examples of angle trumpet vaults, the artistic solution is unimportant, while the structural problem is more difficult. At the corner of Rue Brise Miche and Rue Taille-Pain in Paris is found a round arched doorway in the cut-off angle 6.56 ft. wide; over this is turned the trumpet vault, to again restore the rectangular corner of both street facades.

We follow with two examples of trumpet vaults in projecting angles. On the present Church S. Marie in Rue S. Antoine in Paris, Francois Mansart built a small trumpet vault under peculiar conditions. Beside the drum of the dome and between two buttresses rises the circular enclosure of a winding stairway. At two-thirds its height for some reason, its axis was transferred to the left by about the length of the radius. The half of the new circular enclosure projects into the air and rises from a trumpet vault between the drum and the first circular stairway.

The second example dates from the 18th century and is found on the inside of a passage, the Passage du Dragon. (Fig. 73). As may be seen, there are winding stairways at both sides of

the passage, projecting in quadrant form and connected together by a concave-curved middle part, in a more fluid manner than by a flat surface.

To the most interesting examples of trumpet vaults on round towers belong the two trumpet vaults lying at right angles to each other on a house in Paris, that forms the acute corner of Rue de la Veilliere on the left and of Rue Croix des Petits-Champs on the right. On the ground story the street facades extend through with a cut-off angle only 3.23 ft. wide. In Rue de la Veilliere 6.56 ft from the edge of this corner begins the first trumpet vault, that has a tower-like oval projection of about 5.91 to 6.56 ft. and is 16.40 to 19.69 ft. wide. In the upper story commences the cut-off corner between the two facades about 1.64 ft. to the right of the angle of this trumpet vault. And on this cut-off side, about 2.30 ft. from the angle commences the second and nearly semicircular projection, that is about 19.69 ft. wide. About one-third rests on the terrace, which rises over the ground story, so that here the cut-off angle is only 3.23 ft. wide. But the other two-thirds of the circular structure for a width of about 14.76 ft. projects over the other street, and is supported by the other trumpet vault. Both vaults rise in nearly semicircular form, and occupy the height of the mezzanine story. They support two projecting stories, and moreover since the walls on which they rest have two openings on one side and one on the other, this entire design presents a peculiar appearance, that has a stately effect above by means of the circular projections.

479. Corbellings.

In addition to the beautiful trumpet vault in Hotel de la Vrilliere, now the Bank of France, we mention on the garden front the example of another solution of the problem for supporting a projecting portion of the building. It existed until in the second half of the 19th century. Fig. 79 ⁷⁷⁹ shows the roof boldly projecting on the right as a gable on two consoles, that have the entire height of a story, and protects the balcony by means of a tunnel vault.

Note 779. From an old engraving (by Merian ?) in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, Topographie de Paris. Vol. 5 a, 232.

It scarcely needs saying, that examples likewise occur in France, in which by the elsewhere common corbellings small projections like bay windows or angle towers project, and are supported.

e. Refinement of Technics.

480. Influence of the Renaissance.

Since in many fields the Renaissance has shown itself as an advance and a higher step of culture, it is not wonderful, that with it was developed a higher conception of perfection of forms. This had as a result, that more weight was laid on perfection of execution, and refinement of technical procedures was striven for in all domains of construction, and it was frequently attained. Refinement of technics was a result of refinement of taste.

Although the treatment of mouldings and of ornaments in the Gothic period in France, more than in other countries, was frequently really noble, beautiful and animated, and a masterly certainty in the handling and distributing of the members and their proportions was evident, yet one may still say, that even in France the conception of perfection in form and technics "for themselves alone" was an unknown element.

This idea of "perfection", that after the fall of Athens and of Rome was but occasionally to be found in the art of Islam, appeared with the Renaissance in Italy again for the first time in Christian Europe.

After Italy, in no country was the advance in this direction more important than in France toward the end of the reign of Francis I and under Henry II. One may say, that up to the present time there, where the branches of French art show themselves as excelling those of other lands, beside the realm of taste to which is due this love of perfection in form and execution developed by the Renaissance.

481. Finer Technics of Stone Surfaces.

In the art of freely wrought foliage, which is light and boldly perforated, and that extends over the deeply hollowed coves of the cornices and portals, the Gothic stonemasons were not surpassed by those of the Renaissance. They gave up these motives in general in favor of relief ornaments. One may observe the contrast of both tendencies on the remains of

the Chateau of Gaillon itself, and on the parts transferred to the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

The carvers do not seek to reproduce with fresh and animated power the naturalness of definite native foliage. Their ideal is the charm of forms of fanciful elegance, the attraction of a perfectly executed harmony of a composition of forms and lines.

432. Inlays.

The consequence of this was the need of a more perfect material for the technical treatment of stone surfaces and occasionally the aid of a nobler material, of marble, which the northern Gothic never employed on the exterior, and very seldom in the interior.

If no marble or other nobler material was at command, like the case in Chambord, slate slabs from the excellent quarry of Angers were inserted. Fig. 30 ⁷⁸⁰ exhibits the effect of them on one of the chimney caps of the chateau mentioned.

Note 780. From Berty. *La Renaissance Monumentale* etc. Vol.2.

Somewhat later occur glazed terra cottas of Della Robbia and frequently the overlaying of framed marble slabs, which by their occasional distribution on the facades contribute to impart to the work the character of a greater value, in the sense of the quality of the material.

433. Examples.

In the treatment of stone surfaces appear more refined modes of execution. Not only are the dressing of the surface and the chiseled border finer, but before all now also occur now the rubbing of surfaces and mouldings, according to Italian models.

In the court of the Chateau of Ancy-le-Franc, the execution has become truly uniform; the beautiful ashlar, white as marble, have fine and perfect joints.

The treatment of the smooth surfaces of the ashlar and mouldings in Lescot's court of the Louvre worthily ranks itself with that of Primaticcio's buildings.

On the ornaments of the annular bands of Philibert De l'Orme's columns on the Tuileries, finely polished and finely chiseled, as well as pointed parts and drill holes add to the effect.

As on the roodscreen of the Cathedral at Limoges and other examples, the ornament almost attains the character of jeweller's work by the inconceivable fineness of treatment.

f. Different Kinds of Building Stones.

In spite of the known wealth of France in varied and excellent building stones, especially in the basin of Lyons, Paris and that of the Loire, men did not hesitate to bring stones of different quality from afar, according to special needs. We mention some examples of this, that afford opportunity also to mention some names of famous quality.

484. Examples.

At the Chateau of Gaillon were employed for the sculptured doorways the gray stone from Caen, and likewise the stone from Vernon, for receiving and enclosing Paganino's marble medallions ⁷⁸¹ in the places at which was sculptured both antique decorations as well as those of French fashion. The latter stone was also used in 1543 for the railings of the chapel of S. Marie in S. Pierre at Chartres, as well as for the external portal of the Chateau at Anet.

Note 781. See Courajod, L. La Port de l'Art Italien etc. p. 12. Paris. 1885.

For the statues of the tabernacle in the latter church was taken the fine stone of Raiasse ⁷⁸², on the contrary, for the beautiful and finely sculptured choir enclosure of the cathedral at Chartres of about 1510, the stones from Tonnerre.⁷⁸²

Note 782. See Archives de l'Art françois. Vol. 4. p.196.

Of the same stone was made about 1660 a reclining goddess of fame for the tympanum of Thibaut Poissant, while at the same time there Michel Angier chose the stone from Vernon for the figures 10 to 12 ft. high. For the great and noble monolithic caryatids of Goujon in his porch in the Louvre, as Sauval states, was employed the splendid fine-grained and homogeneous stone from Trossy of a yellowish tint.

These stones were also sought outside France. Francis I permitted 2000 tons of stones from St. Leu and elsewhere to be taken for the king of England without export dues.⁷⁸³

Note 783. See Les Comptes du Batiments du Roi. Vol.2.p.271.

The peculiarities of these stones are frequently such, that they lend to the development of the rich and refined scul-

what would not be expected without this material.

On the Loire is found a porous stone, that may be cut with a knife and is so soft, that the most delicate and freest feeling may be sportively represented with the chisel, as with a pen; unfortunately it is not very durable.

A. de Montaiglon ⁷⁸⁴ mentions as incomparable the stone from which are cut the decorations of Chateau Bonnavet (now in the Museum at Poitiers), more durable than marble, and which without taking from the ornament the character of simplicity, permits for it the perfection of the most refined execution.

Note 784. In La Famille des Juste en Italie et en France. p. 15, 45. Paris. 1877.

We refer to the very interesting Report of the year 1678, which the Academy Royal of Architecture made on the different kinds of stone at the request of Colbert. ⁷⁸⁵ Eight of the most prominent architects reported on the manner in which certain stones had lasted on a great number of buildings, which they visited for this purpose.

Note 785. Printed in Revue Generale d'Architecture. 1852. p. 194 et seq.

g. Marble as a Noble Material.

On the then reviving and already mentioned demand for marble as a richer material, more suitable for the perfection of ornament, Courajod gives an interesting reflection, that deserves to be given.

The ever increasing need in Europe for a raw material, of which Italy may be regarded as the sole possessor, white marble, Courajod regards as a heretofore unconsidered but very important element of the spread of the forms of the Italian Renaissance. The resulting art industrial current, that proceeded from the workshops of Genoa, Milan, Como, Carrara, Naples and Venice, says Courajod, composed the innate forces of a mighty national industrial current, that increased a hundred fold the spirited and exclusively intellectual endeavors of the great Italian founders of the classical period of the Renaissance. ⁷⁸⁶

Note 786. Courajod, L. La Sculpture Francaise avant la Renaissance classique. p. 27. Paris. 1891.

436. Italian Marble.

486. Italian Marble.

The chief source of marble for France was indeed first and foremost Italy, with Flanders for some kinds. Later was also that of the Pyrenees.

As Jean Perreal stated in 1511, the white marble was brought from Genoa, indeed as the port for Carrara, and the black from Liege.⁷⁸⁷ Perreal esteemed alabaster slightly on account of its small durability.

Note 787. The Flanders marble quarries of the Maas valley were mentioned in France already in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The marble for the Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes was obtained in 1502 in Genoa by Jean Perreal, brought by water to Lyons, then by wagons to Roanne, whence it was shipped on the Loire to Tours.⁷⁸⁸

Note 788. See Charvet, L. Jean Perreal. p. 58, 64, 66. Paris. 1874.

Black and red marbles, apparently for the Tomb of Francis II, that queen Anne de Bretagne desired to erect for her father at Nantes, as well as for the two sons of Charles VIII and herself in Tours, was obtained on Jan. 15, 1500 (new style) from the workshops of the Cathedral in Florence, and was measured by the Cathedral architect Cronaca before the agent of the queen.⁷⁸⁹

Note 789. See Milanesi, G. in A. de Montaignon. p. 66 et seq.

487. Marble Quarries in the Pyrenees.

Concerning the marble quarries in the Pyrenees, that Martin⁷⁹⁰ states as follows:-- "Henry IV first ordered the marble quarries of the Pyrenees to be opened. After him they were abandoned and only resumed at the present time".

Note 790. Martin. Vol. 10. p. 475.

This statement cannot be very accurate, for Louis XIV employed Campana marble in Versailles. The following notice also permits the assumption, that marble was already obtained from the Pyrenees before Henry IV:-- "In 1561 at the order of Primaticcio, 7912 livres were paid for several blocks and pieces of marble for the king to Etienne Troisvieux and master Dominique Buthin, architect of the king, captain of Lucnon."⁷⁹¹

Note 791. Des Comptes du Batiments du Roi. Vol. 2. p. 55.

In 1597 Pierre Biard was required to take white marble for the figures of a tomb near Bordeaux and colored marble for the remainder. (The best that he could find in the Pyrenean mountains). 792

Note 792. Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais. Series 3. Vol. 2. p. 180.

In the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons in the marble gallery of the time of Louis XIV was employed "Languedoc red"; likewise in the Palace at Versailles. One even finds it as "French red" in the columns of several altars of the Certosa near Pavia. (About 1695).

Chapter 7. Some Forms of Development of Pier Construction and of its Members.

a. Composition with vertical continuous Piers.

488. Origin of this Style Principle.

We previously had opportunity to emphasize, in contrast to the transition style of Charles VIII and of Louis XII, how for the proper early Renaissance of Francis I, there might be mentioned a developed and definite esthetic principle. (Art 113). This consists of a complete and harmonious translation of a composition conceived entirely in Gothic into the Italo-antique details of north Italy. (Art. 114).

Equipped with the means of this esthetic-structural principle, the architects of the time of Francis I, and indeed mostly his own royal masters, created a number of works, in which, although the idea of the structural nucleus and the technical procedure remained Gothic, these formed entirely original innovations of the French early Renaissance. One should perhaps speak of even new ideas and attainments in the domain of architectural subdivision, that may be instructive for our present time and also for the future.

The starting point for these works is Gothic, and it is based on the fundamental importance of the pier, the support in the Gothic style, which has permitted us to designate it as a "style of the supports", in contrast to the Renaissance as a "style of the interior". (Art. 449).

In the Gothic compound pier, from the pavement of the church to the keystone of the cross vault, all supporting functions of the interior are indispensable, and in the continuity of the shafts and ribs are expressed in the "most thorough" manner. Between this framework of piers were simply inserted the walls, or whatever remained of them or they replaced, and they extended between the piers.

Meanwhile the Renaissance again introduced many forms, like the entablature, which were taken from the antique principle of the horizontal ceiling, and which in such cases could no longer follow a gradual and not contrasted growing of the ribs from the rounds, as in the Gothic pier organism. Therefore a second system of supports was inserted between the continuous members, and extended sidewise, which no longer owes

its origin to the principle of art growth, but to that of elevation, and it is thereby enabled to receive the ends of the horizontal or oblique form of the transverse members.

489. Transformation of the Clustered Pier.

The transformation of the compound piers and their relation to the borders or panels set between them is that, in which consists the originality and the interest of the works to be described here. For a better understanding, we have collected in Figs. 81 to 84 four of the most expressive examples of this tendency in composition in a form for comparison.

Fig. 84 exhibits a compound pier of the interior of S. Eustache in Paris. Figs. 81 to 83 represent various steps of the development of this idea on the stairways of the Chateaus at Blois and at Chambord.

490. Stairway in Chateau at Blois.

The oldest of these examples is the stairway of the wing of Francis I in the chateau at Blois. (Fig. 82). The continuous support is here formed as a buttress, which below and above has received the form of a pilaster. Between these piers and on their inner side is placed the system of small pilasters with rampant arches, that enclose the four openings, produced by the three turns of the stairway, and supports the free portions of the latter.

From the three upper openings project balconies, which in front rest on inclined straight arches, or more correctly on rampant straight arches, turned between the sides of the buttresses, and forming a mechanical connection between the continuous pier framework. Just these balconies form the clearest example of this idea, utilizing continuous vertical piers for setting between them the supporting elements for other members as props, without any organic connection whatever on the piers.

491. Main Stairway at Chambord.

The famous stairway, erected on the intersection of the passages in the middle of the donjon of the Chateau of Chambord, shows the further development of the membering of this structural principle. (Fig. 81).⁷⁹³

Note 793. From Berty. *La Renaissance Monumentale*. Vol. 2.

In the external circumference of the part of the staircase

lying in the building itself are the continuous piers, subdivided in a great pilaster order, corresponding to each story. In an arrangement similar to that in Blois, a small pilaster order corresponds to each of the turns of the two stair flights, that begin at both ends of a diameter and rise above each other as a double staircase without intersecting.

Likewise in the upper half of the stairway, that rises above the roof surface as an outlook tower with a lantern, is carried out the principle of the continuous main pier in varied forms. Only the contrast between the piers and the stressed parts is less striking, since the horizontal members are executed on them.

492. Side Stairway at Chambord.

The second and somewhat later stairway of the Chateau at C Chambord, shown by Fig. 83, is found in the external angle of the rear part of the court, that in coming from the gateway extends on the right from the donjon to the rear court facade. It exhibits exactly the same structural idea, expressed in a greater choice of forms.

The continuous piers are subdivided into orders, that correspond to each story and form wider pilasters with thinner projecting columns. The latter are replaced by human figures on the uppermost story. The turns of the stairway extending between these piers correspond to the smaller pilaster orders. In the ground story a concentric vestibule extends around the stairway.

493. Connection of the Style of these Works.

The design of the stairway at Blois originated in 1515, indeed shortly before the commencement of the construction. (Art. 121). The design for Chambord was prepared in 1519 at latest; (Art. 122); yet it is uncertain whether the Italian stairway of the model was transferred into the French winding stairway of the structure, or whether this occurred somewhat later. If the detail of the stairway in Fig. 83 was also first decided in 1544 (Art. 122), then the general design dates from the time of the main stairway of the chateau.

It would be difficult to not see in the style relationship of these three stairways different steps of the development of ideas, that sprung from a single source. This strengthens

the idea worked out by us in Arts. 119 to 125, of the connection of the builders of the royal chateaus on the Loire, as well as of the influence of Boccador and of the court officials at Blois. (See Arts. 125, 73, 74, 75).

494. Pier from S. Eustache.

It deserves emphasis, that the Church S. Eustache in Paris, from which Fig. 34 is taken,⁷⁹⁴ and that we have selected as the starting point and help in clearing up the idea of this mode of composition, is chronologically the latest of the four examples, since the design for the church was determined soon after 1530. This fact should not be lost in view of the old stories of an apparent connection of this church with Domenico da Cortona. In a more thorough description of the Church S. Eustache, this question will be further discussed.

Note 794. From Benoit, A. *Statistique Monumentale de Paris*. Paris. After 1867. S. Eustache. Pl. 9.

It suffices to remark here, that the continuous rounds in Fig. 34 with their entablatures correspond to the imposts of the middle aisle, the lowest division to the imposts of the chapels, and the entablatures of the succeeding order to that extending above the chapels. It further deserves to be emphasized, that the rounds support the diagonal ribs of the vault and thus play a somewhat greater part than that of transverse arches, which are treated with vertical small orders above each other, an arrangement that on account of its apparently small stability seems better adapted for the more prominent subordinate rounds than for the principal rounds. (See Figs. 180, 182, 184).

Further examples of similar form of development will be mentioned under C. (Church Architecture).

495. Examples in S. Germain and Lyon.

Another example of this mode of composition is exhibited in Fig. 35.⁷⁹⁵ Like Fig. 144, it is taken from the court of the Chateau of S. Germain-en-Laye, and it shows, even with the forms now partly restored by Millet, that it had in the time of Francis I a narrow and now open passage connecting the adjacent wings, created on the buttress piers of the chapel of the 13 th century.

Note 795. From Millet in Galliat; series 2; vol. -, Pl. 414.

For the facade elevation appears to be favored somewhat in

Lyons the system of piers that extend through all stories, between which are turned the arches for the different stories, as may be seen in the court of House Bruilland, Rue du Boeuf No. 12, on the court facade with loggias in Hotel Paterin, R Rue Juiverie No. 4, on the rusticated facade of the House at Quai Peyrollerie No. 136, and as represented in Figs. 86 and 87.⁷⁹⁶

Note 796. All illustrated in Martin. Figs. 86 and 87 are taken from that work.

In Fig. 86 pilasters extend through all the stories, with Tuscan capitals and narrow side pilasters repeated above each other four times, attached to which and forming the jambs are half columns. Between the half columns are turned oval arches of beautiful form with archivolts, above which pretty balustrades are arranged with but a single baluster over the key-stone and with an oval panel at right and left.

The second building (Fig. 87) is heavier. Round piers extend through three stories. Round arches between them support the balustrades of the loggias and the landings of the stairway. Bases and capitals form the impost and make columns of these piers in the free portions, while between arches and balustrades the free parts of the round piers form awkward and band-like connections between the columns standing above each other.

In the ruins of the Abbey of Valmont near Dieppe (Fig. 88⁷⁹⁷) first begin the continuous vertical subdivision above the arches. Piers project and continue through the triforium. The latter extends between these piers.

Note 797. From Polastre. *La Renaissance en France*. Vol. 2. 496. Piers in Evreux.

We introduce in addition to these examples some others, that exhibit different forms for connecting members with columns or piers.

Fig. 89 shows the original termination of a round pier by an entablature with frieze consoles. Above this projection the different transverse and diagonal arches simply form the extension of the round pier without other transition than the line of intersection of the members. We have taken this example from the tower piers of the interior of Church S. Jean at

Elouef; the effect of the very well profiled ending of the pier is very happy.

497. Example from Dampierre-sur-Boutonne.

In the Chateau Dampierre-sur-Boutonne in Poitou, the facade toward the court of honor shows two beautiful loggias, full of character. Although from the time of Henry II, it exhibits still the forms of the early Renaissance of Francis I. The piers consist of very heavy columns, whose shafts have less than 4 diameters. By the breaking of the lower entablature, they form continuous, buttress-like supports. At about one-third of their height there abruptly project from their shafts corbel-like imposts of the oval arches, that are turned between their columns.

In Fig. 90 ⁷⁹⁸ is seen the inner side of the columns of the upper loggia in this arrangement. In the ground story the ceiling of the inserted walls leaves free more than half the columns.

Note 798. From Rabuchon, J. *Paysages et monuments du Poitou*. Part 107. Paris. 1888.

In the upper story a second concentric archivolt projects somewhat beyond the arch, connects the supports a second time and aids in supporting the entablature of the upper order, which is not broken.

498. Example from Echebrune.

One of the facades of the partly ruined Chateau Usson at Echebrune (Fig. 91 ⁷⁹⁹) shows an allied idea in the subdivision. By breaking the lower entablature, the strikingly varied pilasters form a continuous vertical line of support. The oval arches, externally profiled as bold quarter rounds, extend between the extremely stumpy and short pilasters, and they almost vanish at the middle behind the architrave.

Note 799. From a photograph by Miesement in Paris.

This shows into what conditions men fell, if with very low heights of stories, they would still employ the subdivisions of Italian arcades. In the battlements are arranged shot holes, and in each middle space is a pedestal for a statue.

On another wing of the same chateau at Echebrune, which appears to have first received by insertion the new decoration in an earlier plain ashlar facade of refined Renaissance char-

character, recourse was had to other means to compose some continuous treatment in relief. Whatever, or a less skilful and different architect had charge of the building then, yet quite unusual forms were employed there. The two superposed niches of the ground and second stories were connected into a continuous rich motive by two joined tabernacles, that accompany simply the band over the ground story for its entire width. On the other hand, they stop beneath the continuous main cornice, and the slender terminals like finials, that should end the upper canopies, without any intimate connection therewith, were simply placed above the main cornice on the latter. The southern location of Echebrune in Gharante Inferieure may perhaps have caused the originality by the stronger accenting of the belt and main cornices, this unskilfully solved conflict between the horizontal and vertical principles.

Chapter 8. Ideal Architecture as Tendency of the Style.

499. Definition of the Tendency.

According to the art periods and styles have men sought to embody the occasional architectural ideal in different ways and by different esthetic principles. In various ways originated works of the highest ideal character and artistic value, without their having arisen by the same means, that we here designate as the style tendency of ideal architecture.

The ideal architecture, here mentioned in the first rank, must then not be confused with an ideal tendency of art in general. We signify by these words an entirely distinct conception of architectural composition. It is that, which moved Bartolommeo Ammanati to design his "Ideal City",⁸⁰⁰ and to designate it in this way. This "ideal city" consists of a series of designs in which he seeks to determine the best form for an entirely new city and for all classes of buildings, that might occur in it. They are proposed on the assumption, that no conditions of the ground or other things restrict the architect from giving the buildings those forms, that in accordance with their nature may lend them the most perfect shape conceivable. And yet Ammanati in the separate designs has not once followed the tendency as much, as we sometimes see this with other Italians and Frenchmen.

Note 800. It consists of a volume of drawings in the collection of the Uffize at Florence. Yet this copy is a duplicate. We saw in 1882 at an antiquary's in Florence a copy, that was evidently older.

500. Means.

This style tendency is believed substantially to near its aim, if it uses forms for the basis of its compositions, such as the circle, the square and regular figures, that already contain in themselves the conception of an objectively perfect individuality, and therefore may arouse such.

Likewise since the material only in the condition of purity can assume crystallization, the highest appearance of form, likewise the masters in this tendency believed, that the highest degree of beauty must stand in direct combination with the purity of the most perfect form. Hence its connection

with some of the regular geometrical figures.

Besides these geometrical figures, there are also in nature elements in the landscape, forms and places, that incontestably awaken the impression of the "ideal of a higher existence" in our innermost being. In addition to the strong ideal architecture of the 16 th century, we shall mention some examples, that proceed from such sources.

Nothing is more interesting and exciting than Palissy's own description of his search for an ideal form in nature, that might furnish him with the model for his unconquerable city, and how he believed himself to have found this at last in the shell of the murex. In the Chapter on Plans of Cities, we shall return to his plan.

501. Ideal Architecture based on Religion.

If these endeavors, which reappear in very different periods, countries and styles-- in the temples of Cochin China as in S. Peter in Rome -- be still so rude, wild or inverted, then even among the most perfect nations and the most degraded men are they also; if even scarcely perceptibly a real echo of the capacity originally conferred by the Creator, which should make possible to mankind to fulfil the mission and purpose laid on them by God, to strive for perfection.

Accordingly it is self-evident, that ideal architecture and its source stands in the closest connection with religion, since it is founded in that. But no religion justifies it in all its parts like Christianity, which sets "objective" perfection as the aim and not anything conceived by man.

502. Dangers of this Tendency.

The fact that this tendency in certain phases gradually drops into academic correctness and lifelessness, is no reason for doubting the principle and the worth of the ideal impulse.

It is also not to be denied, that this ideal conception may degenerate into architectural caprices and visions, and into neglect of the reasonable requirements of actual life, as well as the practical problem of daily life.

On the other hand, a neglect of the ideal tendency has as a result, that the great problems of architecture frequently lack the ideal conception, and they merely appear as great or rich utility buildings. They lack the appearance of having

sprung from a height elevated above the prose of daily needs, where that ideal perfection rules, that alone imparts the character of true monumentality. This ideal conception will alone remain the soul of monumental problems.

a. Ideal Architecture of the Renaissance in contrast to the Gothic Ideal.

503. Objective and Subjective Ideals.

Not all nations and all culture periods have had in the same degree the understanding for the tendency of the ideal architecture. The Gothic cathedral style is the highest conceivable development of the subjective ideal, and scarcely know the ideal architecture at all.

Ideal architecture is based on the conviction of the people of the classic art mission, that there is an ideal architecture, which as art is entirely independent of the so-called prosaic and ordinary employment for human requirements. So far as possible to acquire an intimation of this ideal architecture, it may be said to consist of the logical and organic treatment of these interiors and of their geometrical and esthetic relations to each other; further in the development of their forms on the basis of their esthetic purport, entirely as music is the art of tones, and a series of creations may be produced, that possess an individual beauty independently of every other idea.

In the belief of the reality of such an ideal architecture, men seek to treat the problems of practical life in such a manner, that it partially permits, or as nearly as possible attains to the embodiment of such an ideal solution.

Classical, antique and Italian art is in the service of perfection. Northern thinks more of its own subjective discoveries, of comfort and on the easy nature of good humor.

The tendency of ideal architecture is not only the light of all classical art phases, but is the ground basis of all art, its patent of nobility and its crown of honor. It is the reason for the existence of art itself.⁸⁰¹ It is the source of all the glories of the Italian Renaissance, and for four centuries the ideal of French architecture in its main current, as well as today still is that of the Academie des Beaux Arts and of the Ecole des Beaux Arts under its supervision.

Note 801. This conception is allied to the modern tendency, whose motto is art for art's sake, in which pure souls strive for the accords of heavenly harmonies, but others seek justification for charming the inclinations of mankind in a conscienceless way, and to leave the reins to their sinful fantasies.

This belief called forth those treatises, that Alberti, Francesco di Giorgio, Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci wrote or commenced. It produced works like the "Divina Proportione" of Fra Luca Pacioli and guided Philibert De l'Orme, when he began to write his Book II of Architecture on the ground of certain elements contained in the Bible.

504. Explanatory Examples; Mediaeval Models.

Even in the middle ages, when regular castles were rare exceptions, some examples are found, that should be designated as ideal castles.

The plan of the Castle of Vieil Harcourt at Lillebonne near Havre from the Romanesque period exhibits an entirely regular and symmetrical form. The wall is circular and is defended by round towers. At both ends of a diameter occur gates flanked by two round towers' at one end of the other at right angles to that is the castle proper with its separate ditch, at the opposite end of this diameter being a great tower structure. 802

Note 802. An illustration is to be found in Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, in the Topographie de France; vol. "Havre". V o. 395.

According to Berteaux, the famous Castle Castel del Monte was built by a French architect, Philippe Chimand, for the emperor Frederick II, as a regular octagon with angle towers, an ideal building. 803

Note 803. In India is a wonderful and entirely regular castle of similar form.

The general plan of the great royal Chateau at Vincennes near Paris may pass for a composition conceived in the spirit of ideal architecture. 804 it was begun by count Charles of V Valois, brother of Philippe le Bel, and completed by Charles V. The wall forms a perfectly regular rectangle, not quite twice as long as wide. Each of the four angle towers and the gateway towers at the centres of three facades forms an inde-

independent donjon, so to speak. On one long facade, the curtain wall between the gate and angle towers was later broken by a tower at the middle. But on the other long side rises at the middle the donjon proper. This again forms an ideal structure independently by itself. In the midst of a square moat, that interrupts the wall and projects as far outside as inside, is built the square wall of the donjon with small corbelled angle towers. In the midst of the court and standing entirely free rises the proper donjon tower above all other towers, likewise square with round angle towers.

Note 204. Illustrated in Du Cerceau. *Les plus excellents Bastiments etc.* Vol. 1. Paris. 1576.

Castle Vufflers of the 14 th century in French Switzerland is an ideal building, certainly under Italian influences.

Among the executed chateaus of the French Renaissance are several, whose form of plan of the general design clearly shows, that the building was at least in part inspired by the intellectual impulse of ideal architecture.

505. Ancy-le-Franc.

In the first rank should perhaps be mentioned Ancy-le-Franc, built by Primaticcio. (Art. 167).

The square plan with its four square pavilions projecting at the angles, in the midst of the moat, over which four stone bridges lead to the doorways in the middles of the four sides, with a raised terrace 34 ft. wide, that externally was enclosed by the moats and separated from the garden, may well pass as a partial embodiment of an ideal chateau. (Figs. 264, 265, 326).

In repetition of the sole order on the exterior twice over each other and thrice on the pavilions, on the contrary, with a single Corinthian order in the court; the employment externally of the orders on the principle of a single series, next the court being that of alternating rhythm-- all these are tokens of the faith in certain elements of fixed innate value and in the worth of harmonious unity.

A further course of this ideal conception should be sought in the treatment of interiors, and indeed in the number of galleries and their equipment and designations. No less than four of these are known:-- of Pharsalus, of Medea, of Judith and of Sacrifice.

506. Chateau Maune.

The plan of Chateau Maune (now Mosne, in the department of the Yonne; Fig. 92 ⁸⁰⁵) shows that the builder evidently believed, that the choice of regular geometrical forms must impart to the design something of an ideal and mysterious perfection.

Note 805. From Du Cerceau. Vol. 1.

In the fore-court are found convex and concave semicircular forms. A terrace wall in three-fourths of a circle surrounds the lower pentagon of the chateau proper. The square garden with a semicircular ending follows this. Choisy is of opinion, that the bastioned forms of the enclosing walls and of the chateau had a special signification to the Huguenot master.

507. New Chateau at S. Germain.

As an ideal structure must be designated the former so-called "New Chateau" at S. Germain-en-Laye. It rose on the edge of the plateau and on the slope toward the Seine, opposite to the Port du Pec. The plan given by Du Cerceau can only represent the building of De l'Orme; for on account of the later disfavor, it was dropped until Henry IV.

In this design, as shown by Fig. 93, ⁸⁰⁶ special weight was laid on the use of geometrical ideal figures.

Note 806. From Du Cerceau. Les plus excellent Bostiments. Vol. 1.

From Du Cerceau's own Memoire (p. 55) it may be seen, that this building was one of the causes leading to his loss of favor. He says:-- "Had they (his enemies) had patience in S. Germain, until I had completed the new building, that I had begun near the cages of animals, I am convinced that neither its equal nor one more wonderful could have been found, both on account of the porticos, vestibules, theatres (several), sweat-baths, swimming pools, as well as for the residence. But since this could not be completed, they said at once, that it was good for nothing. Intelligent persons knew the contrary; they asserted that the chapel of the park, which I had rebuilt, was very pretty". ⁸⁰⁷.

Note 807. In regard to this complaint of the architect, it is perhaps permitted to question, whether the plan given by Du Cerceau and still more the elevation faithfully reproduce

the design of De l'Orme. The court is stated by the former to be the theatre; as De l'Orme speaks of several theatres, then must the four semicircular parts of the court be meant thereby.

Besides this theatre or ideal court, judging from the larger plan in Du Gerceau, architectural refinements appear to have been intended in other places.

In the square rooms at both ends of the main hall ⁸⁰⁸ lying on the axis is a coupled window, that does not lie on the facade, but opens on a small court or small area like a garden. The opposite side of the latter has a small colonnade in the plane of the facade, through whose four intercolumniations the view passes into the open.

Note 808. In Fig. 93, the hall lying between E and C does not appear to be on the axis, since the four steps, that form a raised portion at the right, are here represented as a wall by a defect in the reproduction.

503. Chateau Touars.

Allied opinions on the ideal value of regular geometrical forms are likewise recognized in the plan of the Chateau of Touars (Fig. 94 ⁸⁰⁹), in the arrangement of a circular forecourt at a location, where no consideration led to this form, other than perhaps the connection of two not parallel directions.

Note 809. From Oeuvre de Jean Marot. (Art. 427).

b. Ideal Architecture in the 16 th century.

1. Ideal Architecture proper.

509. Grandeur of the Projects.

French architects educated in Italy endeavored in the Renaissance to extend likewise the ground principles of Italian ideal architecture. With their different spirit in plan and method of design, this was still for them merely an esthetic ideal, which for their religious design had perhaps little, or frequently no longer any importance.

This faith in the absolute power of the true principles gave the heroes of the Renaissance indications of confidence, such as we see in Palissy, for example. In spite of the fact, that it might seem rather naive to us on the one hand, and that something forced may appear therein, it is an honor for

those heroes. It alone explains that ideal strength, that places the 16th century, the early Renaissance and the first phase of the high Renaissance so high above everything, which has appeared since. The same conviction produced whatever was great, both in the time of Louis XIV and that of Napoleon I.

The inspiration, that we find in Rabelais or Palissy, in De l'Orme or Du Cerceau, therefore further caused, that men believed that they had then found the final truth, and that this would always remain alive with mankind, and would renew the world!

Palissy writes to marshal Montmorency:-- "Since you are a mighty and magnanimous master and of good judgment, I have found it good to design for you the plan of a garden, so beautiful as any in the world, except that of the earthly paradise." ⁸¹⁰ He writes further:-- "In this book is contained the design and arrangement of a fortress, of such a kind, that even heretofore men have never heard, nor of anything similar." ⁸¹¹

Note 810. Palissy. *La Recepte Veritable*. Paris. 1563. In *Oeuvres completes*. Edition of 1880. p. 12.

Note 811. See the same. p. 12.

This ideal tendency of the Renaissance on the faith in an "objective" perfection was nowise limited to the domain of art. The great and learned jurist Cujas from Toulouse had a social ideal. In the realm of public instruction we find it in the founding of the College de France. About 1530 Guillaume Bude moved Francis I, and obtained from him the command to found the same for 600 students as a seminary of the new France. The Palace was to rise on the site of the Tour de Nesle, where the Institute of France now stands, and was to be furnished with an income of 50,000 crowns. Rabelais' Abbey of Theleme is the expression of his faith in an ideal education with intellectual and physical culture for the highest class of the then awakening society.

510. Ideal Architecture with Palissy.

The powerful ideal pressure, from which proceeded Rabelais' Theleme, is nowise an isolated phenomenon. ⁸¹² Theleme, Martin thinks, is the opposite of Protestantism, that assumes the fall into sin of utterly degraded mankind, as well as its powerlessness for good. Yet this indeed did not prevent one of

the greatest minds of France, the Huguenot Palissy, from bringing forth some ideal creations (see page 193 under a), that are contemporary with the Abbey of Rabelais, and two of which are entirely permeated by the "Biblical and Christian spirit" in the Protestant sense. These are the Ville Fortresse (fortress city), the ideal of an impregnable city, and his Jardin Delectable (delightful garden). Both will be considered later. Of a third ideal composition by him, the following may be said here.

Note 812. Besides the naturalism of Rabelais, the Renaissance had in Guillaume Postel a talented dreamer with a mystic idealism in his great work, "L'Unité dans le Monde." He believed in the necessity also for a feminine Messiah, the mother of the world, the new Eve, consubstantial with Christ. -- He went to seek her, and believed that he found her in Venice in "Mother Jeanne". The king of France, become a Christian monarchy, should embody the "concord of the world", and the human race should again find the "mother tongue" as an instrument of this concord. -- Postel went to Syria to seek its scattered elements. He was a sort of Pico della Miranda, wandering on giddy heights. (Mertin. Vol. 8. p. 213. (From Dictionnaire de Chaussepie).

In the vicinity of his "delightful garden", Palissy intended a palace or an amphitheatre as a place of refuge, to receive the outlawed Christians in time of persecution, "which would be a holy joy and a humble employment of the body and spirit". He later says, that he desired to construct his garden in order to utilize it as a place of refuge, and to retire to it in evil and dangerous times. At the conclusion of his work however, he states that in case his second book (by this is indeed meant La Ville Forteresse) receives the approval of those acquainted with the subject, he will treat in a third book the palace and the terrace of refuge. Unfortunately he did not do this.³¹³

Note 813. Palissy, B. Oeuvres Completes. p. 22, 196, 155. Paris. 1880. -- It is not impossible, that the ideal compositions of Palissy were induced by those of Rabelais. In the long poem over the principal gateway of Theleme is found expressed in almost similar words the thought of a place of refuge from religious persecution.

"Enter here, you that⁵⁴ the holy evangelist
Announces in an acute sense, whoever complains.
Here will you have a refuge and fortress,
Against hostile error, that so much tends
To poison the world by its false doctrine.

Palissy's words are:--"A palace or amphitheatre of refuge
to receive the Christians exiled in time of persecution", or
also:-- "A city of refuge, palace and terraces of refuge."

511. Rabelais' Abbey of Thelème.

In Rabelais, Henri Martin says, is found the "ideal scholar,"
He must possess all sciences, all literature, further all free
arts and trades, practice gymnastics of the spirit and of the
body.

The instruction should regenerate the human race, and the
new mankind he places in his "Abbey of Thelème,"⁸¹⁴ the temple
of the will or of freedom. "Do what thou wilt" is the motto,
in contrast to the monkish suppression of the will.

Note 814. From Thelème, the will. -- See Martin. Vol. 12.
p. 210.

The architectural ideal composition of Rabelais for his Ab-
bey of Thelème is often and justly regarded as an important
element for the knowledge of the spirit of the French Renais-
sance, and several architects have attempted to give a graphi-
cal representation of Thelème according to the description.
In Fig. 95 ⁸¹⁵ is reproduced Questel's attempt.

Note 815. From Lenormand, Ch. Rabelais et l'Architecture
etc. Paris. 1840.

The choice of forms and of arrangement corresponds to the
description of Rabelais. It is perhaps questionable, whether
Rabelais, who had begun in Rome a work on the antiquities, did
not think of forms more closely approximating those of the
high Renaissance, or those of De l'Orme, with which he
was probably acquainted.⁸¹⁶ Perhaps also doubtful are also the
the form and projection of the ramps, and finally the relation
to the Loire, that flowed by at some distance northward.⁸¹⁷
No enclosing walls rose to separate his cloister from the wo-
rld. It forms a hexagon with round towers of 60 paces diame-
ter at the angles, and 312 paces apart. Three sides were ar-
ranged for the residence of the ladies, the others for the
dwellings of the gentlemen. Including the cellar, the build-

ouilding had 6 stories, great winding stairways in the middle of each wing, and two monumental ramps for 6 mounted lancers on the facade. In one wing were the libraries, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French and Tuscan, each in a story. Outside the building and opposite the ladies' wing were the jousting field, hippodrome, theatre and swimming pool, the ball ground and the shooting field. In other directions were placed the offices, stables, falconry and kennels, the fruit garden, the maze and the park.

Note 816. As Destailleur remarks, thrice in his life, it is found that Rabelais and Philibert De L'Orme dwelt at the same time in the same place. First in Rome in 1524, when Rabelais prepared his "Topographia Antiquae Romae" with Monsieur du Bellay, for whom De L'Orme built the Chateau of S. Maur, where Rabelais was canon until 1550; finally in Meudon, where Rabelais was parish priest, and De L'Orme commenced about 1553 to build the Chateau for cardinal Charles de Lorraine.

Note 817. "Slopes gradually to the south". Questel turned the tower "Arctrice" toward the Loire. Perhaps it would be more correct to place the side between the towers "Arctrice" and "Calder" parallel to the stream.

The interior contained 9332 apartments, each with a rear chamber, closet, wardrobe and chapel, with entrance to a large hall.

512. Ideal Chateaus of Du Cerceau.

This impulse to seek ideal solutions for problems seems to have extended to the different domains of architecture, and it forms one of the most interesting sides of the spirit of that time.

In the sense of this tendency, Du Cerceau designed a series of ideal chateaus.⁸¹⁸ One of these, composed in the spirit of Chambord and of Thelene, enclosed a court formed of four semicircles, at whose angles rose four slender towers, similar to Trajan's Column and crowned by obelisks. Externally it was of similar form, with circular pavilions in the four projecting angles, and double pavilions at the vertices of the semicircles, to which four bridges led. Instead of roofs is arranged a single vast terrace, on which like loggias end the top stories of the eight pavilions.

Note 818. Particularly in one of the volumes in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. (See collection X of my work on Les Du Cerceau).

We have designated as an ideal chateau the following composition of Du Cerceau, that might just as well or better be termed an ideal fountain, loggia or island.³¹⁹ Just this indefinite purpose permits it to be clearly seen, that he concentrated here on the objective value of forms and their harmonious combination of artistic interest of his compositions.

Note 819. Both are illustrated in Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 65. Paris. 1887.

Around a fountain in four stories, circular and ending as a small temple and subdivided in arcades, is arranged a first circular portico, about which extends a second at a moderate distance, that encloses this central island. On each of the four axes are pavilions with drawbridges. Beyond this on an embankment rises a third circular portico with four similar pavilions; drawbridges lead over the broad outermost moat.

In Figs. 96 and 97 are reproduced two such ideal chateaus of Du Cerceau. The originals are carefully drawn at a large scale on parchment, and are to be found among the original drawings for the "Plus excellents Bastiments de France" in the British Museum in London. They must have originated between 1560 and 1575, and their style presents in details numerous analogies to the designs of the same master for the Chateaus at Verneuil-sur-Oise and at Charleval.

On Fig. 97³²⁰ is inserted:-- "Here and on three other sides may be made all sorts of gardens, as drawn on the plan. " "On Fig. 97³²¹ may be read:-- "At four angles of the place may be made four great gardens besides the four enclosed in the galleries.

Note 820. From the original drawing of Du Cerceau in the British Museum in London. Vol. 8. Pl. 118.

Note 821. From the same. Vol. 8. Pl. 118.

In Art. 515, we shall return to another ideal chateau of Du Cerceau.

513. Designs of De l'Orme.

Likewise among the designs, which De l'Orme made for Henry II and Catherine, and that were intended for execution, but were not built, are some belonging to this tendency.

As an ideal structure may be termed the "Dormitory and Cells", which Henry II desired to erect for the nuns of Montmartre from the design of De l'Orme. According to the plan and the section represented by Philibert, it would have been a circular domed building, whose perimeter was formed of two stories of cells above each other, that rose with two circular porticos inside opening into a great circular central interior like a court. A high and slender dome on the system of De l'Orme with a great lantern covered the entire building, and admitted "more light than at the Pantheon in Rome", as De l'Orme writes. ⁸²²

Note 822. See his "Nouvelles Inventions". Edition of 1620. p. 304, 305.

The design of another building by De l'Orme in the form of an equilateral triangle also belongs in the category of ideal architecture.

2. Other Sources of Ideal Architecture.

514. Fanciful Location.

Besides the previously described forms of ideal architecture, that are based on the esthetic meaning of the most perfect and regular figures of geometry, as well as on the mysterious charm of harmonies, of accords, of the effective contrasts in composition with such forms, there are still other sources, from which an ideal architecture may proceed. These are the imagination and aspiration, ⁸²³ with the form of composition by itself, or in connection with the natural location and the condition of the site of the building.

Note 823. The entire church style of the Gothic rises from and is based on the Christian longing of the northern peoples, and it is its most ideal personification in stone.

The cases of the structural tendency frequently cause forgetfulness, that such means are in the ground, which lend to buildings their mightiest effects, even double those of the architecture, or cause its defects to be forgotten.

515. Chateaus on Viaducts and Bridges.

A grand conception of the architectural problem, which has created from the difficulties of the natural form of the building site such a connection between architecture and location, indeed permits the designation of the portion represented in

Fig. 98,⁸²⁴ of the Chateau at Ferren-Tardenois as an ideal structure. The unusual sight of a gallery with careful architecture elevated so high, in order to join two parts of the chateau located on different hills, lends to the entire design an unusual ideal character.

Note 824. From the most courteously contributed original drawings and restorations of Architect Goitte in Paris.

It is similar with the Chateau of Chenonceaux placed on a bridge in the midst of the flowing waters of the Cher, or with the Chateau of Azay-le-Rideau washed by the quiet waters of the Indre.

Another of the ideal chateaus of Du Gerceau is conceived as entirely built in the water, and consists of three separate chateaus connected by three bridges with porticos, to which access is by dykes extending at right angles to their centres. The general grouping is very monumental.⁸²⁵ The ideal character is based here on the separation of the three parts of the chateau, on the beautiful proportions of each, and further on the connection by bridges and its location in the midst of the water.

Note 825. Illustrated in Geymüller, H. Les Du Gerceau etc. Fig. 115. p. 233. Paris. 1887.

The location in the midst of great forests also greatly contributes to lending to Chambord something of the character of a magical palace. By transferring a branch of the Loire, it was also to have been changed into a water chateau. (Art. 122).

c. Ideal Architecture in the 17 th Century.

516. Influence of the Tendency of the Ideal.

On the nature and height of the ideal likewise depends the character, the life, the soul of the style, as well as the style tendency in general.

The 15 th and 16 th centuries, Henry IV, Louis XIV and Napoleon I, actually had the same aim before their eyes, and pursued it by similar means; but the living spirits of their ideals were very different.

The culture of reason, that with the French played so great a part, at least contemporary in part and in certain domains, seems to make them unreceptive to some ideas and feelings of the Italians. Just because the main course of Italian art

elevates us above the daily prose, and in the reflex of a higher and more perfect life, it fulfils the divine mission entrusted to it. With religion, it will always keep awake in us the conviction of the higher motive of mankind, nourish it, and strengthen the aspiration toward God.

Choisy says of certain parts of the Palace at Versailles:--

"This architecture, which seems not to be made for mortals, pleased the king".

According to the Italian conceptions of the ideal of art, this was nothing less than a defect. On the contrary, one could object to the French Renaissance, that it too little understood the ideal mission of the art, its poetry, and regarded it too much as merely a luxury or a satisfaction of material requirements.

517. Severe Symmetry and Chateau Richelieu.

Severely symmetrical form of plan and elevation of a composition, when one feels in its forms, that men were in position to rise above the practical needs and customs of daily civic life, as was the case in Palladio's Villa La Rotunda near Vicenza, for example, imparts to the creation something unusual, that contributes to produce the character of the ideal purpose.

In connection with the purely rectangular forms of the rectangle and the square, and with an enhancement of the forms and the concentration of the composition about a central point, may this symmetry create an ideal architecture. If such considerable dimensions be added thereto, as the case in the Chateau, which cardinal Richelieu had erected by Hémecier in Poitou, then the composition receives the character of an ideal royal building or of a majestic ideal chateau. It is not to be denied, that here, as Fig. 99 ³²⁶ shows, the unified art of true architectural composition lends to this chateau a majesty by the increased expenditure, that is indeed wanting to the great Chateau of Louis XIV at Versailles, on the facade toward the city, just from the lack of these characteristics.

Note 225. From Marot, J. Le magnifique Chateau de Richelieu. (Without date or place).

But in such cases it is first of all important, that the a

architect understands how to avoid the great danger by the subdivision and the details, or appearing cold or poor, or of falling into scarcely better, the rude and dry recklessness and meaningless details of the Barocco.

Chapter 9. Principle of Alternation and Rhythmic Bays.

a. Importance of the Same.

518. Importance of this Principle.

The principle of alternation is one of the most important means, which the architect has at command for bringing life into a composition. The "rhythmic bay" is an application of alternation to special conditions.

If this architectural arrangement and this principle of composition is particularly stated, this is because that so far as known to us and at least in textbooks, due attention is not devoted thereto, its importance and its nature as well as the service, that it might render to the architect, have not yet been placed in a sufficiently clear light.

If we do not err, men have considered the examples of this axial division rather as beautiful phenomena, or at best as the peculiarities of a certain master, like Bramante, and of his taste, but not as the expression of important principles, capable of rendering the greatest service to architects, as often as their compositions require the peculiarities innate in the principle of alternation. Some have almost had the feeling, that men must excuse Bramante for having employed the same on two buildings, like Palace Cancelleria and Palace Giraud.

The arrangement of the supports, that we have for the first time designated by the name of "Rhythmic bay",⁸²⁷ is based on a setting of supports to form narrow and wide intervals in regular alternation, for example in the alternating succession of narrow and wide intercolumniations.

Note 827. See Geymüller, H. de. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe für S. Peter in Rom. Text, p. 23, 59, 71. -- We further refer to our "School of Bramante" and the illustrations therein, published in 1891 in Series. Vol. 8. p. 93-142.

A series of coupled pilasters or columns forms no rhythmic bays, since each pair of coupled columns only form a compound unit. The interval between the two is as good as nothing; not for their sake are the columns set together.

519. Origin of the Principle.

Strictly speaking, Bramante was not the inventor of the mo-

motives. It lay in germ in certain Roman triumphal arches, like that of Titus in Rome or of Trajan at Ancona.

Alberti laid the foundation of the system in S. Andrea at Mantua, perhaps also in the present Palace Newton at Pienza, which was also executed by Bernardo Rossellino.⁸²⁸ Yet Bramante was the first, who recognized the full value of the rhythmic bay, who understood how to give it a development and a fixed form, by which it came on the one hand to stand beside the classic orders and as a further development of the same, on the other became the basis of a mode of architectural composition, which for long has not borne its full fruitage.

Note 828. More on this is developed in our final conclusions in the work:-- *Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana*. Munich. 1885-1900.

In one of ~~somesstanding~~ bays subdivided on the system of the rhythmic bay, as for example, of Trajan's Arch at Ancona, the elements of the system are only contained in the germ. There is no rhythmic alternation: the two narrow intervals simply enclose the middle one and enhance the elevation of the composition at the centre. Only with three wide intervals does the system commence to act; from five bays upward is the system complete.

The succession of alternating narrow and wide bays, connected with the increase of the intervals of the pier bay to that of the opening, has an animated effect and impresses one in a very peculiar and spirited manner, quite differently from the "arcade" with equal intervals. If the wide spans are enclosed by round arches, the elastic bearing appears.

By the rhythmic bay with its horizontal extension of the impost line over the narrow piers, the round arch first receives its true value with the character of animated aspiration and energetic spanning of the wider bays. The arcade series contains a living and pulsating rhythm, something triumphant and elevated, if it relates to the interiors of churches. "Merely study the group connected with S. Marco in Venice, of S. Gisutina in Padua, S. Niccolo in Carpi, of S. Salvatore in Venice etc.

According to whether the ratio of the pier to the space be 1 to 2 or that of the golden mean, the intensity of progression

and enhancement, and therewith that of the movement varies. Fig. 332 gives an example from the former pavilion of Le Veau at the Louvre, how the proper effect of the motive is destroyed, because the difference between the narrow and wide bays neither produces pulsating contrast nor enhancement, and moreover is entirely prejudiced by the third distance of the coupled columns.

There are cases in which both systems of spacing supports work together, and where the transition from the simple series to that with rhythmically alternating intervals is nowise disturbing, especially if the reason for the changed rhythm of the supports is at once recognized, and the width of the rhythmic bay is in happy proportion to the spacing of the simple series, which arouses the feeling of movement like the rhythmic bay itself.

b. Alternation.

521. Simple Alternation.

We commence with some examples of simple alternation.

In the Hospital at Beaune the alternation first occurs in the heights of the dormer windows in the roof, where a wide window alternates with a narrow one lying farther back, as Fig. 100 shows. ⁸²⁹

Note 829. From Verdier & Gattois. *Architecture civile et domestique* etc. Vol. 1. Paris. 1852-1858.

An alternation of two motives without any assistance of columnar orders may be seen (Fig. 109) on the former middle court facade of the Chateau at Anet. Here regularly alternate narrow and wide windows with each other with equal wall piers. The terrace extending before them was supported by columns in the ground story, whose spacing formed rhythmic bays.

522. Alternation with equal Axial Distances.

A series of interesting solutions result from alternation with equal intervals or axial distances. It may be attained in different ways. First by alternation in the height of the bays, second by alternation of the projection and relief, third by alternation of two differently treated intercolumniations.

In order to obtain the effect of this mode of composition, at least five bays are necessary. By four the movement is in-

indeed produced; but the rhythm finds no ending and therefore has the effect of something incoplete.

With merely three bays, the contrast is marked; but its effect is limited to attracting attention merely to the middle bay or to both side bays. This will be made clearer by the two following examples.

The happily composed court facade in Chateau Marchais near Laon has three bays between angle towers with slender roofs. It is in two stories, below being three oval arches, above with rectangular windows and pilasters. Over the middle arch begins a bay projecting somewhat, over this and composed together with it being a high and rich dormer window accompanied by consoles and finials, crowned by a semicircular gable. This bay thereby merely masks effectively the middle of the entire side of the court.

In the allied style of the facade of Chateau Le Rocher-Mesongers with five arches, instead of a central motive, the composition is animated by the rhythmic alternation of the forms of the bays in a horizontal as well as vertical direction.

The main windows, that alternate with the narrow ones, are not only wider but compose with the dormer windows lying over them a great motive in each, which produces a second alternation in height, as shown by Fig. 101 ⁸³⁰. Nodier ⁸³¹ gives in his view of this chateau over the two end bays small dormers with pointed gables, that complete the upper rhythm. Since there are but two main bays, the attention is drawn to the two nearest the two ends; the middle span remains undeveloped and subordinate. It is similar in the last respect to the following example.

Note 830. From Palustre, L. La Renaissance etc. Vol. 3. 1880-1894.

Note 831. Nodier & Taylor. Vol. Bretagne.

On the side wing of Hotel d'Ecoville at Caen, which Fig. 102 ⁸³² represents, in the usual alternation of windows and wall piers, the system of alternation was introduced by a special development of the latter. The tabernacle with its columns, projecting entablature, flat recessed arches with statues and rich groups, and which are developed with the rich dormer windows, that occur over the piers instead of in the axes of the windows, into such rich, continuous and three-story

high principal motives, that a living rhythm results. 833

Note 832. From Sauvageot. Palais, Chateaux etc. Vol. 4.

Note 833. Sauvageot represents two stories with windows; at present the building shows but one great window in each bay, that extends to about the middle of the upper tabernacle, above it being a circular panel to the architrave.

A pretty example of alternation by means of different projections with equal heights of bays is presented by the gallery of the little Chateau Beauregard near Blois, probably erected about 1550. It had seven round arches in the ground story, accompanied by bold pilasters or half columns.

Although all pilasters that subdivide it had equal projections, an alternation of bays was produced, when over each alternate arch the entablature extended through, and the bay of the upper story with the pilasters, that accompanied the window, projected likewise, while in the bay lying between them, the entablature was returned to the face of the wall.

The following example with equal heights of bays exhibits an alternation in the composition of the spaces of the intercolumniation.

In Chateau Veance near Etreuil (department of the Allier) is found a wing with five windows, whose ground story shows a series of pilasters, in which merely each second intercolumniation is found as an arch, whereby arises an alternating rhythm. 834

Note 834. Described from a drawing exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1884. No. 2645.

c. Rhythmic or Bramante's Bay.

523. Early Examples.

One of the earliest examples of the rhythmic bay has an admirer of Bramante created in the facades of the old Hotel-de-Ville at Orleans. Instead of pilasters are vertical bands extending through two stories, which accompany the five narrow and four wide bays. In the latter the entire width is included in the window. In the narrow bays are arranged niches with consoles and canopies for figures. A part of the forms are still late Gothic, but the others with arabesques and shell frieze belong to the early Renaissance. The vertical bands themselves show, at least in the ground story, the attempt at a kind of pilaster treatment.

In the court of the Chateau of Ancy-le-Franc, as Fig. 103³³⁵ shows, Primaticcio carried out Bramante's rhythmic bay in two stories, as the latter had arranged it in the garden of della Pigna in the Vatican. There he firmly retained the contrast of a lower story with arches and an upper one with windows. The French architect, trained in Italy, of the beautiful east wing of the Chateau at Bournazel (Fig. 104³³⁶) on the contrary, executed the rhythmic bay with arches in two stories of this wing. By means of breaking the Doric entablature, the architecture of the pier is developed into a continuous vertical motive, which nappily combines with the strongly accented horizontal lines.

Note 835. From Sauvageot. Vol. 4.

Note 836. From Berty. La Renaissance Monumentale. Vol. 1.

524. Examples on Dome Piers.

The rhythmic bay is not always placed on a single wall plane. In the domed churches, that imitate Bramante's domed area of S. Peter, the narrow space of the bay subdivides the oblique surface of the dome pier, and the side space is formed by the dome arch, that rests on the entablature of the narrow bay as on an impost. By this relation it received the unequalled Bramante movement, which is lacking in the Florentine Cathedral, on account of the too great width of the oblique surfaces of the piers, as well as for octagonal domes in general.

Philibert De l'Orme employed this arrangement in the Chateau at Anet. (Figs. 192, 193).

Just in that Bramante recognized the elastic enhancement innate in the rhythmic bay, and brought it into logical connection with the round arch, seems to lie the greatest architectural style tendency of the entire Renaissance. The Church of S. Peter, erected after his design, as well as a series of his studies for it, created a group of vault compositions, which in regard to esthetic treatment of the interior stood as high above the baths of the Romans, as the orders of the Greeks excelled those of the Egyptians.

Du Cerceau has transmitted to us the arrangement of the former sweat bath of Chateau Dam pierre. Fig. 105³³⁷ exhibits this arrangement, that is related to that of Bramante's Tempietto in S. Pietro in Montorio. The axial differences of the

narrow and wide intercolumniations is very small; it is chiefly by the diversity in the subdivision of the bays and by the projection of the entablature over the narrow intercolumniation, that the alternation is emphasized.

Note 837. From Du Cerceau. Plus excellents Bastiments. Vol. 2.

likewise in the domed area of the former Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis, the narrow motive was made a projecting one by columns, and indeed was repeated in two stories. In consequence of the better proportions in width, and since the aspiring motive continued in the ribs of the dome, the projection of the columns was justified.

Fig. 106 ⁸³⁸ shows the plan of the ground story of this beautiful building. Figs. 21, 44, 45 and 197 exhibit other parts of the same.

Note 838. From Marot, J. Vol. 1. Pl. 104.

Therefore since in the dome of the Invalids at Paris the supports of the narrow group are free projecting columns, whose entablatures have no statical function whatever to the dome nor to the dome interior itself, in which it projects only as disturbing the interior, the beautiful effect of the motive is there destroyed, even aside from the fact, that the relation of the narrow to the wide bay has nothing of elastic spanning. (Figs. 201, 203).

Yet in certain cases the system of supports extends to the entablature above the dome arch, as the case in the dome of the present Palace of the Institute in Paris. (Fig. 198).

525. Examples as Gateway Motives.

If also these compositions then first show the characteristics of pulsating life completely developed, when several bays occur as a series, they are then also suitable as a single element for accenting a definite axis of the facade. In this sense is it generally employed as an entrance motive. The enhancement of the wide intercolumniations to the middle one, combined with the greater width of the latter, serves as a guide, so to speak, for indicating the always so important position of the entrance.

In this sense Jean Bullant employed it as a gateway motive at the entrance of the gallery, that rises over a sort of viaduct in order to connect together two motives of the Chateau

at Fere-en-Tardenois separated by a valley. Fig. 107⁸³⁹ represents front of the gallery, of which the side facade is shown in Fig. 98.

Note 839. On publication on this interesting work is known to me. Therefore I express the more gratitude to M. Boitte in Paris, who has courteously permitted the reproduction of two plates from his careful drawings for this work.

A second example of the use of the rhythmic bay as a gateway motive is exhibited by the Chateau at Anet. And Philibert De l'Orme employed it in three stories above each other, as shown in Fig. 108.⁸⁴⁰ We shall return to this example on the occasion of "Gateway-Towers" and here refer to similar constructions in Figs. 315, 316.

Note 840. From a plate by Lesoufache in Daly, C. *Motifs Historiques d'architecture*. Vol. 1. Paris. 1869.

526. Combined Examples.

We already had examples in Figs. 101 and 103 in which were combined alternatives in horizontal and vertical directions. We now pass to cases in which, expressed in other ways, different elements of alternation and of rhythm are combined in one composition.

In the same Chateau at Anet, De l'Orme also created in another form examples of this system. We refer for them to Fig. 109.⁸⁴¹ It takes a view of the orangery, of which he has not only engraved the ground plan in *les Plus excellents Bastiments* by Du Cerceau, from an original drawing.

Note 841. From the drawing of Du Cerceau in the British Museum in London. Vol. 8. Pl. 100. On the same was written by Du Cerceau:-- "The drawing of the elevation of the wing at Anet next the shore, with its enclosure and a portion of the park."

From this may it be seen, how De l'Orme arranged in the middle part of the same seven equally wide intercolumniations and thereby created a rhythmic alternation, when three arches have great arched windows and an attic over the entablature, but the four other bays have merely small windows below the height of the imposts of the former and a panel above them.

Likewise in the arcades of the galleries and the gardens were formed different examples of alternation by means of the

alternation of horizontal and arched forms, by bays with and without gables etc.

527. Rhythm between Building Masses.

Similar arrangements were developed by De l'Orme in the original form of the former Tuileries, as shown by Fig. 110.⁸⁴² Here also with equally wide intercolumniations is created the alternation between higher dormer windows and lower attic windows, likewise gabled, while on the gateway pavilion, the entrance is also emphasized by means of the rhythmic bay. The court facade of the Tuileries already represented (Fig. 46) exhibits variants of the same idea.

Note 842. From the original drawing of Du Cerceau in the British Museum in London. Vol. 1. Pl. 22.

Our illustrations prove, that already Du Cerceau, who frequently had drawn or engraved merely projected portions of a building, did not know how De l'Orme would treat the pavilion above the ground story. The dome, which is usually ascribed to him, is a later work, indeed from the time of Henry IV. At least must still a story with rhythmic bay be assumed, so that as in Lescot's court of the Louvre, a contrast between the series of rhythmic bays on the projecting parts of the building on the one hand, and the series of bays with equal axial distances on the other, was also intended in part here. Du Cerceau wrote on this plate:-- "The drawing of the portal with part of the order of the facade of the Tuileries opposite the garden".

By means of the following arrangement, we find examples of a further development of this tendency on a large scale.

Sometimes on longer facades by subdivision into building masses, a kind of division after the model of the Rhythmic bay was carried out. Projections represent the narrow groups of the motive, and the recessed parts are the wide bays. (Figs. 221, 222).

528. Examples in Designs.

We further refer to the occurrence of this motive in many unexecuted designs.

Bramante's system of two pilasters connected by a niche as a continuous member of all wall piers is found alternating with windows under pointed gables in one of the designs of Du

Cerceau's Livre des Cinquante Batiments.⁸⁴³

Note 843. We have represented it in Les Du Cerceau, Fig. 55.

A very beautiful gateway design in the proportions of Bramante and of the rusticated Gate of Sannicbele⁸⁴⁴ is treated as a rhythmic bay. The Doric entablature is not rusticated, and on the half columns the rustication only extends around each second drum, as a continuation of the courses. De l'Orme employed it in 1559 for a triumphal arch, in the form of the internal bays of S. Peter in Rome.⁸⁴⁵

Note 844. See the same. Fig. 133.

Note 845. Represented in De l'Orme's Architecture. p. 247.

The interesting facade of the Hotel-de-Ville at La Rochelle of the year 1603, a portion of which is represented in Fig. 111⁸⁴⁶ shows us in the two stories two different treatments of the rhythmic bay, while above is arranged an alternation between the dormer windows and the attic motives, as in the Tuileries. Yet in the latter exists the difference, that even lower parts over the narrow bays develop a more clearly a accepting and more spirited rhythm, and at the same time produce a closer connection between the upper alternation with equal axes, and of the lower with alternately wide and narrow spaces.

Note 846. From Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pl. 12.

530. Variants and allied Motives.

In connection with the rhythmic bay stands also the motive of late Roman art, that the French term motive of Palladio, and that Bramante already utilized.⁸⁴⁷ A recollection of this is shown by the early Hotel of Etienne Duval at Caen.(Fig.296).

Note 847. See Geymüller, H. de. The School of Bramante in Transactions of R. I. B. A. New Series. Vol. 7. p. 93-142. F Figs. 43, 55.

The system of regularly alternating horizontal narrower and wider bays covered by round arches, produced by an unbroken and continuous repetition of this so-called Palladian motive -- especially favored in the time of Galeazzo Alessi in Genoa and Milan -- appears to me to not generally occur. A variant of it is found in the House of Henry II at La Rochelle.(Fig. 293). As merely a subdivision of the ground story was it seen

in the famous Chateau of Liancourt-sous-Clermont (Oise). In a remarkable way, the windows were constructed with lintels in the narrow bays with round medallions above in the arch spandrels, while in the second story were niches on these axes, the windows therefore being arranged over the arches, and merely breaking up the walls of the ground story.

Hence men were not satisfied with the equal use of two motives in two stories, but had attained from one story to another the alternation of an open and a closed motive, indeed sure proof of the consciousness with which the alternating rhythm was here used.⁸⁴⁸

Note 848. Illustrated in Hodder & Taylor. Picardie. Vol. 3. Pl. 1.

The arrangement, to which we have given the name of concentric double arch, is a different type, elevated to a structural unity or a combined motive, that was developed in Italy, and stands in connection with the "rhythmic bay".⁸⁴⁹ No example in France is known to me, where it would have been employed as a motive of the treatment in bays of a facade.

Note 849. On its beginning in the sacristy of Brunellesco in S. Lorenzo in Florence, and its further development by Michelozzo, Bramante, Raphael, Giulio Romano, Sansovino and Antonio da Sangallo the younger, see our monograph on Brunellesco in *Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana* etc. p. 13. Munich. 1885-1900.-- Further, the School of Bramante. Figs. 44-47, 51.

The sole case, that approximates this type in any degree, is the membering of the choir arch in the tomb chapel at Anet.⁸⁵⁰ Here De l'Orme has subdivided the broad surface of the arch, that lies between the archivolt of the opening to the apse and the concentric tunnel vault of the nave, by three relief slabs, and has attached one to each pier beneath. The archivolt of the apse is alone accented and is executed in stone, the remainder being in brickwork. The outer archivolt along the intrados of the vault and also the connecting circles, thus fail to form the fixed type of the concentric double arch.

Note 850. See its plan in Fig. 160.

The usual grouped supports of the narrow spaces of the rhythmic bay may also assume the character of compound member

units and separate parts of the facade, which stand to each other in an increasing proportion of widths.(Fig. 164). The latter is also the case for the two church facades in Figs. 166 and 167, except that here coupled columns replace the grouped supports of the narrow bays.

531. Examples at a smaller Scale.

Subdivisions after the the system of the rhythmic bay also occur in the composition of works of smaller scale or in details.

In the balustrade of the organ gallery in the chateau chapel of Ecouen are six wide bays filled by a paneled motive consisting of small Ionic columns standing on a high base. These wide bays were separated and were enclosed at both ends by narrow bays, that consist of Ionic columns of the entire height of the balustrade, connected by a niche. The beautiful proportions and the excellent treatment of the details and of the two orders of Ionic fluted columns make this balustrade one of the most beautiful examples of the rhythmic bay. We do not hesitate to recognize it as a work of Jean Goujon himself.

A rhythmic division of the coffers on these vaults and ceilings is likewise found, which is allied to the model of Bramante's coffering in S. Peter's Church in Rome. Such examples are seen on the vaults of the stairway of Henry II in the Louvre, and of a chapel in S. Aignan at Chartres.

Examples of the Rhythmic bay may be found in the following Figs.:-- 21, 44, 154, 161-164, 173, 187, 190, 193, 197, 198, 201, 203, (213, 122), 223, 225, 226, 227, 231, 264, 265, 268, 272, 280, 282, 318-321, 324, 325, 328, 346.

From these may it be seen, how many architects knew how to esteem the beauty and animation, that were innate in this mode of composition by Bramante, even if with many its use might be based on refined taste and correct feeling, but not on a complete understanding of the entire style principle.

Chapter 10. Series of Gables as Terminations of a Facade.

532. Peculiarity of this Arrangement.

A peculiarity of the style, which it appears to me, was found during the Renaissance period in France alone, consists in this, that the facade of a building was crowned as a termination by a series of successive and almost abutting gables. This arrangement must appear so much the more unusual, since behind this series of low gables, that have no openings, rises a high roof, with which they have no artistic connection whatever.

Our attention was first drawn to this arrangement by the unsatisfactory impression, which it always made on us in the famous facade of the Louvre next the river. We long held it to be an unlucky isolated caprice of the architect. Only gradually became known to us a number of other examples, indeed older, so that it appeared to us worth while to pay attention for a moment to this arrangement, and to search for the origin of this peculiarity.

533. Gothic Prototypes.

We stand here before the remains of Gothic customs and opinions, that were adopted by the French Renaissance.

The Gothic facade of the Hotel-de-Ville of S. Quentin is terminated by a series of these gables of equal height, only supported by a very short stretch of horizontal cornice. The facade of the famous College de Navarre at Paris, erected by Philippe le Bel, was likewise crowned by four abutting gables. According to the subdivisions of the facade, these appear like the combination of four abutting houses.

It is possible, that the idea of such additions of separate houses, which then always had gabled facades, in order to create a single great facade, was the origin to which is due the motive of the series of gables. (Fig. 251). The idea might also be taken from the series of gablets or from the series of gables of chapels of certain cathedrals, after the fashion came in to furnish each chapel of the side aisles with its own gable roof.

534. Examples from the Renaissance.

It would also be possible, that an arrangement of Chateau

Madrid near Paris gave the direct model. (Figs. 31, 221). The uppermost story of the pavilion exhibits a series of tabernacle windows, whose pointed gables form this motive on a small scale. According to the subdivision of this story, one might believe, that a series of dormer windows with gables were connected together for an attic story, and on account of the analogy to dormer windows, this was likewise crowned by gables. -- See further the house at Chartres represented in Fig. 238.

Moreover Pierre Lescot likewise employed the principle of such terminations in the former shape of the Fountain of Innocents at Paris, as shown by Fig. 40.

535. Chateau Le Pailly.

One of the earlier examples at a greater scale and from the Renaissance period is found in Chateau Le Pailly near Chaligny. It may be seen there, both on the south and west sides of the court. Figs. 112 and 113 ⁸⁵¹ exhibit the two facades and make a long explanation superfluous.

Note 851. From Sauvageot. Vol. 1.

If one remembers that the vertical mode of composition by French architects long remained in favor, and that the master of this chateau chose rhythmic bays for the subdivision of the facades, but separated them by intervening bays, then one acquires the idea of terminating in this way the vertical divisions, that were sometimes formed by the broad spaces of the bay, and to repeat the alternating rhythm of the facade afterwards.

This famous and beautiful chateau must have been commenced in 1563. The owner was the celebrated marshal Saulx-Tavannes. If Palustre has not mistaken some master mason, who worked as contractor, for the architect himself, then the latter was named Nicolas Ribonnier.

536. Examples at the Louvre.

If Figs. 221, 222 be compared with Lescot's court of the Louvre (Fig. 224), then will the line of thought leading to this arrangement become plainer. It will become even more intelligible, if one retains in memory the series of dormer windows and the attic motive on De l'Orme's Tuileries, (Figs. 46, 110, 229), or those of the Hotel-de-Ville at La Rochelle. (Fig. 111).

The other two examples, that we will mention here and are represented in Figs. 114 and 115,³⁵² are found on the gallery of the Louvre along the Seine, as they were completed under Henry IV. Fig. 114 gives the former shape of the western latter half, and Fig. 115 on one bay of the eastern; Fig. 135 shows another portion of the same. The latter half is the earlier and exhibits a certain similarity in composition with that of Chateau Le Pailly. But this only dates from the time of Henry IV, and originally consisted merely of the ground story covered by a terrace. The arrangement of Chateau Le Pailly might then have floated in the mind of the architect of Henry IV. On occasion of the erection of the Louvre, we shall return to this gallery.

Note 852. From Berty, A. *Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris*. Vol. 1. Paris. 1866.

537. Other Examples.

Entirely in classical forms and very beautifully executed, Du Cerceau shows the alternating rhythm of three separated gables, which form the entablature of a portico above three projections of the same forms with the lower gables of two doorways. This rhythm is connected with the accented contrast of the gables of the three aisles of the church rising behind the portico. The higher middle aisle alone has a segmental pediment; the two side aisles possess pointed gables, like those of the portico, which correspond to the intervals with the doorways of the latter.³⁵³

Note 853. Du Cerceau engraved this plate after Vredeman de Vries, who had perhaps seen the drawing of a great Italian and reproduced it here. We have given the elevation in Les Du Cerceau. (Fig. 105).

Examples of a series of gables or elements of the motive in question may be found in the following Figs. :-- 307, 315, 316, 318, 323, 336, 337.

Arrangements in which the upper windows intersect the cornice, as in Figs. 336 and 337, exhibit a certain relation to the series of gables.

Chapter 11. Orders of Colossal Pilasters and Columns.

538. Explanatory.

If we here devote particular consideration to the use of the "great order", that the French generally designate as the "colossal order", then this occurs because this element of a subdivision, whose use is not always convenient, indicates a special conception of architectural composition, and is interesting as one of the currents of the style tendency.

In the treatment of this system of subdivision, we shall be gradually compelled to recognize, that the occurrence thereof, not merely in France but also in Italy, is more important for the history of the development of the high Renaissance, than it might at first appear, and further that men are less instructed on this question, than is to be expected. Indeed, it is so intimately connected with the origin of one of the most important royal residences in France, Monceaux-en-Brie, that we must undertake to treat its description and history more thoroughly in this Chapter, and this again makes necessary a comparative view of the earliest occurrence of this arrangement in Italy and in France.

a. Comparison of the Colossal Order in France and Italy.

1. Earliest Examples in France.

539. French Opinions.

Concerning the time of the introduction of this mode of subdivision, there prevail in France very different views. Ant-hyme-Saint-Paul,⁸⁵⁴ for example, writes thereon as follows:--

Note 854. See his Article in *Planat*. Vol. 6. p. 367-373.

Jean Bullant, whom Ecouen, the small Chateau at Chantilly, Pere-en-Tardenois and perhaps Monceaux made immortal, introduced the colossal order, but in a quite peculiar manner, which one is little inclined to follow, but which must bear his signature. Somewhat earlier (p. 307), the same master wrote the following:-- "In order to find opportunity for employing in Ecouen the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which he had drawn in Rome, in their full majesty, he introduced the colossal order; but this combination remained peculiar to him, so to speak, and one first finds it in full bloom under Louis XIV. And moreover by a singular connection, at the moment w

when Bullant made this too early advance toward modern art. Philibert de l'Orme composed his French order with the view of making columns of smaller drums, and instead of concealing this, to artistically dignify it. Anthyme-Saint-Paul here forgets important examples of the great order in Monceaux-en-Brie, that he cursorily mentioned in Charleval, as well as the western portion of the grand gallery of the Louvre.

Germain Brice again holds the Hotel of Diana of France, later Lamoignon (Fig. 113) to be the earliest example in Paris.

Palustre holds the colossal order as characteristic of the style of Jacques II Du Cerceau. This opinion is based on the fact, that the former portion of the Tuileries, that shows it, is ascribed to the second son of old Du Cerceau.

Hence one learns that this arrangement in France attracted attention and was regarded as something unusual. Yet one recognizes, that not only views concerning it differ, as to who first introduced it, and also that they vary considerable as to the time of its origin.

540. Earliest Examples in France.

The relief of the year 1481, from the workshop of Francesco da Laurana, and on the altar shrine in S. Didier at Avignon, exhibits a colossal order on two of the interesting buildings in the background.

The earliest example of a colossal order by a Frenchman is perhaps shown in our Fig. 3 from the time about 1535. It indeed relates to a fanciful order in the style of antique monuments and under the influence of certain projects for S. Peter in Rome. (Figs. 13, 19).

As one used a few years later, is to be mentioned an order of about 1541 or 1543 extending through two stories, at least apparently, executed on the exterior of the sacristy of S. Aignan in Chartres. Doric fluted pilasters subdivide the angles and the middle of the building, accompany the lower front doorway and a wide round-arched window over it. On the side facade and under the latter is merely a window slit.

2. Earliest Examples in Italy.

541. Examples on Churches.

One must distinguish between the recurrence of the colossal order on a church or on a secular building. In the interiors of churches it may be regarded as a continuation of the prin-

principal shaft of the Gothic compound pier.

In this sense slender pilasters occur on the dome piers of Brunellesco's basilicas in Florence. About 1470 originated the design of Alberti for S. Andrea in Mantua, that employs it in the entire interior and on the facade, and Giuliano da Majano, although with less emphasis, does the same in his Cathedral at Faenza, commenced in 1474. With the designs of Bramante for S. Peter, the use of the ^{it} pilasters enters new paths and acquires the richest treatment. We shall return to it in the Chapter on Church Architecture.

Also in some studies for churches of Leonardo da Vinci is one justified in speaking of a colossal order.⁸⁵⁵

Note 855. Geymüller. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe für St. Peter etc. Pl. 43. Figs. 1, 2.

542. Examples on Secular Buildings.

This form of subdivision is observed to occur earlier, than is commonly assumed.

On Palace di Parti Guelfa in Florence, begun by Brunellesco, the angle is formed by a pilaster of a colossal order, whose upper part was not completed.

In Codice Atlantico⁸⁵⁶ is found a sketch of Leonardo da Vinci for a palace facade, in which three broad pilasters of a colossal order rise from a high ground story, and enclose the two succeeding stories; their entablature is broken around them. In one bay in the second story are three round-arched windows, and five of these are arranged in the third.

Note 856. In the Ambrosiano at Milan. Fol. 214 v, Fig. 6.

It is found in two of Raphael's designs for Villa Madama. In the earliest design known to us, the order occupies 1 1/2 stories of the main building, and it corresponds to the height of two stories of the front wing.

In the second design,⁸⁵⁷ it occupies the height of the ground story and mezzanine, similarly as Giulio Romano arranged on the fragment executed.

Note 857. Geymüller. E. di Raffaello studiato come Architetto. Milan. 1884. Pl. 4 and Fig. 64; further see Figs. 62 a and 63 of the same. On the ground story of Villa Farnesina in Rome, Raphael already combined a mezzanine with a ground story by a pilaster order. A similar arrangement is exhibit-

exhibited by the upper story of the Cancellaria in Rome. Yet in the two last cases, one cannot say of these pilasters, that they form a colossal order, for they actually have the effect of the order of a single story.

In the court of his Palace Cafferelli in Rome, now Vidoni, Raphael gave the pilasters a proportion to the height of the windows, that gives them the appearance of a colossal order, and almost permits a second series of windows between them. See the same, Fig. 61.

Here should only be reference made, that Giulio Romano was the right hand of Raphael, and that Primaticcio was the pupil of Giulio, with whom he had perhaps opportunity to study a great part of the learning of Bramante and of Raphael.

Many expressed attempts to employ a colossal order are seen in Sangallo the younger. He was likewise a pupil of Bramante and assistant architect to Raphael in the erection of Villa Madama. In his studies for the facade of Palace Farnese, at the angles and above the ground story are placed Corinthian pilasters of the height of the two upper stories, whose entablatures extend through and terminate the facade without being broken.⁸⁵⁸

Note 858. Illustrated in Letarouilly, P. *Edifices de Rome Moderne*. Text. Vol. 2. p. 289. Paris. 1873.

The drawings of Antonio and of his brother Il Gobbo in the Uffizi exhibit examples of other facades treated in the same manner.

At the time when the original designs for S. Peter and the true history of the building were as good as unknown, men believed that the credit of the introduction of the colossal order, by whose simple and majestic grandeur all earlier masters, and especially Bramante, were cast into the shade, belonged to Michelangelo. In reality, he merely appropriated in very imperfect form the types foreseen in these studies by Bramante, in which occurred no reduced choir aisles. Many of these studies were not only known to Italian architects, but even to French architects long before the appointment of Michelangelo as architect of S. Peter's church. (1547).

If Michelangelo had no real preference for this conception of the subdivision of facades, one example by him sufficed,

at least to influence the occurrence of the same in other countries in certain cases.

For the formerly probable error, that Michelangelo at once exhibited a general design for the treatment of the capitol, the date of the model of the two palaces with a colossal order is to be placed in 1546. The execution of the first commenced only in 1564. In the year 1547 Michelangelo became architect of S. Peter's, and fixed the type of the external architecture.

Since it now appears to be determined, that Catherine de M Medici had her private chateau commenced in 1547, it is interesting in the highest degree to see the colossal order occur here on such a great scale and contemporary with Rome. A sort of priority might even be due to the chateau of the queen of France, for it was already occupied in 1553, but the older capitoline Palace was only commenced in 1564. It is evident that a fact of real importance for architecture lies in the correct determination of this case.

In Serlio's books are found no composition of any kind, that could have incited in any manner the use of the colossal order in Monceaux. Allied arrangements first occur in his Book 7th, published in 1575.

For Palladio, the famous principal examples of a colossal order fall between the years 1552 and 1570, so that he could thereby exert no influence on Monceaux.

The same is again the case for Bernini.

b. Chateau Monceaux-en-Brie and its Influence on the Colossal Order.

543. Unexpected Difficulties.

At the beginning of this section we find ourselves before the formerly famous Chateau of Catherine de Medici in Monceaux-en-Brie, and in consequence of an entirely unexpected event, stand before a great difficulty, with which is inseparably connected a series of the most important questions relating to the history of the Renaissance between 1547 and 1620.

This unexpected occurrence not merely affects the following portion of this work, but reacts in a disturbing manner on a series of already treated questions, if the difficulties found no satisfactory solution, since our representation of the

entire structure of the development of the high Renaissance and of the late Renaissance is connected with the question of the authorship of this chateau and of the date of its erection.

In consequence of the statements of Lhuillier and of the places in which they were published, we hold ourselves justified in regarding the authorship of this chateau as referred in favor of Primaticcio,⁸⁵⁹ and took this as a basis of a new conception of the entire position of Primaticcio as an architect.⁸⁶⁰

Note 859. See his Biography, p. 160-168.

Note 860. Lhuillier asserted, that in the Comptes des Bâtimens between 1540 and 1550, the mention of a payment was found, "made to Francesque Primaticcio, painter and architect, for the works of the king at Fontainebleau and for those of the queen at - - - en Brie. The name of the place was omitted. Further Lhuillier possessed the original contract on parchment of March 9, 1560, between the Italian joiner Francisque Scibect, cabinet-maker of the king at Paris, and Robert de Beauvais, attorney general of the queen mother of the king - - - agreeing in the absence of the Abbe de Saint-Martin (Primaticcio) to furnish the doors, windows 12 ft. high, sashes, woodwork, the whole for the Chateau of Monceaux, according to the device determined by the Sieur de Beauvais and the Abbe de Saint-Martin. The contract makes reference to an earlier provisional contract, subscribed by Francisque Scibect of Beauvais and Bologna, Abbot of Sancte-martino.

Lhuillier deduced from this the following conclusions:-- since Primaticcio was still architect of Monceaux in 1560, it is very probable, that the first mentioned payment for works at a place in Brie also relates to Monceaux, and that consequently Primaticcio must have been the first architect of the chateau. (See p. 162, Note 378).

The words verbatim given by Lhuillier were so much in character with the accounts, and seemed to be proved by the fact, that in at least two other documents the same omission is found before the words "in Brie", that any inaccuracy in his statements is not to be thought.

We further emphasized the case, that in the same year 1547, in which Michelangelo returned to the colossal order for the

exterior of his Church of S. Peter in Rome, Primaticcio likewise adopted the same for the exterior of the great Chateau of Catherine de Medici at Monceaux.⁸⁶¹

Note 861. See Art. 167. We there assumed the year 1548 for the beginning of Chateau Monceaux. The year 1547 appears to be more nearly correct, as Note 865 also shows.

Yet when we proceeded to the treatment of Chateau Monceaux, more light was desirable. Therefore we wrote to M. Lhuillier to ask him, whether he had meanwhile found any new evidence in this matter. But our question remained unanswered.

We likewise entered into communication with M. L. Dimier, who was occupied with the completion of an extended monograph on Primaticcio, and received from him the very surprising information, that the first statement of Lhuillier from the Comptes des Batiments du Roy did not exist in the latter at all, and we convinced ourselves of the correctness of this assertion.

Dimier, who is a critic of great conscientiousness and power, consequently had not believed himself justified in including Chateau Monceaux among the works of Primaticcio, and we entirely agreed with him in this, that the tangible and compulsory evidence for his authorship appeared to have disappeared, while the later documents from the Comptes, as well as the second document of Lhuillier, in case the latter be not a myth, first bring Primaticcio into connection with Monceaux after 1560.

Another and a no less difficulty was added thereto, namely that Dimier judged, that the building of Chateau Monceaux as illustrated in Fig. 116, was not to be regarded as the original chateau of Catherine. He might believe in its origin in consequence of a rebuilding under Maria de Medici after 1610, as men were accustomed to do before Palustre.

It is evident, that the floor began to sink under the feet everywhere, requiring the greatest foresight.

After a thorough investigation of all existing elements for months, and after allowing nearly a year to elapse, in order to examine the question with fresh eyes, we reached a series of settled facts, which are even more conclusive for the authorship of Primaticcio than the evidence of Lhuillier, in case

this existed. Nevertheless there is a peculiar connection of things, that this with difficulty explained "fantasy" of Lhuillier has aided in reaching the truth, since it concentrated attention on Primaticcio. We now pass to the description of the chateau.

544. Description of the Chateau. (Monceaux).

The first important monument, in which we find an executed colossal order, according to all appearance, must be the great Chateau of Catherine de Medici in Monceaux, while a series of reasons make it difficult to place its form, as shown in Fig. 116,⁸⁶² first in the time of Henry IV, as men had believed until Palustre. He was inclined to see in it a work of Philibert De l'Orme.

Note 862. From Israel Silvestre. Vol. 2. Fol. 55.

As may be seen from Fig. 116, the external facades, as well as those of the court, had a pilaster order, that extended through two stories and separated the windows. Perhaps the Ionic order was chosen here, because the owner was a woman, i.e., a Catholic. De l'Orme states, that also for this reason he selected the Ionic order for the Tuileries Palace.

In the middle of the side wings of the court were doorways, and on each side thereof were two Ionic columns set before pilasters, and in the middle of the rear side of the court were four columns corresponding to the gateway pavilion. They were built with a regular alternation of high and low drums. The former are fluted, the latter being ornamented as bands by a kind of chain pattern. Palustre⁸⁶³ remarks not entirely with injustice, that this recalls the design of De l'Orme. The building of Monceaux was then standing, when the Tuileries was commenced, and it was at least already roughed out in forms. Only the four columns on the external facade of the gate pavilion, as well as the two on the adjacent angles, were of the Corinthian order. We shall return later to this pavilion.

Note 863. See La Renaissance in France. Vol. 1. p. 166. Paris. 1879.

Palustre gives illustrations of the two apparently sole remains of the chateau, the gate pavilion and the two Ionic columns, that stood before the doorway in the side wing. They

have a peculiarly massive and monumental effect.³⁶⁴

Note 264. A confirmation of this massive impression of the colossal order follows in the words of a letter of H. Douen of Nov. 8, 1860, to Charles Read, who courteously communicated it to me. In his time the chateau was still held to be a work of Salomon de Brosse; "The remains of the work of de Brosse are imposing and give the idea of a master's work; it is a palace differing from the Louvre and with immense columns; unfortunately there are no more than 4 or 5, I believe, that serve to support the roof of a barn. There is yet another piece of wall with two similar columns at the other end.

What has been preserved are the cellars or baths and the vast excavations, said to have served as kennels.

In the uniform application of this subdivision to both the court as well as the external facades lies a contrast to the then most common custom of the French, the treatment of external facades in a simpler and dignified manner, frequently with rustication, and on the contrary, those of the court in a more graceful style.

The entire composition of this chateau and its subdivision from the beginning inseparably originated from the intention to employ the colossal order. The manner in which the architect applied it and continued the entablature, exhibits a perfect security in the management of such a form, that is almost always connected with special difficulties. We here find something of that simple strength, that Primaticcio also manifested on the Chateau of Ancy-le-Franc and on the Tomb of the Valois.

The general arrangement of the chateau will be mentioned on the occasion of the royal residences. We here limit ourselves to the investigation of two questions.

Did the use of the colossal order already occur on the building of 1547?

Who was the architect of this building of 1547?

345. Date of Erection of the Chateau: Palustre's Opinions.

Since Palustre, who first proved, that the erection of the chateau did not date from the time of Henry IV,⁸⁶⁵ allows the thought to appear, in spite of the opposed views of Berty, that perhaps De l'Orme might have been the master of the cha-

chateau, we must first of all fix the impossibility of this assumption. It is necessary, since even a mere superficial knowledge of the works of De l'Orme and of his character, if one be not on his guard, appears to impart a certain justification to the thought, which Palustre indeed only permits to timidly appear.

Note 865. This erroneous opinion must have been based on the following statement, which I owe to the courtesy of M. C. Charles Read. In the *Memoirs of the Generalite de Paris*, drawn up by the intendant Phelippeaux in 1699, is found:--
 "Montceaux, at 2 leagues from Meaux, is a beautiful chateau, which was originally built for queen Catherine de Medici in the year 1547. This chateau was later rebuilt by king Henry IV for madame Gabrielle d'Estrees, duchess de Beaufort, in favor of whom the prince erected it into a marquise. After his death, it was restored to the domain". Chateau de Montceaux etc. Imperial Library. L 21. 1. Gr. in fol. obl. (Ch. Read).

The columns enclosed by ornamental bands in the middle of the side wing of the court, that as Palustre says, recall the famous design of the columnar order of De l'Orme, in connection with the indication of this master concerning employment in Monceaux, appear to give permission for this opinion.

We therefore apparently find a contradiction in Palustre. On the one hand, he holds it possible to assign the building to De l'Orme, thus in 1547, and on the other he believes he sees in it the characteristics of Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau II and the time of Henry IV. Finally the similarity of the plan to Verneuil strikes him, and indicates the time of Charles IX. He wrote again in the year 1892,³⁶⁶ that Monceaux had advanced in 1561 to receive the Court; this proves the incorrectness of ascribing it to Henry IV.

Note 866. See *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 197.

546. Remarks of Dimier.

L. Dimier, who investigated the ruins of the chateau, cautiously informs me, that the details of all remains show a related ornamentation, which appears to him inseparable from the monogram of Maria de Medici, which is found above the niches between the columns. In consequence of this, he has not placed Monceaux among his works in his monograph on Primaticcio, that has meanwhile appeared.

We were not then in a position to examine the ruins of the chateau, but were convinced, that the correctness of the preceding facts was nowise a ground opposed to the building of the chateau by Catherine. The same might happen, which we know occurred on the eastern half of the Louvre, whose ground story was erected by Charles IX, but whose entire subdivision and ornamentation was merely roughed out in boss, and was only carved under Henry IV, therefore receiving only emblems referring to the latter. And since there on the Louvre only a portion of this ornamentation was sculptured by Henry IV, but the remainder was only finished about 1650, it is so much more conceivable, that in the country itself a part or the whole of the entire ornamentation in Monceaux was not completed under Catherine or Henry IV, but only under Maria de Medici, and therefore stones received her monogram, but which belong to the time of Catherine. Our conjecture has since been entirely confirmed.

547. Our Final Conclusions.

First of all, it is settled, that the chateau begun by Catherine was a royal residence, which soon thereafter the Court frequently occupied.³⁶⁷

Note 367. From the occasion of the building for ball play, we see that already about 1555 the Court could reside in the chateau. -- In 1561 the Court left Monceaux in order to go to Rheims for the coronation of Charles IX (May 15). -- In the beginning of 1562 was the Court there with the king of Navarre, and received Theodore de Beza. -- In 1567 the Court resided there after the middle of September, when it fled from the Huguenots, and the retreat from Monceaux must have occurred. (Sept. 27-29). On Sept. 14, 1570, the Court was there, and the king then subscribed a patent concerning the visitation of the buildings at Fontainebleau.

And indeed the internal decoration was certainly very excellent, so that Du Cerceau took from here and from the gallery of Ulysses at Fontainebleau the compositions, which in 1566 he dedicated to Renee of France in his work, Livre de Grottesques. (Grands Grottesques).

Further from the words of the patent of appointment of the successor of Jean Bullant in the superintendence of the build-

buildings of the queen may it be assumed, that no more important works were required in Monceaux, since only the erection and completion of S. Maur and of the Paris buildings are mentioned, although Monceaux was placed in the superintendency.³⁶⁸

Note 868. On Oct. 24, 1578, the queen by a patent-brief fixed the salary of Jehan Potier for the superintendence, mastery and supervision of the buildings of S. Maur, Monceaux and the House of Paris. "He should have this office under the same conditions as the blessed master Jehan Bullant, who with master Jehan Baptiste de Bonnevenney, Abbot of Bellebranche, the office had to order everything - - the funds that she destined - - for the construction and completion of the buildings of the said S. Maur and House de Paris". (La Borde, Marquis Leon de. Les Comptes des Batiments du Roi etc. Vol. 2. p. 335, 356).

Is it then conceivable, that such a royal residence *chateau* should be torn down in 1593,³⁶⁹ in order to at once erect a new one for Gabrielle d'Estrees, the later Marquise de Monceaux, that for a long time was not required to be as large? In an entirely similar case, we see that the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise,³⁷⁰ which was erected as a private chateau of Philippe de Boulainvilliers and the Duke de Nemours, was beautified by Henry IV, and sufficed for mademoiselle d'Entragues, the new Marquise de Verneuil, to whom he gave the chateau, as he had given Monceaux to Gabrielle d'Estrees.

Note 869. In the index to the last volume of the Comptes des Batiments du Roi, there is in the year 1593 "other expenditure for the Chateau of Monceaux". See the Comptes des Batiments etc. Vol. 1. p. 44.

Note 870. See Art. 160.

Such an assumption is so improbable, that it cannot come under serious consideration, and so much the less, when already in 1594 Henry had the chateau arranged for Gabrielle, hunted there with her on March 17, 1595, was reconciled there with Mayenne in Jan., 1596, and in April, 1599, the inventory of Monceaux was taken after the death of Gabrielle. From this may it be seen, that it was constantly occupied at that time, and that consequently a rebuilding of the chateau is not to be thought of at all, while considerable decorative works or

improvements might be very necessary after the religious wars.

Likewise a mere bonding of the colossal pilaster order in the time of Maria de Medici by Salomon de Brosse to be scarcely a later beautifying of a country chateau, and is hardly compatible with the words of Dimier, that the ornamentation and monogram of Maria were connected with the original ashlar bond, and has since been proved to be entirely excluded.

Therefore the principal chateau represented in Fig. 116 was begun by Catherine in 1547, and the building was already occupied in 1555.

After this study had already been sent to the printer, it became possible for me on July 27, 1900, in company with H. Dimier, to examine the ruins of Monceaux. At the locality we found a complete confirmation of all assumptions accepted here and Dimier gave up the opinion mentioned. Until this day the carving of the ornament has never been quite completed. At the two remaining doorways in the court and even at the main doorway of the same, as well as the side doorway, are a series of ashlar merely set with bosses and without facing.

The gateway pavilion long stood free at its four sides. Only later was it connected by the galleries on the ground floor, which supported terraces, with the side wings, and at the same time with these additions, which are clearly recognized, was the facing out of the gate pavilion and the monogram of Maria de Medici carved. Nothing could more plainly prove the earlier erection of the chateau of Catherine.

548. Architect of the Chateau.

It is not to be denied, that if the names of De l'Orme and of Du Cerceau came beneath the pen of Palustre, so to speak, an apparent justification existed for this, and that among French architects, the building and other circumstances must first have drawn attention to these two men.

549. Reasons against Philibert De l'Orme.

Were all the writings of De l'Orme lost except the few passages in which he speaks of Monceaux, and consequently if one had no starting point whatever for writing and thinking of his art, then would one be really in condition to ask himself, whether he did not then make imperfect allusions to an architectural undertaking, of which he was the creator. But whoe-

whoever is acquainted with his character and his mode of writing will soon pass to the opposite conviction.

We have already examined the question, whether the House of ball-play in Monceaux might have been for De l'Orme the occasion for works for the queen in this Chateau,³⁷¹ and adopted a decided denial of this assumption. We must now examine whether the words of De l'Orme indicate or admit of the conclusion of the building of the chateau by himself.

Note 371. See the Section on the invention of his system of roof construction.

The words of De l'Orme in the Memoire expressed in language otherwise hard to understand, are actually so distorted in a way relating to Monceaux, that the true sense does not at once appear.

Near the end of the long enumeration of repairs, completions and of new buildings, by which De l'Orme was busied at different places during an activity of many years and until his loss of favor, he also now refers to the work connected with Monceaux, and in order to designate in what this consisted, he writes the following.

In Mousseu, for the queen mother, which is the reason that I found the design for the ball-play house in the domain of carpentry, that she wished to have covered, where I had drawn so many pretty designs; but Monseigneur de Nevers and others deprived me of many beautiful undertakings and were quite sullen, because my said lady would build.³⁷²

Note 372. See the Memoir printed by Berty in Les Grands Architectes Francais etc. p. 56.

If one accurately judges the words of this passage, and compares them with the mode of expression employed by De l'Orme in reference to other places, at which he was employed, especially with the passage directly preceding and referring to St. Ger, in which he carefully distinguishes between what he had done in new buildings and to already existing works; further comparing the words with the passage relating to Anet, that directly follows the one on Monceaux, so that by the pleasure with which De l'Orme is accustomed to speak of his works, one may here conclude with absolute certainty, that he, De l'Orme, was not the master and builder of Chateau Monceaux.

He never says here as elsewhere, "I made", "I had made", or "I did not have made".

If one would also refer to the passage; "then when I have drawn so many beautiful designs" to projects, that De l'Orme had prepared before the moment here under consideration, when the queen desired the ball-play House to be roofed, then those "beautiful undertakings" (as De l'Orme himself says), were lost to him through the interference of M. de Nevers and others. These designs for Monceaux were therefore executed neither by De l'Orme nor by others in Monceaux. But even the obscure statement in this passage contradicts any such extension of his meaning, in which the "there where I had drawn so many pretty designs" relates to the then existing game of pell-mell and the invention of his system of roof construction and not to Monceaux in general, which stands at the beginning of the passage.

Thus it results from even the Memoire of De l'Orme, that the entire connection of him with the private chateau of the queen in Monceaux consisted in proposing spirited designs for the roof trusses of an already existing ball-play house not by him, -- designs that were never adopted.

One cannot then adhere to Palustre, when he asserts, that Berty's decision was erroneous, that De l'Orme had nothink to do with the erection of the Chateau at Monceaux.

But the second passage, where De l'Orme speaks of the invention of his system of trusses and of Monceaux, permits the correctness of our perception and that of Berty to appear without any doubt whatever. 373

Note 873. The passage is taken from De l'Orme's *Nouvelles Inventions*, and is printed in Berty's *Grands Architectes Français*, p. 37. It runs:-- "Some time afterwards, the queen mother (she was not such then) thought how to cover a game of pell-mell at her Chateau of Monceaux, to give pleasure and contentment to the king. And seeing that such a great sum of money was demanded from her, she caused me to speak of this invention, and the said lady was the cause, that I desired to try it there; then desiring greatly to render her my humble service. Then I made the test at the Chateau of La Muette etc".

If he had been the architect of the queen and of her Chateau

at Monceaux, would De l'Orme have expressed himself as follows:-- "And seeing that such a great sum was required from her for the covering of her house for ball-play", would he ever have used the word "one", if he were himself the architect of the queen? Why did he then so strongly desire to be enabled to render her very humble service, if he were already in her service and were her architect? Why was the queen the sole reason, that he wished to test his invention, and why did he make the first trial of it on Chateau La Muette and not on the ball-play house of the queen at Monceaux, if he were her architect and that of her private chateau? And after he had successfully completed this experiment in La Muette, why was his system never employed by him on this pell-mell of the queen in Monceaux, which he so much desired to cover, if he had been its architect? Why is it that king Henry II, who as a reply to the success of his system, commanded De l'Orme to write a book thereon, his *Nouvelles Inventions*? Finally, why does the loquacious De l'Orme know nothing else to tell of his assumed architectural employment at Chateau Monceaux, excepting of his wish to do something there? This silence is the more striking, since Philibert De l'Orme later, when he finally became architect of the Tuileries, whose authorship, so to speak, he ascribed to the queen and said, that he designed scarcely any member or any ornament, without having received from the queen the exact suggestion for the same.

The answer to all these "whys" is simply this, that De l'Orme was not even the architect of Catherine, when she built her private chateau in Monceaux. And why was not De l'Orme royal architect in this case? Doubtless because the suffering Italian spouse of the king, in this case so much the more preferred to select her famous countryman Bramante, when De l'Orme at the command of the king was the personal architect of the rival of Catherine, Diana de Poitiers, at Anet and Limours. 374

Note 874. Lhuillier, whose name we now use reluctantly, wrote, that he likewise at first believed in the authorship of De l'Orme, but he added thereto: "he himself undeceives us". In none of the royal patents, that mention the buildings placed under charge of De l'Orme, is found the name of Monceaux,

indeed, because it was a building of the queen.

550. Apparent Grounds for Du Gerceau.

The second master, that might perhaps be considered, is Du Gerceau the father. The reasons permitting the thought of this possibility are certain style affinities and further, the fact, that his son Jacques II passes for the architect of Henry II, who completed the chateau (or even rebuilt it), and after his death Salomon de Brosse carried on the work. The latter was a nephew of Jacques II and at the same time a grandson of Jacques I. This succession of two descendants of the latter, according to the customs of the time, might lend some justification to the conjecture, that Jacques I was the creator of the Chateau.

It would be difficult to not believe in a certain affinity between the gate pavilion of Monceaux and that of Du Gerceau in his second project for Chateau Vernueil-sur-Oise on the one hand, and on the other the project of the same master for the gate pavilion of Charleval, which we have discovered in Paris.⁸⁷⁵ One might almost think of three works of a single master.

Note 875. We have illustrated it in Les Du Gerceau. 1912. 47. p. 93.

Palustre also writes (1879), that the general design recalls that of Vernueil-sur-Oise; he believes that the great gate pavilion is of the time of Henry II, and recalls the style of Jacques Androuet Du Gerceau II, who in "1602 was entrusted with the continuation of the erection of the Tuilleries". The colossal order, that we further see executed in Monceaux, may be characteristic of this master.⁸⁷⁶

Note 876. Palustre, L. La Renaissance en France. Vol. 1. p. 166.

On the other side, Palustre rejects the views of Poirson, that the Chateau is due to Salomon de Brosse, whose name first occurs there in 1614, when he was called to succeed his uncle Jacques Du Gerceau (II). Palustre emphasizes the contradictions of Lance, who in his Dictionnaire des Architectes also assigns to de Brosse the authorship of the chateau, after he had written in reference to Baptiste Du Gerceau, that Henry IV entrusted to him the building of this chateau for 3

Gabrielle d'Estrees. 877

Note 877. When Lance wrote this, it was not yet known that Baptiste had already died in 1590.

551. Reasons against Du Cerceau.

The reasons that excluded Du Cerceau from the authorship of this chateau result from the following circumstances.

Let us for a moment assume that Du Cerceau may have been the master of the Chateau of Monceaux. He must then have commenced it in 1547 or 1549, and would hardly have found time, to have maintained at the same time his studio (*officina*) of copper engraving in Orleans in 1550, as well as to engrave and publish there in the same year his so-called *Petites Arabesques*". With the then existing custom of artists, he would still less have dedicated these arabesques simply to "the reader", out to the queen, in whose service he would have been, just as in 1566 he dedicated his "*Livre de Grotesques*" to the duchess of Ferrara, Renee de France, into whose service he had been taken at that time. But Du Cerceau published in 1549 his "*Arcs*", in 1550 his "*Temples et XII Fragmenta Structurae veteris*", and further in 1551, the "*Venustissimae Optices*", all in Orleans and dedicated to "the reader".

One might reply thereto, that neither in the dedication of the "*Plus Excellents Bastiments de France*" to the queen nor in the text to Charleval therein is to be found any allusion to the fact, that Du Cerceau and also his son Baptiste were the architects of this royal chateau. On the other hand it is to be noted, that at least the work is dedicated to the queen, while the first work of Du Cerceau dates from 1559, that is dedicated to a member of the royal house. It is "*Le Livre d'Architecture contenant 50 Batiments*," dedicated to Henry II. He does this on account of the honor done him several years earlier, that the king apparently with satisfaction had examined some other plans and views of buildings, that Du Cerceau had published. From this may it be concluded with certainty, that if Du Cerceau had been the architect and builder of such an important chateau as that of the queen at Monceaux, he would have expressed himself otherwise, and not have referred to such an unimportant fact.

But just in the first years of the building of the Chateau

of Monceaux, we see Du Cerceau so busied as engraver and publisher in Orleans, that this alone would hinder regarding him as architect of Monceaux. Further his "Compositions d'Architecture" was likewise engraved in 1551 in Orleans, and shows that then his architectural ideal did not follow the style of Monceaux.

One indeed now finds in Du Cerceau a mention of the Chateau of Monceaux, to which we shall here return, in order to prevent any misunderstanding of the same.

From the words of Du Cerceau in the dedication of his "Livre de Grotesques" to Renee de France in the year 1566, we learn that the compositions therein contained came from three sources. He writes:-- "Parts of which I have taken from Monceaux, a notable strong place, some are from Fontainebleau, and others are my own invention". 378

Note 878. The words of this dedication are contained in only two copies, but we have printed them in "Les Du Cerceau" p. 335.

Had the grotesques in Monceau then have been of Du Cerceau's designing, he would not have distinguished those in Monceaux from his own in this manner.

Certainly Du Cerceau was acquainted with the architect of the Chateau and the internal decoration by Primaticcio. But one must then admit, that in 1560 he was deprived of his office by the appointment of Primaticcio. Why in this case did Du Cerceau take examples from a building and from a master, who would for him have been connected with the most painful recollections?

All these facts indeed make it justifiable to exclude Jacques Du Cerceau I as a possible architect of Monceaux in just as decisive a manner as De l'Orme.

352. Reasons against other Masters.

To think of Jean Bullant is forbidden by a series of decisive facts. In the year 1547 he was only about 22 years old. Further he was the personal architect of the Constable de Montmorency, of whom H. Martin writes, that he was even more hated by the queen than was Diana de Poitiers, since he had so greatly aided in separating the king from herself.

Note 879. Anthyme-Saint-Paul in Planat. Vol. 6, p. 373. In

reference to the buildings on which Bullant employed a colossal order, there is added; perhaps Monceaux.

Would he have dedicated his two works on architecture to the Montmorencys, father and son (Art. 146), if he had been since 1547 the architect of the queen?

Is it probable that the queen waited until after the deaths of De l'Orme and of Primaticcio³³⁰ to choose Jean Bullant as her architect, and to confer on him the office of controller lost by De l'Orme, if already in 1547 he was building her Chateau of Monceaux, and had charge of it until 1560?

In the same spirit found in the writings of Serlio, by his silence concerning Monceaux and by his complaints of the inactivity in which he was left, his authorship is likewise entirely excluded.

Finally, from everything said here in the Notes on Jean Goujon and Pierre Lescot, these masters can just as little be considered. Certainly not Goujon on account of his Huguenot antecedents from the year 1542. (Art. 140).

For Lescot it would be just as unintelligible, why he would have been removed in 1560 from activity in the direction of this chateau, or have been placed under the lead of Primaticcio. His position after 1546 was too high and exceptional, for in the appointment of De l'Orme and of Primaticcio as superintendents, it was always stated, that the building of the Louvre and Lescot were not considered in this appointment.

553. The Building was by an Important Master.

After communicating our opinions to M. Dimier, that by this elimination of the five great French architects, the probability that Primaticcio was the author of the chateau was much enhanced, this careful investigator called our attention to the possibility, that perhaps finally for this distant country chateau, gathering might have taken an entirely obscure architect, as appears to have been the case with Gilles le Breton at the Chateau of Fontainebleau.

However we may appreciate the foresight of Dimier, such a thought is baseless here, when it is determined -- and we have proved this -- that the chateau with the colossal pilaster order was indeed Catherine's building of 1547.

An entire series of architectural as well as moral reasons

excludes the supposition of M. Dimier. The architect and creator of Monceaux was no French bungler like Gilles le Breton, but an architect who in Monceaux entered into competition with the very latest creations of the greatest living masters of Italy, with Michelangelo, so to speak.

The existence in the year 1547 of a colossal order on a secular building was just as great an event for Italy itself as for France, and therefore deserves complete attention.

554. Nature and Importance of the Problem.

For a correct determination of the circumstances, the following should not be forgotten.

Monceaux was a competition, a contrast and a protest!

Even in the year itself in which Catherine became queen, she began Monceaux in opposition to Anet,⁸⁸¹ the chateau of the queen in opposition to that of the mistress, a protest of Catherine against Diana de Poitiers. It was at the same time a competition between Italian art and its blooming French daughter.

Note 880. See Art. 145.

Note 881. To better understand the situation, we refer to the words of Henry Martin:-- "Diana had ascended the throne with her lover, and the legitimate wife, Catherine de Medici, a queen of twenty six years, silently followed the triumphal chariot of a favorite of forty eight years.

Henry II had a magnificent Chateau of Anet built for Diana by Philibert De l'Orme, and her motto he had already borne as dauphin.⁸⁸²

Note 882. The crescent moon of Diana with the motto:-- "T
"Then fill out the entire orb".

Never could the thoughts of the offended wife now as queen fall for this purpose on Philibert De l'Orme, the architect of her rival and of her faithless husband. The eye of the Italian lady was directed to one of her celebrated countrymen, who stood at the head of the Italian masters in Fontainebleau. But the daughter of the Medici at the same time looked farther and still higher. From Rome the fame of Michelangelo as the greatest architect of the time commenced to permeate throughout the world, after he had already been celebrated as the first painter and sculptor.

The year previously he decided the design of the palaces on the Capitol, and in the succeeding one was entrusted to him the completion of the first church of Christendom. In both works Michelangelo returned to the use of a colossal order of pilasters; everyone must believe that he had introduced this new tendency.

Does not in this fact alone lie the explanation, why in the same year Catherine for the first time in France caused the arrangement of a colossal pilaster order on a secular building?

We have arrived at an epoch of the high Renaissance, in which at the court as well as under the great architects of France, men were exactly at the same advancement as the great events in the domain of art in Italy. That Francis I would gladly have had Michelangelo in France, and had even directly written to him once, then is it natural, that now one of the Medici on the French throne never lost sight of the course of her great countryman in Rome, whose life and works were so intimately connected with her family, nor remain unaffected by his new honors, his new works, and his new tendency, that appeared to be embodied in the colossal order, so to speak.

She would exhibit in her chateau in contrast to the just commenced Louvre and Anet, what her countrymen could accomplish in France.

555. Evidence of Authorship of Primaticcio.

We shall collect together the facts so far determined.

1. For each of the five great French architects one or more reasons exist for finally excluding him from the authorship of the chateau.

2. The assumption that the architect might be merely an unknown and obscure master is excluded by the treatment of the chateau, novel for the time and epoch-making. One can only think of a master, who dared in the newest course of Michelangelo, to enter into competition with him, so to speak. The entire novelty of this treatment in France particularly requires one to think of an Italian.

We now compare these facts with a few questions.

How comes it, that two days -- only two days -- on July 12, 1559, after the death of Henry II, Philibert De l'Orme, the personal architect of the king and of Diana de Poitiers, was

supplanted in the supervision of all royal buildings by Primaticcio?

Further, how comes it that on Jan. 20, 1559 (1560, new style), six months later,³³³ Catherine likewise entrusts the supervision of her private buildings³³⁴ to this same Primaticcio, in which was included that of Monceaux?

Note 883. Because page 162 omitted to state, that on Jan. 21, 1559, is actually 1560 of the new style, the sequence there appears erroneously reversed.

Note 884. See the text published by Boislisle, A. de in *Memoires de l'Histoire de Paris etc.* Vol. 3 (1876). p. 243 et seq. Boislisle further writes:-- "Catherine had around her an administration really equal to that of the king himself," p. 243. "The building service was required on a no less scale". p. 254. He further refers to Chevalier, *Abbe C. Dettes et creanciers de la royne-mere Catherine de Medoci*, 1862; also to the *Histoire de Chenonceaux* by the same author, 1858.

For the latter appointment by the queen, "M. Francisque de Primaticcio, Abbot of S. Martin de Troyes," to the same office of supervision of her own chateaus, buildings and architectural works, the following must be said.

It would be a gross error to assume, that Primaticcio was thereby first called to exercise architectural activity in the Chateau of Monceaux, and that he consequently could not have been the architect thereof from 1547. His later new office was merely that of an architectural administrative control, oversight with the power of issuing payment vouchers. This office itself was not that of an architect, and it was chiefly devoted to nontechnical matters. There was in it a mark of confidence, which for the first time was given to the architects Pierre Lescot at the beginning of the Louvre, and then to Philibert De l'Orme; Primaticcio is the third to whom it fell now in a twofold degree, i.e., for the buildings of the king and of the queen.

Now in the haste to depose the architects of her hated rival is not to be seen the clear result of the long humiliation of the invalid queen?

Is there not to be seen in the choice of Primaticcio, the head of the school of Fontainebleau, as the successor of De l'Orme the victory of the architect of the chateau of the le-

legitimate queen over the architects of the chateau of the mistress?

On one part we are convinced, that this was the case, and that the connection of these facts is even a more certain proof, that Primaticcio was the architect of the Chateau of Monceaux, and that none other than he could have been such under the given conditions.

556. Results of the Authorship of Primaticcio.

By this evidence and this decision many other events of the time come into a clearer light.

First of all are explained the words of the king in the patent of appointment of Primaticcio, that on July 12, 1559, two days after the death of Henry II, reference being made to his "great experience in the art of architecture, of which he has on several occasions made good proofs by various buildings,"⁸⁸⁵ for entrusting to him the office of having the oversight and entire supervision of the conduct of his buildings".

Note 885. See what is stated in Art. 162, as well as the sources mentioned in Note 381.

557. Influence of Monceaux on Du Cerceau.

Further the similarity of the style of Monceaux to that of Du Cerceau can be explained. The proof given, that the plan and treatment of the chateau as represented in Fig. 116 is that of 1547, has the important fact as a sequence, that the important influence exerted by this building on those of Du Cerceau and of de Brosse, may be explained. Such an influence does not proceed from the work of a bungler. The portions of Fontainebleau, that are the work of Gilles le Breton, never have exercised any influence on anyone.

Instead of the design of Du Cerceau for Vernueil having influenced Monceaux, it is the reverse with the school of Catherine and Primaticcio, that influenced Du Cerceau, de Brosse and Verneuil, and also doubtless the grand project of a Chateau for the son of Catherine, Charles IX, at Charleval. (See Figs. 119, 120, 132, 232).

In any case Du Cerceau was acquainted with the chateau of the queen, since he states that he took from thence a series of grotesques for his book. And if he took these only from thence and from Fontainebleau, he did this, because he esteemed

them as best. They are in a similar style, and one must accordingly so much the more regard Monceaux as having originated under Primaticcio's lead, as after 1560 the supervision of all buildings of the queen passed to him.

Thus it would not appear surprising, that even as the interior pleased him, the exterior of the chateau of the queen exerted an important influence on the style tendency of Du Cerceau, even when the ornaments were not chiseled from the booses. For here as elsewhere Du Cerceau frequently had knowledge from the original drawings of the unexecuted portions, and engraved the same for his works.

The mastery developed by Primaticcio in this chateau style better explains the perhaps even greater, which we see him develop in the domed structure of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis. One aids in explaining the other.

3. Examples of the High Renaissance.

558. Example in Chantilly.

As in the time of Bramante and Raphael in Italy, one may likewise see in France a number of examples, in which the order occupies a sort of intermediate place between the colossal and the ordinary arrangement. (See Figs. 5, 11, 152, 161, 163, 309, 313, 324, 325, and the rear portions of Figs. 329 and 336).

In the small Chateau at Chantilly represented in Figs. 117, 336 313 and 336, Jean Bullant has extended his order to the mid-height of the roof windows, which intersect the entablature in anything but a commendable manner. If in spite of this, the building still makes a partially pleasing impression, this is based only on the good treatment of the details.

Note 886. From Du Cerceau. *Les plus Excellents Bastiments de France.* etc. Vol. 2.

559. Examples on Churches.

Also on some churches are found orders, that have a similar kind of intermediate size. We refer to the facades of the Church at S. Florentin, Fig. 162; S. Clotilde at Anielys, Fig. 162; S. Calais, Fig. 152; the Tomo Chapel at Anet, Fig. 159, and the Church of S. Nizier at Lyons, Fig. 161.

560. Hotel de Lamoignon.

One of the most important examples of this time is Hotel de

Lamoignon in the Marais at Paris. It was begun by Diana of France, duchess of Angoulême, a natural daughter of Henry II and of Diana of Poitiers.³⁸⁷ It was completed by her nephew, Charles de Valois, to whom she bequeathed it. We give a representation of it in Fig. 113.³⁸⁸

Note 887. She was born in 1537 (died 1619), married in 1553 Horatio Farnese, who died in the same year, and later Francois de Montmorency (1539-1579). She passed for the daughter of Philippe des Duc, a Piedmontese from Geni.

Note 888. From Colliat. V. Enc. d'Architecture. Vol. 6. Pl. 55.

We do not know accurately in what year occurred the beginning of the building. According to the style, it must be between 1555 and 1570, thus at a time when Diana was married to Francois de Montmorency. This perhaps permits an influence of Jean Bullant to be considered, who was architect of the latter, as well as earlier that of the Gonstale. The treatment of the details is still chiefly severe. The proportions of the two windows over each other to the pilasters perhaps allow consideration of an influence of Chateau Monceaux upon this building.

In order to avoid the difficulty, that the high entablature of a colossal order frequently produced, instead of breaking the architrave and frieze by a window as shown by Figs. 119 to 123, men frequently extended this down into the entablature on the architrave.

The architect of Monceaux had aided himself by composing the entablature with merely the architrave and cornice, and it could thus extend through unbroken.

561. Examples with De l'Orne.

The subdivision of this facade exhibits a certain relationship with those of Philibert De l'Orne, that he represents on page 252 of his "Architecture".

De l'Orne gives us here a building with a colossal order, that with its pedestal comprises two stories and the kitchens placed in the cellar etc., while the entablature forms the parapet of a roof story formed like an attic.³⁸⁹ He thereby avoids carefully the frightful arrangement of windows, that put high into the entablature.

889. Architecture. Book 8. Chap. 16. p. 252.

The words of Del'Orme in reference to this facade deserve to be emphasized here, since they exhibit his opinion of their arrangement, and at the same time prove, that this was not customary in his time.

De l'Orme says on page 271, that he composed this facade in order to present the contrary of what was usually done. He does not blame the custom of giving to each story its order, but he adds thereto:-- the facades of the wings would have much greater dignity, more appearance and beauty, if instead of two stories, where are used two orders, such as Doric and Ionic, if you made but one of them, that in such an order of columns as you will.

De l'Orme further placed a colossal Corinthian order on a triumphal gateway, that he arranged in the year 1559 for a hall of triumph (festal decoration ?), a triumph, which as he writes, was soon thereafter transformed into confusion and misfortune.³⁹⁰ Its motive was essentially that of Bramante's arched bay in the interior of S. Peter at Rome.

Note 890. Is indeed the tournament intended, where Henry II was mortally wounded (?)-- See his Architecture. Book 8. Chap. 11. p. 247.

Reference has already been made to the influence of Monceaux upon Du Cerceau; we here add the following to this.

In the unexecuted project for the Chateau of Verneuil-sur-Oise, which Du Cerceau prepared for the second owner of this chateau, the duke de Nemours, the circular pavilion alone on the entire chateau has a columnar order of fluted Corinthian half columns. They are arranged on the system of the rhythmic bay in four wide and four narrow intervals.³⁹¹

Note 891. Illustrated in our monograph:-- Les Du Cerceau etc. Fig. 41. p. 84.

In Du Cerceau may be seen the design for an ideal chateau, in which the angles of each mass of the building are formed by Corinthian palisters, that extend through three stories.³⁹² Thus they justify the French name of "Ordre colossal", (colossal order), and thereby recall the before mentioned study of Antonio da Sangallo for the facade of Palace Farnese. But we have now proved, that Du Cerceau found himself in Rome,

just as the enlargement of Palace Farnese had been decided, or shortly before, and further that he had copied the earlier plan of that Palace.³⁹³ But it is not thereby impossible, that he saw the study of Antonio's with a colossal order, and that he was also later much influenced by this idea.

Note 892. Illustrated in Les Du Cerceau. Fig. 115, p. 233.

Note 893. The same, p. 15, 26.

563. Example with Jean Bullant.

Among the additions of J. Bullant to the Chateau at Ecouen,³⁹⁴ that have been already mentioned, the same exhibits in the court on the left wing, which is illustrated in Fig. 320, the strangest treatment of a fluted Corinthian colossal order of columns. It is not probable that these are much earlier than 1560, perhaps only about 1564.

Note 894. See Art. 146.

Perhaps the columns on the "Hosannaire" in Moeze near Rochefort (Fig. 311) should likewise be regarded as a colossal order.

564. Chateau at La Tour d'Aigues.

Reference must also be made here to the previously mentioned facade of the Chateau at La Tour d'Aigues (Fig. 19). If this Fig. be compared on the one hand with the group of studies for the facade of S. Peter, of which Fig. 13 and also Figs. 3, 4 and 5 of our monograph on the Du Cerceau are an echo, and on the other hand with the studies for that facade, as may be seen in my work on S. Peter's,³⁹⁵ it becomes evident, that the architect of Chateau La Tour d'Aigues was also acquainted with these designs themselves or copies of the same.

Note 895. See Pl. 20, Figs. 1, 2, and Pl. 42, Fig. 3.

We know so much, that nothing is known of the architect of this chateau. Judging from photographs, it must be by a contemporary of the five great French architects,³⁹⁶ and if it lay near Paris, the date of erection would be fixed between 1545 and 1570. Therefore the master may have just as well been a Frenchman as an Italian. Entablature and pediment are of classical beauty, and the profile and sculptures show a thorough study of the antique. In the trophies is perhaps to be seen the influence of Orange.

Note 896. See page 128 et seq.

Aside from the possibility, that the architect had received

directly in Italy the influence of the design for S. Peter, such might also have come from Giovambattista Mariano Pelori, who was born in Siena in 1483 and was a pupil of Peruzzi, but went to France and died in Avignon. ⁸⁹⁷

Note 897. See Vasari, G. Vita di B. Peruzzi. Vol. 4. p. 668, 609.

According to the Guide Joanne, this Chateau was the barony of Cental from the end of the 16 th century.

d. Examples of the Late Renaissance and of the Time of Henry IV.

565. Charleval.

It deserves our consideration, that on the only new chateau begun by Charles IX, namely that at Charleval, the colossal order should be employed in a very prominent way. Fig. 119 ⁸⁹⁸ shows the arrangement, which Du Cerceau gave to the exterior of the lower court. Fig. 120 ⁸⁹⁹ gives the composition of one of the facades of the lower court, without its being possible for me to state in which place this arrangement was to be found.

Note 898. From Du. Cerceau, J. Les plus Excellent Bastiments de France. Vol. 2.

Note 899. From the same.

If one thinks of the great influence exerted by Catherine de Medici on her sons, one asks himself, whether Du Cerceau himself prepared the colossal order of the chateau of Charles IX, since it was also found on the chateau of the queen mother at Monceaux, or whether the king or his mother had given to the architect an order for this, which would then express indeed a personal preference of Catherine for the employment of the colossal order. It would then be possible, that this preference might be referred to the use of the same by Michelangelo on the exterior of S. Peter and on the two Palaces on the Capitol.

It suffices to compare the before mentioned architecture of the outer court of Charleval, Fig. 120, with that of the western half of the gallery of the Louvre, Figs. 52, 121, ⁹⁰⁰ and 122, to recognize a close connection between both palaces. If one compares Fig. 120 and 121, it is difficult not to think of two works from the same source. These parts of the Lou-

Louvre were also frequently ascribed to Jacques Du Cerceau II, whose father and elder brother Baptiste were the masters of Charleval.

Note 900. From a drawing in S. Kensington Museum in London, in Berty, A. Topographie Historique de Vieux Paris, region of the Louvre and the Tuileries.

This similarity to Charleval was no less in the wing of the Tuileries, that on the North adjoined the Pavillon de Flore, Fig. 122.⁹⁰¹ In connection with the history of the erection of the Louvre, we shall return to this question.

Note 901. From Berty, A. The same.

If one considers Figs. 119 to 122 together, it becomes at least conceivable, that certain authors, like Palustre, were inclined to believe, that the colossal order was a stylistic peculiarity, so to speak, connected with the name Du Cerceau.

566. House of Pierre at Toulouse.

The facade of the Hotel or House of Pierre at Toulouse is a composition of much character and exhibits the combination of Composite columns in the ground story as enclosing the double gateway, with the colossal pilaster order, that comprises 2 1/2 stories.

According to a courteous communication of Anthyme Saint-Paul, the facade of the House of Pierre dates from the second half of the reign of Henry IV. Its name therefore came from the fact, that until recently it was the only stone facade in Toulouse.⁹⁰² Dominique Bachelier passes for its architect.

Note 902. Some garlands remained as bosses and were but recently carved during a restoration.

Above the ground story of the Tour de Cordouan near Bordeaux (Fig. 314) will also be found a colossal pilaster order.

e. Examples from the 17th and 18th centuries.

In the court of Chateau Monopaux, Francois Leveau employed a colossal order extended through the second and third stories.⁹⁰³

Note 903. Described from a representation in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Vol. Hd, 205.

A colossal order, only partially executed and in combination with a small order, may be seen on Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte, Fig. 241.

A different arrangement is shown by Chateau de Rincy by the

same architect Leveau. Fig. 242.

In Fig. 58 is given an example of the colossal order on some parts of the court of the old Chateau at Versailles, where it was only employed in the treatment of the angles.

In the project for Hotel Jabach in Paris, Figs. 5 and 309, the two pilaster orders correspond to one story, connected with the mezzanine above it.

567. Example on the Louvre.

It was Leveau, who introduced the colossal order on his former pavilion next the Seine. It comprised the ground story and the first story above (Fig. 320). In his model for the main facade, Bernini placed the same above the ground story, as Perrault's also stands in the existing colonnade. (Fig. 223). I am unable to state, whether Perrault took this from Bernini, or whether the studies previously made by him already exhibited this arrangement. The latter was retained in the 18th century for the palaces on the Place de la Concorde.

568. Examples on Places. (Squares).

In the common type for the houses of the circular Place des Victoires in Paris, there rises an Ionic pilaster order extending through two stories from the ground story, which exhibits its arches without archivolts, and has plain courses with courses without and joints. Above the entablature are dormer windows alternately covered by round and pointed arches.

The Place des Victoires was constructed after a drawing of Hardouin Mansard by Predot, according to a contract of Sept. 12, 1685. When on March 18, 1686, the statue of Louis XIV was dedicated, the buildings were not yet completed. ⁹⁰⁴

Note 904. See Lance, A. Dictionnaire etc. Vol. 2. p.226.

The Place Vendôme in Paris (earlier Louis-le-Grand), that J. Hardouin Mansard commenced in 1685, shows the same elements and forms one of the most distinguished and correct applications of the colossal, here the Corinthian order. (Fig. 310). In spite of a properly conceived interruption of the series of pilasters by parts with half columns and pediments, the architect has not succeeded in avoiding a certain impression of coldness and weariness.

Since the effect is based on the series of similar bays, the roof windows should either have only a single type, or a

must differ by the alternation of two forms of greater diversity than there executed. Thus they disturb the repose, bring no animation, and are too large to remain unnoticed. It is one of the usual examples, in which the citizen and economical spirit of the French disturbs the monumental effect of their buildings, just where first of all the spirit of the monarch, of the national power, or of the great nobleman should be prominent.

The Hotel-de-Ville at Nancy on the Place Stanislas by Hérault de Gorny (1752-1757), follows the same idea, but must be happier in proportions and more dignified, even if in the details it is somewhat dry in places. It forms a fortunate intermediate step between the Place Vendôme and the palaces of Gaboriel on the Place de la Concorde in Paris.

On a chateau-like building of the Abbey of Premontre, of about 1720, a single pilaster order extends through three high stories. Since its projection is small, and the width of the wall between the window openings and the pilasters almost equals the width of the latter, the effect is not so unfavorable and oppressive as might be expected. The plain architrave and the cornice are at most as high as the width of the pilaster.

Chapter 12. Rustication.

a. Position of the French in regard to Rustication.

569. Erroneous Views.

Among those, who live only in Paris and know modern France, there very easily arises the opinion, that rustication plays as good as no part in France. During the rule of Gothic, this was actually the case, and almost likewise during the early Renaissance. But if one gradually learns to know the little known monuments of the French Renaissance, he will then find, that rustication has played a very important and interesting part. Just the treatment of the rustication must be one of the phases by which certain sides of the characters of the French art of the Renaissance can best be recognized.

570. Contrast of Rustication and of Gothic.

The basal tendency of immobility because fast seated horizontally, which is innate in rustication, as well as the character of "mechanical construction in horizontal courses by a human hands, forms the greatest conceivable contrast to the Gothic conception of all treatment of form. This is as the result of a force "growing vertically out of the earth", i. e. of organic and plant force. A rusticated substructure would have paralyzed the upward growth, have cut the source of life at the root. 905

905. From the middle ages examples of rustication are found on the walls of Carcassonne, the two round towers of Gate St. Jean at Paris with diamond bosses, in case they were not added later, like those of the City Gate at Montreuil-Bellay, are to be mentioned. It is usually assumed, that rustication disappeared in France in the 14th and 15th centuries, to reappear under Italian influences in the 16th.

Semper, to whom is due a revival of rustication in middle Europe, has finely and strikingly expressed this:-- "In the Gothic style", he writes, 906 "the ashlar lost its decisive formal importance, even on the substructure".

Note 906. Semper, G. Der Stil etc. p. 346 n.

571. Relation to Rustication in Italy.

It may be partly connected with the entire neglect of rustication during the Gothic, that the Renaissance in France adhered pretty closely to its use in Italy. For clearing this

domain from the usual misunderstanding, it is necessary to establish a few facts. It will be recognized, that this adherence to Italy did not prevent the French from expressing in their works their own tendencies of feeling and of taste.

One should not forget, that there are in Italy two chief trends of rustication, the Tuscan and the Roman or Neo-Rustica. The former depends on the exclusive use of ashlar with bosses, the second on their combination with orders of pilasters or half columns.

The Tuscan variety, that already occurs on mediaeval palaces, disappears at about the end of the 18th century. Palaces Pitti, Medici-Riccardi and Strozzi are the majestic and noblest examples of it.

The Roman species appears to have originated about 1445 in the designs of L. B. Alberti and of Rossellino for the new building of the Vatican, and it exhibits two periods. The first occurred in Florence by Alberti's Palace Rucellai and Rossellino's Palace in Pienza; Bramante's Palace Cancelleria and Palace Giraud in Rome is the last expression of it.

The second, for which we introduce the designation of Neo-Rustica, commenced with Bramante's Palace San Biagio in Via Giulia, of which Vasari wrote, that it was the most beautiful work of the rustic order, that had been seen. From this building essentially proceeds the French rustication.

Unfortunately not even the ground story was then completed, but in all Europe are found echoes of this work, that had an epoch-making effect. While in the first period only the flat rustication with plane panel and rectangular sunken joints were connected with flat pilasters, the second period united the heaviest rough bosses with correspondingly bold orders. The Palace of Raoult himself on the corner of the Borgo and of Piazza Scossa Cavalli also belonged to this variety.

The entire tendency to rustication of Sansovino, Giulio Romano, Peruzzi, Serlio, Sannicelli, Primaticcio, Vignola and Palladio was similar to the species mentioned. The intimate connection between the development of this in Italy and in France makes it necessary to recall some of the Italian examples. 207

Note 207. By Peruzzi (died in 1536) two compositions with

columns, on which round and energetic square drums alternate. (See his painting in the Camera La Pace in Rome and his sketch-book in Siena).

By Sanmicheli in Verona; the Porta Nuova (1553-1540), the Porta S. Zeno (1541), Porta Stuppa (1537), Palace Canossa. (Begun after 1527).

By Sansovino in Venice; Palace Corner della C. Grande, begun in 1532, and the Zecca (Mint) in 1535, the latter with rustic bosses on the orders themselves, similar to those on Palace Luxembourg in Paris.

By Vignola; the gateway of Villa di Papa Giulio in Rome, 1550-1555.

The Prisons (Prigioni) in Venice, begun in 1539.

By Ammanati; court of Palace Pitti. (1553-1570).

By Pellegrino Tibaldi; the court of the Archbishop's Palace in Milan. (1570).

By Antonio da Sangallo the Younger in Florence; the middle bastion of Fortezza de Basso, begun in 1534; alternating with diamond panels and plain round bosses as symbols of the calls of the Medici.

In France scarcely occurred the dry form of the Tuscan species. Only in some examples of military architecture is it again found. On the contrary, one finds at once in the high Renaissance interesting offshoots of the Neo-Rustica. A few years later than Sansovino and Sanmicheli (after 1537 or 1542), we see Philibert De l'Orme employ an entirely similar treatment of rustication. When he returned home in 1536 after a long stay in Italy, he had entire faith in it, just as Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio, who were called to Fontainebleau about 1530. The latter had been with Giulio Romano at an especially good source of it.

Rustication is among architectural means one of those most easily understood by all by reason of its simplicity. On the other hand, it is one of the means, that perhaps on the side of architecture most requires refined feeling and assured artistic tact, to not have a rude and too dry an effect.

Rustication contains elements, that are essentially the opposite of perfection in form, technique and execution, the chief conditions of artistic perfection.

The latter requirements from one of the sides of art on which the French laid great weight. And herewith is doubtless connected the peculiar character assumed by rustication in France. In spite of the spirit of the "absolute", so peculiar to the French, another of their sides has made itself apparent; a certain perhaps inculcated fear of the natural and of too strong accenting of an extreme character.

Therefore may one say, that at least today, there is no longer any building on which rustication properly expresses, what it was intended to express, the alliance of rude strength and natural freshness with art and the ordering creative spirit of mankind.

Moreover that spirit peculiar to the French has taken possession of it, and which civilized everything, calms the imagination and the calculating understanding, skilfully arranging it for good society with taste.

The principal uses of rustication serve to emphasize strength and stability in horizontal position on a substructure, of the battering wall of a ditch or ground story, on terraces, walls under ends of stone steps etc.

Further for accenting strength on vertical supports like pilasters, edges of angles and of openings, as well as on gateway and window arches, and later even on orders of pilasters and of columns.

Likewise on a sort of coloring or of animating certain members or surfaces of a building. Semper is perfectly right, when he designates the soft limestone of Paris as "extraordinarily fitted for carving, though rather dead in itself". Pavis explains, he further says, the criticized seeking for ornamentation in building, on local and structural grounds.

The buildings on which rustication most commonly occurs are the great chateaus and palaces, as well as city gates. It is little found on city private houses.

Rustication occurs so seldom on churches, that it is well to name the few examples together here. In the Chapter on Church Architecture will be more fully described the facades of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris and of Notre Dame in Havre, two examples of columns with alternating fluted drums and rusticated bands.

The rows of pitch-faced ashlar with bosses occur as a sub-structure beneath the windows of the side aisles of S. Clotilde at Amiens (Fig. 163). The most interesting example is found however on the facade of the Abbey Church at S. Anand near Valenciennes, built under the Spaniards. The entire ground story is subdivided in diamond-paneled ashlar, that do not occupy the entire width of the pilaster, archivolt and border. In the second story the construction is formed like iron bands on the half columns; in the third story is it employed only on the lower third of the half columns.

b. Rustication of the early Renaissance.

With the aversion of Gothic to rustication, that we have emphasized, is indeed connected the fact, that as good as no rustication appears in the time of the early Renaissance.

The isolated examples, that may perhaps be named here, further both belong to military architecture.

574. Rustication on Fortifications.

The massive round Tower at the entrance of the harbor in H. Havre, built by Francis I apparently in 1516, exhibits a peculiar distribution of the bosses. On the upper two thirds only each second course has bosses, and not every ashlar in each course shows a boss, but these were placed at equal distances and were separated by a smooth ashlar of about equal length.

The bosses were again treated alternately as hemispheres and as diamond panels set diagonally. On the lower third of the tower all courses were rusticated, in part as split stones with several bosses, roughly pointed as on Palace Pitti.⁹⁰⁸

Note 908. The tower was removed in 1861, and many of the bosses were employed on the surface of the facing of rubble on the right bank of the Seine, where their bosses project in a peculiar manner from the battering plane.

The second example is exhibited at both sides of a late Gothic City Gate at Montreuil-Bellay, South of Saumur, by two solid round towers with rusticated ashlar, and which were probably erected later. The middle of each ashlar has a hemispherical boss, so that the bosses appear as if covered by stone balls in courses and roughly pointed as on Palace Pitti. The effect is beautiful, through dry.

c. Rustication of the high Renaissance.

1. Rustication on Private Houses.

On private houses the use of rustication in the Italian sense, aside from some angle quoins, that became more the fashion about the end of the 16th century, appears to have been rare. Still one finds in Lyons some examples of such dwellings, perhaps in consequence of many relations with Italy.

Fig. 123 ⁹⁰⁹ shows the ground story of a house in Lyons, on which the rustication of the broad arches exhibits almost Florentine recollections.

Note 909. From Martin. *Recherches sur l'Architecture* etc. o Lyons.

Then we have already seen in Fig. 14 another example of a ground story at No. 23 Rue Juiverie, where the arrangement of the construction with the elevated windows over the piers still more recalls that of the Florentine palaces.

Much more striking, even if not more happy, is the use of rustication as it appears on the house at No. 136, Quai Peyrollerie in Lyons. (Fig. 124 ⁹¹⁰). Below is a round-arched doorway, on the right and left each are two arches of like form; on all whose piers bands like pilasters support a broken cornice with an astragal and continue unbroken through two stories, forming alternating pedestals and shafts without capitals. The two middle piers of the house, as well as both angle piers, are somewhat wider.-- All parts mentioned here are covered by a dressed rustication, on which only the horizontal joints and those of the voussoirs are boldly cut.

Note 910. From the same.

If one compares the slender pilasters of the arch piers of this facade, as well as the sequence of its motives with the treatment of the cloister court of S. Giovanni in Bologna, as here represented in Fig. 125 ⁹¹¹, it is difficult to not assume, that the Bolognese composition of Terricilla, that according to Gurlitt was of the year 1543, did not serve as a model for the Lyonesse facade, even if under quite other conditions.

Note 911. From an old engraving in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Vol. Hd. 195.

Rusticated panels of similar size animate the piers of an

arched doorway of the Hotel in Rue Fermat in Toulouse. (Fig. 40).

2. Neo-Rustica.

a. Rustication in Fontainebleau and in Gaillon.

Not on account of a direct connection of the style, but for the convenience of grouping, we unite the description of the rusticated works at these two places. To each of the examples to be mentioned in the Chateau at Fontainebleau important questions for its history are connected. This was also a reason for uniting them here.

575. Grotto of Jardin des Pins.

The earliest of these works is indeed the grotto of the Jardin des Pins in the Chateau at Fontainebleau. Its facade as here described forms the ground story of the pavilion at the end of the former Galerie d'Ulysse toward the garden.

The angles were occupied for the entire height by two hermes, of which that on the right was concealed by the widening of the gallery. The greatest part of the front is composed of three round arches, whose piers and arches consist of massive rusticated courses and voussoirs. Before the piers four atlantes stand on the lowest course, projecting beneath them, and support two blocks like capitals at about the height of the crowns of the arches. On these rest stone blocks set obliquely against each other like a pediment, which as a pediment over the voussoirs partly intersect above the belt in the parapet of the upper story and terminate the rustication. The atlantes are apparently not in as many courses as the main subdivisions, but are merely formed of two blocks. The voussoirs have the entire thickness of the wall, and the grotto was built at the same time with the pavilion. In the interior in 1395 on the vaults, of the original decoration were visible stucco remains of sporks, swans etc., also stalactites and rock crystals. The impostes of the arches at the height of the shoulders of the atlantes have a singular shape like a hanging ear-lap or a cushion.

Before these stone blocks and atlantes, that like stone spirits or the still undeveloped figures of Michelangelo have not been entirely relieved from their stone enclosure, one strongly feels transported into the Hall of Giants in Mantua, 912 painted by Giulio Romano in the time from 1532-1534, so

that one must designate it as a work in the Italian spirit, even if this facade were composed by a Frenchman, which is not the case.

Note 912. There is an engraving by Antonio Fantuzzi, who worked in Fontainebleau, with the date of 1545, and which is inscribed:-- ANT. FANTUZZI D. BOLOGNA. It represents a grotto with low upper story, that apparently is connected with this.

This grotto was long ascribed to Serlio. Palustre is indeed right, when he emphasizes the error of this opinion, but then falls into other mistakes.⁹¹³ Quite unbelievable is it, that on the basis of this grotto he might exhibit the rusticated style as a French invention,⁹¹⁴ merely because he knew that it could not be by Serlio! We will return to its author in the description of the chateau.

Note 913. See L. Dimier in *Chronique des Arts*, year 1898, p. 318.

Note 914. Palustre, L. *La Renaissance en France*. Vol. 1. p. 180. "There is left no longer any doubt concerning the origin of the entire style, that far from having been introduced among us by the Italians, appeared for the first time at Fontainebleau, thanks to the materials at command. In the compositions of Serlio is manifest the inferiority - -).

576. Hotel de Ferrare.

In Fontainebleau, the entrance gateway of the former Hotel du Cardinal de Ferrara⁹¹⁵ is the only certain work of Serlio remaining there. It consists of a round arch of beautiful Italian proportions with half columns, whose entablature is crowned by a pointed gable. The mouldings are in the last manner of Bramante. The piers and voussoirs consist of bold merely pointed rough bosses, whose every third course intersects the shafts of the half columns as rusticated annular bands. The five middle voussoirs penetrate into the entablature to beneath the frieze and under the cornice. The remaining portions of the half columns and of the entablature are partly wrought smooth, partly moulded.

Note 915. Chevet in his *Sebastien Serlio*, p. 72, justly emphasizes the apparent identity of this doorway with the doorway No. 1. of the series of doorways in Book 6 of the Works of Serlio. In the latter the five, instead of three middle

voussoirs, extend to beneath the cornice.

The same tendency is seen in Fontainebleau on the beautiful and coldly rusticated half columns of the ground story on the so-called Baptistery of Louis XIII, that was entirely erected by Primaticcio as a sanctuary gateway in the lower court, and was later transferred here and furnished with an upper story. The lower third of the shaft is a single rusticated drum.

577. Rustication in Court de la Fontaine.

In the Court de la Fontaine in Fontainebleau, in the wing between the Gallery of Francis I, Du Cerceau gives pilasters, which were set by smooth faceted rusticated ashlars, alternately two and three in each course, similarly to those of ? Palace Fantuzzi in Bologna, and of the Maison Blanche in Gaillon. They must date from the undertaking of the rebuilding about 1565.

On the opposite wing, frequently ascribed to Serlio (the so-called former theatre), the Tuscan pilasters of the ground story likewise have smooth faceted rusticated courses.

578. Maison Blanche in Gaillon.

On the half columns of the so-called Maison Blanche in the garden of Gaillon (Fig. 248), the rustication produces the appearance, as if each course were quite low and was made of several stones, scarcely larger than bricks. The edges of the joints are moulded. In their height the columns are girdled by three bands between astragals and decorated by palmations.

As a model for this may pass Palace Fantuzzi in Bologna or in Lucca Palace Bernardino on Place Bernardini by Francesco Mordì.

On the Chateau of Gaillon itself, the representations of Du Cerceau show the rustication merely on the battering walls of the moat, on the curtain walls and towers, but not as employed on the Chapel.

o. Rustication with Pierre Lescot.

579. External Facades of the Louvre.

On Pierre Lescot's former Pavillon du Roi at the Louvre, splendid rusticated angle quoins extended from the bottom of the moat to the cornice. Le Vau repeated the same in the moat and on the uppermost story of his middle pavilion toward

the Seine, and C. Perrault without tootning beneath his colonnade of the Louvre.(Fig. 223).

Its smoothly rubbed surfaces project from a smooth wall. Merely by the height of the courses and the length of the boss, that frequently extends for more than one ashlar, and by its bold swelling, flat at the middle, that the beautiful strengthening of the angles is attained. Each boss is margined by a polished fillet, by which the angle rather of the most is accented as a particularly sharp edge.

A tootning of the voussoirs on archivolts is found in the design of Du Cerceau for a pleasure pavilion.

3. Rustication with Philibert De L'Orme.

In the unfortunately chiefly lost works of Philibert De L'Orme and also in his Treatise are to be found a series of important examples of rusticated architecture, that deserve to be described together here.

530. Unexecuted Hotel Project.

The substructure from the height of the pedestal of a colossal Corinthian order of pilasters, that extends through two stories, De L'Orme would treat "in rustic fashion and like rocks". In the representation of this facade given by him,⁹¹⁶ the courses are nevertheless given, indeed alternating with greater and lesser projections. The words of De L'Orme therefore designate no realistic imitation of a rock substructure, such as one finds in Bernini; but by rocks he doubtless merely intends to denote the rough broken surfaces of bosses.

Note 916. See Architecture etc. Book 8. Chap. 16. p. 252, 252 r).

531. Palace of Tuileries.

On the contrary, it is questionable, whether the finely ornamented annular bands on the so-called French order of Philibert De L'Orme on the former Tuileries, as well as on the courses on the pilasters and their elongated wall bands can be regarded as an example of rustication. (Figs. 46, 110).

Since De L'Orme frequently emphasizes, that this building for a woman and a queen, was erected and superintended, it is evident, that he here strove for the greatest expression of gentility in a rusticated arrangement.

Between these two extremes we find two other important works

of the famous master.

532. Chateau S. Maur.

The first of these buildings is the former Chateau at St.-Maur-les-Fosses near Paris, that has been mentioned frequently. According to some begun in 1537, to others in 1542, it exhibits a combination of rustication with a pilaster order in the severe style, that we see with Peruzzi, Sanmicheli, S Sansovino and other Italians.

De L'Orme further followed in this earliest of his principal works the principle of only treating with rustication the external facades and not those of the court.

Our Fig. 120 ⁹¹⁷ shows the never published view of the first project, as De L'Orme commenced to execute it for Cardinal Du Bellay. It is taken from the collection of original drawings of Du Cerceau for his *Plus Excellents Bastiments de France*, while he merely engraved in the latter work the entirely revised design, that De L'Orme prepared when Catherine de Medici purchased the chateau.

Note 917. From the original drawing of Du Cerceau in the British Museum Print Room. Vol. 6, pl. 88. Du Cerceau wrote thereon:-- "The drawing of the Chateau of S. Maur, from the side view, which has not been entirely completed.

De L'Orme was not satisfied with this change in enclosing the angles of the pavilions and the windows with toothed quoins; even the arches of his three story loggia are turned with toothed voussairs. ⁹¹⁸ (See Notes 151, 152, 153).

Note 918. See *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France*. V Vol. 2. -- Also Geymüller, H. von. *Les Du Cerceau*. Fig. 100.

533. Chateau of Anet.

He went still further in this direction in Anet. If we may trust Du Cerceau's drawing (Fig. 109), then on the great portico, that enclosed the garden between the chateau and the "hall", the pointed and segmental gables were rusticated with tooling.

534. Grotto of the Chateau at Meudon.

Our Fig. 127 ⁹¹⁹ exhibits the front facade of the so-called Grotto of Meudon. On the lowest portion with piers and niches rustication is carried out everywhere. In the middle height with the two projecting wings (Fig. 243), it is employed

on the arcade piers and archivolts, on the half columns of the upper design, and in the middle pavilion on the walls and pangs.

Note 919. From Marot, J. Oeuvre. Vol. 1. Pl. 42.

The history of this grotto is not entirely clear,⁹²⁰ and we shall investigate it in considering the chateau. It suffices to say here, that the design, apparently begun in 1553 or 1556, long remained unfinished, and that it is hence not entirely certain, whether the engraving of J. Marot made about 1640, represents the original design in everything. The roofs of the side pavilion appear to have had terraces. In the engraving of Israel Silvestre (Fig. 244), they are represented as mansard roofs.

Note 920. See Arts. 152, 153.

d. Different ornamental Forms of Surfaces of Bosses.

535. Rustication with polished Panel and moulded Border.

In the ground story of the "little gallery" of the Louvre, as shown by Fig. 128,⁹²¹ the pilasters, piers and archivolts are executed with alternating plain and rusticated ashlar. The latter are treated as carefully rubbed ashlar panels projecting with ogee mouldings, and which project from the black marble of the pilaster shafts. In places these are merely painted or tinted blocks. This gallery was formerly open and formed a garden loggia at the end of the Jardin de l'Infant, and this may partially explain the use of rustication there.

Note 921. From Berty, A. La Renaissance Monumentale en France. Vol. 1.

On the Hotel de Suodivision (about 1540-1560 ?) in Rue S. Pantaleon at Beauvais, each boss is carefully enclosed by a moulding and ornamented by heart leaves.

536. Nailhead Panels.

On Porte Notre Dame at Courtrai the half columns rise from a wall, whose entire surface is set by regular courses of closely set nailhead bosses. This fortress gate therefore looks as if covered by colossal nails driven into it.

On the beautiful viaduct gallery of Chateau Pere-en-Tardenois (Fig. 337), Jean Bullant treated the capital necking of the piers and the archivolts of the arches like diamond panels.

On the gateway of the Chateau at Chamoons in Languedoc, the coupled pilasters are beset by diamond paneled ashlar of the width of the shafts.

537. Diamond Panels connected with other Forms.

Sometimes the diamond panels are found connected with other forms of rustication.

On Hotel d'Asserat at Toulouse, we see the alternation of two steps in rustication from a part of a general composition, in which from below upwards the bold relief passes into finer, and the latter into plain color. The pilasters of the gateway on the street, as Fig. 129⁹²² shows, have courses in which alternate two ashlar with diamond panels with one ashlar animated by refined patterns. On the arches voussoirs decorated by patterns interchange with plain ones, and in the story above plain courses alternate with bricks.

922. From Doly, C. *Motifs Historiques d'Architecture*. Vol. 1. Paris. 1869.

On the gateway of Hotel de Felzin or Felzins at Toulouse, on the frieze of the Corinthian half columns, and in the crowning attic are employed bosses, that have entirely plain surfaces, and are treated and arranged as colossal precious stones (cabochons), diamond panels, pearls etc., each of which has its small carved setting. Here their very smoothly polished surfaces form a contrast to the rich sculptured ornaments of the other parts.

538. Bosses in Form of Eggs.

On the so-called Maison des Oves at Orleans (Fig. 300), the ashlar enclosing the windows are treated like great eggs piled on each other, in scorn of all strength, perhaps men also were thought of rounded polished precious stones, as in the preceding example, rather than of eggs, which further alternate in two different sizes.

On the design for a gateway pavilion by Du Cerceau, there alternate on square Tuscan pilasters and on the gateway arch smooth courses with oval bosses and courses of the roughest rustic broken surfaces. 923.

Note 923. In the volume of original designs, that we have designated as collection X in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Pl. 18. See Les Du Cerceau. Page 121.

On the gateway of the Chateau at Onanbons in Languedoc, the coupled pilasters are beset by diamond paneled ashlar of the width of the shafts.

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Note 923. In the volume of original designs, that we have designated as collection X in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Pl. 18. See Les Du Cerceau. Page 131.

589. Rustication with Drill Holes.

One meets with a series of forms of rustication in which the aim was rather to give to places a fine tint of coloring, than to especially emphasize the strength or quality of the materials. The simplest, though never very satisfactory means for this was of drill holes arranged in regular rows.

On the Chateau at Pailly, to be described later, the surface of the slightly projecting rustication is entirely covered by drill holes (Fig. 130⁹²⁴). In a similar manner are they employed on a House at Arcueil shown in Fig. 37. Likewise on the Louvre, they occur on the gallery along the Seine.

Note 924. From Sauvageot. Vol. 2.

590. Rustication with Vermiculation.

A very common expedient in France for animating the surface of rustication is vermiculation, or vermicular bosses, i.e. covered by incised passages of works. This means has something injurious to the monumental sense and the feeling for beauty. (Compare Senper).

An intermediate place is taken by the bosses on the portal of the present Hotel Carnavalet in Paris. On the artificially rough surface are cut with the pick pointed holes without pattern, so that it appears like a network of cords or the work of madrepores.

On the ruins of the Chateau at La Tour d'Aigues are the bosses of the toothed angle quoins animated by a sunken pattern of rows of stars.

Particularly original details of rustication will be found still on the facades of the little Chateau at Tanlay, that will not be mentioned.

e. Different Applications of Rustication in the Composition of Facades.

After we have seen the detail forms of rustication, we must glance at the manner in which they were employed in facade composition, and what purposes men desired to express with them.

The simplest use of rustication on toothed quoins on the Louvre was already mentioned, and we pass to other examples.

591. Rustication on Chateau Tanlay.

One of the most original examples of rusticated ornamentation

is presented by Chateau Tanlay, indeed by the so-called little chateau, that is named "The Portal" in the building accounts. It was built from 1563 to 1571 by the famous Admiral C Coligny, and is represented in Fig. 131. ⁹²⁵

Note 925. From Sauvageot. Vol. 1.

Both by the location outside the court and at right angles to its main axis, and also by its composition, it presents an original appearance. Without being especially refined, the detail of the ornamentation is peculiarly attractive.

In consequence of the mixed character of a gateway pavilion and a residence, rustication was extended for the entire height of the ground story of the middle portion of the building, but applied on the wings as a specially bold protection around the openings, as around loopholes, being accordingly so detailed.

By the differences in the rustication and the strong recession of the middle building in the second story, the equal widths of the three parts of the facade do not have a disturbing effect. The relief of the deeply cut foliage on capitals, frieze and window gables connects the upper story with the lower rustication. Satisfactory is the subordination of the heights of the windows to the height of the otherwise very depressed order of Corinthian pilasters, and very rare is it on French buildings.

Especially peculiar on this structure is how the rustication is wrought in a great number of different patterns, that refer to the position of the admiral. Some courses exhibit rows of four-leaved flowers in varied arrangement; others are rows of volutes, perhaps denoting waves. Frequently alternate courses twisted like strong snips' cables with others, on which extends a wavy line. Also the arrangement of the rustication around the openings further makes the impression, as if one would recall the means of protection against hostile balls. The toothed rustication of the angles is flat and is wrought in the style of the so-called vermiculation, the other courses projecting strongly in curved form. The engraving shows dressing of the smooth ashlars, as if to connect them with the rustication. This detail is not visible on the photographs and my notes do not mention it.

According to Sauvageot, the little Chateau was built for the son-in-law of Andelet, the brother of the Admiral, Jacques Chabot-- Marquis of Mirabeau and in 1610. The *Annuaire de l'Yonne* also ascribes it to him. Yet my colleague, H. Ernest Petit, by the building accounts preserved in the chateau, has fixed its erection in the time from 1563 to 1567.⁹²⁶ He has courteously informed me, that M. de Montgriveau was "master of the works", i.e. here architect of the chateau. Jean Veneraux, master mason, was placed in charge of the work.

Note 926. See *Bulletin de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaires de France*. 1886. p. 208-212; 1887, p. 160-163.

592. Rustication for strengthening the Substructure.

In many cases rustication is first of all a strengthening, more on esthetic grounds, and is applied to the lower portion of the facade, and according to circumstances, is carried higher or lower. The Pavillon in Rue de Tabourg in Orleans (Fig. 327) follows Bramante's tendency in the cancellaria and has merely a doubled rusticated plinth.

At the Tuileries, the true rustication was only employed on the battering walls of the moat. (Art. 579).

593. Rustication on the external Facader in contrast to the Courts.

One of the purposes for which rustication was employed consists in the accenting of the contrast between the character of the external facades and those in the court of a chateau or palace.

On the Louvre of P. Lescot it does not occur in the court at all, and on the external facades only on the angle pavilions, where it consists of a series of angle quoins from the bottom of the moat to the crowning cornice.

At the Chateau S. Maur-les-Fosses, the Corinthian order on the external facades of the building was rusticated with bosses, but on the contrary was fluted in the court. (Fig. 126).

On Chateau Coulommier, Salomon de Brosse entirely rusticated the external facades, as in his Palace Luxembourg (Palais d'Orleans), while it appears to be wanting entirely on the court facades with their rich architecture of pilasters and niches recalling the court of the Louvre. (Fig. 136).

The accenting of this difference appears to be almost a rule,

to which Palace Luxemburg forms an exception.

The architecture in Chaleval was of rustication and brickwork on the external facades (Figs. 119, 132), but on the contrary in the court all was finer, and the pilasters were fluted, as Fig. 120 shows.

On the facade composition of Du Cerceau, partly inspired by Bramante, designated "Regia Numa",⁹²⁷ with three orders of half columns, rustication occurs nowhere but on the drums of the Doric order of the ground story.

Note 927. Illustrated in Geymüller, H. von. Les Du Cerceau. etc. p. 20.

594. As a Contrast to the Orders.

The tendency of Raphael's own Palace in Rome also occurs in France. On the ground story is no subdivision other than the rusticated ashlar extending throughout. It emphasizes the horizontal position of the courses, and forms a strong contrast to the vertical subdivision by the orders in one or two upper stories without rustication. There arises as it were a harmony of contrast of strength to refinement, of nature to art, of the horizontal to the vertical.

The pavilion of Chateau Le Pailly at the main entrance (Fig. 380) exhibits the contrast of a rusticated ground story to two upper orders. The panel is flat, however, animated by a small pattern and divided by sharply marked sunken channels. On the little chateau at Tanlay, this tendency was fully expressed in the middle building and partly in the wings. (Fig. 131).

With a more distributed tendency was it employed in the same stories on the arch and niche piers and arches; yet the orders of pilasters and half columns, that occur therewith, did not receive it. Thus in a composition of Leonard Thery of 1590 and in the second design of Du Cerceau for the Chateau Verneuil-sur-Oise.⁹²⁹

Note 928. From his series of Fragments Antiques reproduced in Geymüller, H. von. Les Du Cerceau. p. 148.

Note 929. Reproduced in the same. Plate 4.

595. Rustication as an Ornamental Rhythm.

A peculiar and rare application of rustication consists in this, that instead of the occurrence of the bosses in an un-

unbroken course, they are at only certain regular distances from each other, being arranged from one course to the next, so that the bosses or diamond panels form a regular pattern drawn on the walls. The latter form occurs on a composition of Du Cerceau, represented in Fig. 6. The former arrangement of rough bosses was seen on the former harbor Tower of Francis I in Havre. (Art. 574).

A good example of this tendency with rough beside elegant rustication is afforded by Hotel Dubreuil at Langres, 1580. It occurs only on the high substructure, on the pretty bay window, that ornaments the angle of the building, and between the consoles of the main cornice.-- In the courses an ashlar with sharp and smooth diamond panel always alternates with an ashlar with boss, whose surfaces are ornamented by irregular sinkings, without falling into the monotony of drill holes or unpleasant confusion of vermiculations. The subdivision of the ashlars is of the kind, that the diamond panels also compose straight lines ascending in an oblique direction.

For such purposes Du Cerceau made a common use of rustication, though frequently placed only on the smaller members, as shown by his garden pavilion in Fig. 352.

d. Rustication in the late Renaissance of the 16 th Century.

536. Various Examples.

In the numerous compositions of Du Cerceau may one observe the transition to the late phase of the high Renaissance.

In a gateway pavilion besides that described in Art. 533, Du Cerceau has drawn another with bolder rustication. Widely coupled three-quarter columns form the angles. Their courses are alternately fluted and composed of massive dry rusticated ashlars, that extend through like binders and are common to both shafts. In each plain recess between the shafts and these ashlars is placed a small window like an embrasure.

On the facade of the Hotel-de-Ville at Rheims the windows of the ground story between the half columns have architraves, on which each second course forms a smooth rustic boss; likewise on the lintel the voussairs of the horizontal arch.

On a house at Rouen (Fig. 302) of the year 1601, these bosses are treated as diamond facets and manifestly represent a

sort of nails, which fasten the smooth rusticated bands to the wall.

An example of extended boldly rusticated piers may be seen on the buildings in the background of the woodcut with the history of Esther (Fig. 253), indeed dating from the time of Charles IX. This system no longer appears in the following example.

597. Rustication and Bricks.

In Fig. 119 have we already shown one of the motives of the external facades of the lower court of Chateau Charleval. Our Fig. 132⁹³⁰ gives the left half of Du Cerceau's sheet with the motive of another part of the same exterior.

Note 930. From Du Cerceau. Les Plus Excellents Bastiments etc. Vol. 2.

It must be hard to mention a building on which so important a part was assigned as that, which Du Cerceau as a result of his mighty aspirations here gave to this colossal order of Doric pilasters.

The rustication of the window architraves with their hook voussoirs, the consoles of the main cornice, that are shaped like beam ends, complete the powerful impression, whatever of masonry remained was constructed of bricks.

e. Rustication in the time of Henry IV and in the second Period of the Renaissance.(1595-1745).

598. Survey.

In the time of Henry IV rustication played a still more important part, on the one hand as toothed ashlars in connection with brickwork in the so-called style of Louis XIII, which we shall describe in the next Chapter on Brick Architecture, and on the other in two of the most important buildings of the Neo-Rustica by Salomon de Brosse. An intermediate tendency is found in the royal buildings, that are in part to be described with the structures in brickwork. One of the examples may be mentioned here also.

599. New Chateau at S. Germain.

On the elevation of the former "New Chateau" of S. Germain-en-Laye by Henry IV, rustication was assigned a great role on the arches of the ramps, terraces and grottos, as Fig. 133⁹³¹ shows. On the innavigated parts of the chateau was the rustic-

rustication smoother and its animated caps were combined with brickwork. Fig. 234 gives in birdseye perspective a better view of the general design.

Note 931. From Israel Silvestre's engraving of 1666. See Art. 616 concerning the same.

1. Further examples of the decoration of the surfaces of bosses.

As an extension of the previously described modes of treatment of the bosses in connection with the high Renaissance, a few examples are to be mentioned here. But two cases are to be given; first, that in which the bosses were made of wood or lead.

600. Bosses of Wood or of Lead.

Even on the posts of half timber facades, that are beside the window architraves, and on the little Ionic pilasters of the dormer windows were rusticated ashlar carved on the woodwork, as shown by those of a house of the year 1602, No. 6 on Place du Marche au Balais in Rouen.

Benier again treats of quoins of the cloister-vault-shaped dome of Chateau Richelieu with toothed ashlar of lead (Fig. 240), apparently as a continuation of those on the angles of the walls. He does the same on the dome of the pavilion de l'Horloge on the Louvre (Fig. 253). Le Vau imitated this on the former pavilion of the Louvre next the Seine. (Fig. 332).

601. Rustication with the Forms of Stone Drops.

A treatment of rusticated ashlar in the form of stone drops is well suited for grotto or fountain designs. The former grottos of the new Chateaus at St. Germain and at Versailles, Figs. 249 and 250, exhibit examples of this kind, as well as the grotto composition of Meissonier, Fig. 66. On the grotto in the Luxemburg garden in Paris, the shafts of columns and panels over the arcade are covered by the forms of stone drops. On the walls of the basin of Neptune at Versailles, the rustication recalls rather the forms of icicles.

On the facade of the Fountain in Rouen beside the Tower de la Grosse Horloge, the courses of the ground story are alternately treated as plain and as projecting ashlar, on which like scales are arranged small stone drops. The latter ash-

ashlars have a good effect here, since the motive is not realistically treated, and they are further connected with the plain courses above and below by a fillet.

Rusticated bosses treated as drop stone bands occur at Paris in Rue S. Honore on a Fountain from the beginning of the 17 th century, which forms a street corner.

602. Rustication on the Grand Gallery of the Louvre.

The climax in the artificial as well as artistic treatment of rustication must have been indeed expressed on the ground story of the eastern half of the gallery next the Seine at the Louvre. On the surface of the wall alternating continuous rusticated courses without visible end joints or continuous vermiculated bands, accompanied by a small moulding and separated from the plain course by a rectangular sunken joint. Figs. 115 and 135 ⁹³² exhibit this arrangement, and Fig. 134 ⁹³³ gives the detail of the treatment of the bands, where they are carried across the pilasters and around the columns of the middle portal.

Note 932. From Berty, A. Topographie Historique.

Note 933. From Galliat, V. Encyclopedie d'Architecture. Vol. 4. Pl. 104.

Its treatment here shows a further development of the same by Philibert De L'Orme on his orders of the former Palace of the Tuileries. On a pitted or madrepoed dressed ground are carved refined ornaments in symmetrical order, that lie in the uniform front surface. They consist of the various emblems of Henry IV, among which the ground story, only built with bosses after Charles IX, was partly sculptured. ⁹³⁴ There are rows of crowned H s, mingled with shells, bands and lilies, the staff of Mercury with the laurel branches, the bow and a cooking pot, the torches of Henry with the sword and the motto:-- "Two protects one". Or with the palms, the balances etc. According to this point of view, the facade was only completely sculptured by Duban about 1850.

Note 934. From Israel Silvestre. Oeuvre. Vol. 1. Pl. 164.

To not allow such rich bands to appear isolated, there rise in the flutes of the intermediate courses rich ornamental foliage rounds, that entirely fill the lowest drum, but are lessened upward and stop above the uppermost band, as Fig. 134

shows. The capital is also richly sculptured and is ornamented by the emblem of the order of S. Michael.

603. Rustication in Nancy and in La Rochelle.

On the Porte Notre Dame at Nancy, consisting of several successive gateways of different dates, the rusticated bosses of the Doric order on the outer gateway of 1596 are decorated by rows of wavy ornaments, whose points roll and sink like volutes. On the inner side of the gateway, the bosses each have three rows of four-leaved rosettes.

The short and stumpy fluted columns in the ground story of the Hotel-de-Ville in La Rochelle likewise have two plain rusticated bands.-- The columns in the ground story of the facade of S. Etienne-du-Mont at Paris and of Notre Dame in Havre have similar bands.

2. Neo-Rustica with Salomon de Brosse.

604. Chateau Coulommiers-en-Brie.

Everything appears to indicate, that the external facades of Chateau Coulommiers-en-Brie present one of the most important examples of rusticated architecture of this period. As we have already seen, the chateau was a work of Salomon de Brosse, and the engravings of J. Marot and of Israel Silvestre permit these external facades to be recognized as a preliminary step for his Palace Luxemburg. Fig. 136⁹³⁵ exhibits the general appearance of this magnificent chateau, and if one compares it with Fig. 138, that represents the Luxemburg, the close relationship between two works of the same master will be at once recognized.

Note 935. From Israel Silvestre. Oeuvre. Vol. 1. Pl. 164.

This grand chateau has frequently been mentioned before.⁹³⁵ Although we shall later speak more fully of its erection, here is the best time to mention one difficulty in reference to its rusticated facade. Both Charles Read and Minister Lardy, who occupied himself much with the history of the owner of the same, stated to me, that one of the chief sources for the knowledge of the fortunes of this chateau is a study by Dauvergne. He speaks of⁹³⁶ six beautiful wash drawings of the chateau made in 1712 by P. Nicolas Herpert and of the copy of an old original drawing in the archives of the family of De Luynes, in the possession of the last bailiff of Coulommiers,

Mr. Huvier. From these drawings is made the representation of a pavilion published by Dauvergne in his essay. Not only is the character of the architecture tolerably different from that of Silvestre's engraving, but neither here nor in Marot's plan may be seen a pavilion with three windows, as in Dauvergne.

Note 936. See Dauvergne, A. Notice sur le Château neuf et l'Eglise des Capuchins de Coulommiers. p. 12. Paris and Caen. 1853. Also illustrated in Caumont, A. de. Abecedaire d'Archéologie. 2nd. edition. p. 293. Caen. 1858.

On the wall piers at both sides of the middle windows are given coupled pilasters below, in the second story being niches with ogee gables, in the third story again with coupled hermes. On each angle but one pilaster. Between these and the windows are everywhere narrow stone tablets of about the height of the window, rounded above and below, which rise from the background like rusticated work, same as the pilasters and the window architraves. Above the cornice are round roof windows with semicircular gables, skilfully connected with the pedestals above the pilasters by convex consoles.

The only point in which this representation coincides with that of Silvestre is in the form of the windows of the ground and second stories. On the contrary, those of the third differ. In Dauvergne they are exactly like those of the ground story and formed with a depressed arch; in Silvestre they are rectangular.

De Fleigny says that the ground story, that Dauvergne took as a basis, was of the Ionic order with above it a Corinthian order.⁹³⁷ Dauvergne's description of the architecture of the court also agrees with that represented here in Fig. 136 by Silvestre.

Note 937. Read refers to the following passages in Sauval; Vol. 3, p. 50, 51; vol. 4, p. 50; further vol. 2, Book 14, p. 50, where he says:-- "Coulommiers is enriched by 2 or 3 orders of columns, arranged in pairs, and by 2 or 3 rows of statues" See France Protestante. 2nd edition. Vol. 3. Fasc. 5. (1881). p. 19.

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in Silvestre we can externally distinguish the Tuscan, Doric and Ionic orders above each other.

How shall one explain so great a contradiction, and what statement shall receive most confidence? The perspective of Silvestre agrees in all parts of the masses and in the number of windows with the plan of J. Marot, who was an architect. In neither is there space for either a pavilion or for a series of three windows. Therefore it appears to us more correct to lay more weight on the statements of the two latter, than upon the drawing in Dauvergne, of whose derivation he gives no perfectly clear account. It is indeed possible, that Marot made the engraving after an original design,⁹³⁸ but that Silvestre treated in the same manner would be rather surprising in this case.

Finally the external architecture of the Chateau, as Jean Marot represents it, is entirely in the character of the other great works of the architect of Coulommiers, while the facade given by Dauvergne shows as good as nothing of this character, and for such a famous chateau exhibits rather stumpy proportions and a vulgar conception.

Note 938. The ground plan of Marot (Fig. 272) shows on the entrance side of the court a hall and a gateway pavilion, similar to those of Palace Luxemburg. Instead of which were executed the two still preserved porters' lodges. Dauvergne (p. 11) conjectures rather, that Marot engraved the plate from the actual execution.

605. Palace of the Luxembourg.

The Palace of Luxembourg in Paris, begun two years later (1615) than the Chateau of Coulommiers, is incontestably a work of Salomon de Brosse,⁹³⁹ and is perhaps the most important work of rustication now remaining in France. Already frequently mentioned, we shall speak of it in this place only as an example of rustication.

Note 939. See p. 231, 241, 289, 292-294, 296-297, 303-304.

Reference has often been made to the relationship of this Palace to Palace Pitti in Florence, while by others this similarity and this relation are denied with indignation.

If one thinks of the facade of Palace Pitti, it is indeed granted that no analogy is to be found. But on the other hand,

if we take the court of the Palace built by the Medici, whose system is shown in Fig. 137,⁹⁴⁰ one must be blind to not observe a pretty close relationship of the Palace of Marie de M Medici with the same. The entire arrangement of the grouping, and the outlines of the elevation are entirely French on the contrary, as may be plainly seen by the section in Fig. 138.⁹⁴¹

There is further known, as we shall see, a letter of the queen, in which she requests from her relatives in Florence plans of the palace there.

Note 940. From Ruggieri. *Scelta di Architettura della città di Firenze*. Vol. 3. Pl. 5. Florence. 1755.

Note 941. From an old engraving in *Cabinet des Estampes* in Paris. *Topographie de Paris*. Vol. 266.

The improbability of a statement, according to which the plans for the Chateau of Coulommiers and for Palace Luxemburg came from Italy, was previously stated.⁹⁴²

Note 942. See Art. 399.

If it is indisputably conceived in the given relations to the court of Palace Pitti, it is just as incontestable, that the Italian Neo-Rustica tendency had already struck such roots in the 16th century in France, that this subdivision of the palaces and chateaus of the Luxembourg and at Coulommiers was able to develop itself from the examples existing in France or the knowledge of the style there. One only needs to think of the works of Philibert De L'Orme and of those of Jacques Du Cerceau I, grandfather of Salomon de Brosse, especially at Charleval, in order to recognize this. Yet this tendency remains chiefly Italian.

Other rusticated portals of de Brosse were already mentioned in Art. 401.

3. Later Examples.

606. Gate Pavilion of the Chateau at Tanlay.

Besides the examples previously described may be seen in the Chateau at Tanlay yet another notable application of rustication at the main entrance to the court of honor. It is partly reproduced in Fig. 139.⁹⁴³

Note 943. From Soufflot. Vol. 1.

At the gateway of the court the half columns with rusticated drums have very slender proportions, indeed to avoid too

great difficulty in this mode of decoration. Further at the outer entrance to the bridge, on pedestals serving as protections for shields, there stand two coelisks of the height of the columns, and like them, entirely covered by rusticated courses. Although apparently rather earlier, this design must belong to the architectural works of Le Muet there. The portico reproduced in Fig. 139 no longer existed in 1854, and the former window shown was only in place on the court side.

607. Rusticated Courses without visible end joints.

With the time of Louis XIV the use of proper rustication more and more disappears. It was thenceforth chiefly limited to an exclusive accenting of the bed joints and of the voussoirs of arches by means of a sunken joint of rectangular or square section, with sharp or somewhat rounded edges. In the Chateau at Vincennes, the portal between the court and the park shows a series of arches treated in this manner, as may be seen in Fig. 140. ⁹⁴⁴

Note 944. From an engraving by J. Marot in the *Calco-graphie du Louvre*.

Continuous plain rusticated courses without marking the end joints is found in the ground story of the Palais de Justice at Rennes, while in the second story the Doric pilaster and arcade are executed without any rustication.

Further examples of plain rustication are found in the ground story of the Chateau at Versailles (Fig. 235) and the Hotels on Place Vendome in Paris (Fig. 310), on the former Chateau at Rincy (Fig. 242), and on the gate pavilion of the Chateau at Richelieu (Fig. 323).

As angle bands without any toothing on the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons (Fig. 306), on the former Sorbonne (Fig. 257; also see Fig. 60). On Hotel des Invalides in Paris (Fig. 331) are found such bands also as vertical wall projections. On the former Hotel d'Espernon, later Longueville in Paris (Fig. 57), such bands served as backgrounds for pilasters, or as architraves for window jambs. Likewise on the ground story of the House of the Clothdealers in Paris. (Fig. 61).

Chapter 13. Brick Architecture.

France had no opportunity, neither in the middle ages nor at the time of the Renaissance, to develop a proper brick style, such as may be found in the north of Italy and in Germany. It was too richly supplied with excellent kinds of stone. Still one finds on the one hand a series of monuments, in which brick plays a definite part, and on the other hand something like an actual brick style, but which may be perhaps rather the expression of a moral sentiment than an artistic conception of the problem.

a. Brick Architecture in the early Renaissance.

608. Choisy's Views.

Choisy writes, that in France brick construction was almost everywhere abandoned during the middle ages.⁹⁴⁵ At first contact with Italy, he further says, bricks came into use again, and as evidence Choisy cites the parts of the Chateau at Blois of the time of Louis XII, which like most Italian palaces are built of bricks with asolar ornamentation. He holds this combination to be the most important Italian element in French construction.⁹⁴⁶ In St. Germain and La Muette, he says further, the walls were built of rubble with decorative lines of bricks.

Note 945. In the south of France this was less the case. The Cathedrals of Albi and of Toulouse are brick structures.

Note 946. "What is perhaps more Italian in French construction in the Renaissance is the combination of bricks and stone". See Choisy, A. *Histoire de l'Architecture*. Vol. 2. p. 7703. Paris. 1899.

We admit that we ourselves did not reach the thought of seeing in the existence of bricks at the time of Louis XII an Italian influence. We know that they played no part in the Gothic style, but believed that bricks uninterruptedly found a certain use for economical purposes in regions, where stone was scarcer. When the Renaissance brought with itself a broader conception of art, we believed that bricks occasionally again found employment without foreign influence. Yet it may be that the above mentioned opinion of our honored friend Choisy is the more correct one.

609. Italian Terre Cottas.

Evidence of the Italian influence must be in the fact, that the two sole statements, that we possess concerning the actual terra cottas, both refer to Italian manufactories in France.

A de Montaiglon ⁹⁴⁷ mentions hermes of terra cotta and of the most excellent Italian work on the left wing of the Chateau of Orion, on niches with reversed consoles, similar in elegance to those of Boccadoro on the Hotel-de-Ville in Paris, but more animated.

Note 947. See La Famille des Juste. p. 45.

At the sitting of the Societe Nationale des Antiquaries de France on March 14, 1907, M. Vitry presented photographs of fragments of terra cotta pilasters with Italian ornamentation, that had recently been found in the vicinity of the Chateau at Amboise. He conjectured that they came from an Italian workshop, which existed in Amboise at the end of the 15 th or beginning of the 16 th century.

From 1494 to 1502 was found in Amboise the Italian Jerome Solobrin as founder of the manufactory of glazed terra cotta. ⁹⁴⁸

Note 948. See Grandmison, Ch. L. in the Memoires de la Societe Archaeologique de Touraine. Vol. 20. p. 19. Tours. 1870.

It is further to be mentioned, that in order to employ majolica slabs and works in France, Jerome della Robbia was called from Florence.

In his direction for the building of the Jesuit College at Moulins (1605), the architect Martellange ⁹⁴⁹ requires, that the bricks for public buildings be larger, than those for private structures; thereby would be obtained economy and more security in construction.

Note 949. Charvet, L. Etienne Martellange. p. 59. Lyons. 1874.

610. Character of its Use.

One would not err in general by deciding, that brickwork came into use only as a colored element for the animation of plain surfaces, though this occurred in very different ways.

In Bourges the late Gothic Hotel de Cujas, built of ashlars and bricks, in its shells, doorways and other details, shows about in 1515 the invasion of Renaissance elements. It must have been by Guillaume Pellevoisin, the architect of the northern tower of the cathedral. The late Gothic Chateau at Mart-

Martainville-sur-Ry in Seine inferieure ⁹⁵⁰ likewise exhibits a mixture of both materials.

Note 950. Illustrated in Sauvageot. Vol. 4.

611. Brickwork with Tapestry Patterns.

On the main external **facade** of the Chateau at Blois (that of Louis XII), the brickwork between the plinths, the belt, cornice and vertical bands or pilaster projections, that are of ashlars, forms a quiet and regular tapestry pattern over the entire surface, with a lozenge-shaped dark motive produced by narrow light stripes. On other portions of the same building the bricks form a quiet surface without pattern. The toothed ashlars of the windows and pilasters are irregular and are bonded with the bricks.

The pigeon house at Boos near Rouen is an example, as Fig. 141 shows, ⁹⁵¹ where the endeavor was to add the most possible of these patterns of tapestry or even mosaic character. It must date from the time of Louis XII or from the first of Francis I.

Note 951. From Berty, A. La Renaissance Monumentale en France. Vol. 2.

Brick decorations of different colors, mostly yellow, red or blackish and allied to those of Boos, are shown by Chateau Louey (about 1540) near Dreux. ⁹⁵² Similar ones of the same time are on the Hotel-de-Ville of Lorris. (Loire). ⁹⁵³

Note 952. Illustrated in Rouyer. Vol. 2. Pl. 4.

Note 953. Drawing of it in Paris Salon of 1884. No. 4064.

612. Examples with chessboard and similar Patterns.

On the beautiful chateau at Reaux of the time of Francis I, the surfaces of the walls and round towers are entirely decorated as chessboard panels, ⁹⁵⁴ from which project the rich pilaster windows sharply and plainly without toothning. The panels are 4 courses of bricks high and are somewhat longer than high, which is pleasing. The general effect harmonizes well with the bold machicolated crowning cornice of the round towers.

Note 954. Similar to those in Fig. 141, below at the left.

One generally sees brick ornamentation employed only in the upper stories.

Likewise on Chateau Montigny in the vicinity of Chateaudun,

ricks occur in belts of six courses, but in connected surfaces. There are mostly produced vertical toothed piers with one square ashlar in each course, toothed on both sides with crossed joints and connected with brick piers of the same width. In this manner is the parapet animated beneath the previously open loggia of the first story. On the towers and pavilions the bricks only commence about the second story, i. e. over the cornice of the middle portion.

613. Bricks in isolated Spots.

In the late Gothic Chateau at Velors, small brick surfaces five courses high are inserted quite irregularly in those of stone. They are seldom square, mostly higher than broad, sometimes merely scattered as narrow strips over the entire facade on dormer windows and chimney caps, so that the facade seems almost spotted like a leopard skin.

With the lack of relief mouldings, in consequence of the strong preponderance of the light color of the ashlars and of the pretty animated outlines of the wings, dormers and tower, this peculiar animation of the surfaces is less unpleasant, than might be expected.

In a similar manner occurs brickwork on the Chateau d'O in the department of Orne, but only on detached places of the gate building and at the height of the second story. The ground story and upper parts are of ashlars. The forms are partly Gothic, partly Renaissance under the influence of the school of Gaillon.

614. Examples with predominating Surfaces of Brickwork.

In the following examples the proportion of bricks to stone is entirely predominant.

On the facade of the Chapel at Tilloloy, probably built about 1510 or 1520, all members of ashlars rather form refined smaller motives. (See Fig. 150).

The great Chateau of Villebon near Chartres, apparently already begun in the 15th century by the Seigneurs d'Estouteville, in which Sully died, is almost entirely built of bricks.

955 The walls are completely decorated by lozenge-shaped patterns.

Note 955. Merely the inclined moat walls, the windows and the consoles of the machicolations appear to be of stone.

It forms a rectangle with round towers at three angles. At the fourth, the tower is placed somewhat at the side. At the two sides of the gateway in the middle of the longer facade stand two other round towers. Two smaller towers are found at the middle of the rear and of the right side facade. A series of machicolations crowns the entire chateau. The battlements alternately have segmental and pointed gables.

615. Other Examples.

Bricks are also found in combination with half timber construction. According to a friendly communication of H. Albert Naef, there are at Neufchatel-en-Bray in Normandy Renaissance houses of the 16th century, whose facades are entirely constructed of wood and terra cotta, in part enameled.

The two rows of houses with 34 in each on Bridge Notre Dame in Paris, erected from 1500 to 1512, were of bricks with toothed vertical ashlar bands. Under each was an arch, a rectangular window in the second story, over which was a square one, with a last one in the gable having about the same form and dimensions. ⁹⁵⁶

Note 956. See the engraving of Jean Marot with the decoration of 1660. Le Roux de Lincy in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 49., on the basis of Corrozet, *Antiquités de Paris*, 1562, p. 150, also gives 68 houses.

The bell tower of S. Patern at Orleans is built of bricks with ashlar quoins and toothed angles of the outtrusses.

616. Bricks as an Element of Subdivision.

The peculiarity of the use of bricks in the chateau at S. Germain-en-laye consists in this, that not only instead of a adding vertical ashlar bands for purposes usually assigned to them, even in stone masonry are inserted brick subdivisions.

As Fig. 142 shows, ⁹⁵⁷ on the connecting arches between the outtrusses, the archivolts, side arches, architraves and their coffers are of bricks, but the ground is plastered. On the two upper stories not only the architraves of the windows with their pilasters and gables are of bricks, but the members on the outtrusses are likewise of the same material.

Note 957. From Souvageot. *Palais, Chateaux etc.* Vol. 2.

On the court side along the great hall these brick members also extend on the two lower stories to the course above the

bases. At other places here the brick subdivisions were only represented by painting on the ashlar. This subdivision consists of slender coupled pilasters connected by small arches with plastered surfaces between them. The chimney caps, that rise above the terraces, are substantially of bricks with the same treatment, but without plastering.

On the external facades of the chateau, where the buttresses are placed inside, was the same brick masonry as on the outcresses of the court, but merely flat, repeated like bands and breaking the gray stuccoed surface. Only by Millet's restoration, who also placed external pilasters here, though only of ashlar, the original appearance and the subdivision were entirely changed. ⁹⁵⁸

Note 958. See further in the Section on Chateau Architecture.

The Chateau Saint-Ange in the Drome, according to a drawing of 1703, had continuous brick enclosures of the window arcitraves, which connected the windows and the dormers, and were joined by round arches over the windows and between the bands, just as in the Chateau of St. Germain-en-Laye. ⁹⁵⁹ In the ground story the bands extend to the belt course.

Note 959. Preserved in Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. See *Typographie de France (Drome)*.

In the lower court (now of the Cheval Blanc) of the Chateau at Fontainebleau was assumed at a small scale a similar use of bricks.

On the ball-play house in Fontainebleau (Jeu de Paume) the belt courses are of limestone, then executed in bricks between these. (Francis I).

The system of the wing of Louis XII on the Palace Archbishop at Sens, represented in Fig. 143, ⁹⁶⁰ exhibits an example of this kind; brick surfaces ornamented by a tapestry pattern, added between the architectural portions executed in ashlar, yet only to a small extent and on the second story.

Note 960. From Sauvageot. *Palais etc.* Vol. 1.

o. Brick Architecture in the high Renaissance.

During the high Renaissance, we see bricks employed in the same way as an element of animation by color, yet almost only as a single tone without any pattern. In the arrangement and form of the surfaces, various means are in use.

The House at Arcueil near Paris reproduced in Fig. 144, located at the base of the aqueduct, exhibits there the bricks in courses, that alternate with the ashlar.

Note 961. From the same.

In the House at Beauvais illustrated by Fig. 77, we saw below great surfaces of brickwork, and above as at Arcueil the same in alternating courses with ashlar.

The wall surfaces of the first Chateau of Meudon were constructed by Philibert De L'Orme of bricks between the ashlar. This is not shown in the engravings (Fig. 230), but indeed with certainty on old paintings in the Gallery of Versailles.

Toothed ashlar with bricks may also be seen on the Chateau at Vallery, built between 1550 and 1560, by some ascribed to Philibert De L'Orme.

618. Brick Construction in Toulouse.

By far the most interesting group of buildings on which bricks aid is presented by Toulouse. Yet the interest consists rather in the excellence of the stone portions, for which the brickwork forms the background, than in any virtue of the latter itself.

In the court of the Lycee with its charming early Renaissance, only the jambs and the backgrounds of the arches are of bricks. The front sides are entirely of ashlar.

In other cases the bricks serve as quiet wall surfaces and a background of the architectural forms. We see them thus in connection with the very best forms of the high Renaissance in the court of Hotel de Felzins and in the court of the Maison de Pierre. The toothings of the ashlar portions plays no part here.

In the splendid court of Hotel d'Assezat (Fig. 145), men were not afraid to leave visible the parts of the ashlar required for bonding, not as art forms, but as an element animating the ground, and also to permit courses of bricks and of stone to alternate in some places.

The court side of the wing of the same Hotel beside the street, as Fig. 145 ⁹⁶² shows, has also brick surfaces and an ornamental alternation with cut stone on piers and archivolts. In Fig. 129 is illustrated the beautiful court gateway of this Hotel on the street facade. It shows now the most refined

high Renaissance forms occur on capitals, consoles and friezes, and now on the tablets and diamond panels of the rusticated bosses the character of rudeness was avoided by all sorts of refined patterns.

Note 962. From Berty, A. *La Renaissance en France* etc. Vol. 1.

Likewise the court of the Maison de Pierre at Toulouse, from the time of Charles IX, is built of cut stone and bricks.

In Hotel Caminade at Toulouse, this combination of both materials is based on other conditions and ideas. As Fig. 146⁹⁶³ shows, even the pilaster shafts and arcnivolts are made of bricks. Bases, capitals, impostes and keystones alone are of stone. Hence the entire rich ashlar subdivision of the windows is inserted like a filling beneath the brick architraves.

Note 963. Daly, C. *Motifs Historiques. Style Henri III.* V Vol. 1. 1869.

In the beautiful court of Henry IV, has been executed a pretty regular alternation of about eight courses of bricks with ashlar courses of the same height on the walls, arches and arcnivolts. The latter are also found above in the older part of Hotel Lasbordes or du Vieux Rasin, while the brickwork stoos sharply beneath the art forms of the windows. In the later portions of the court, of which Fig. 47 shows one window, the frequently great toothings are visible.

On the facade of a house in Rue St-Rome in Toulouse, that is illustrated in Fig. 147,⁹⁶⁴ the toothings of the ashlars were employed for decoration in a manner different from the usual one, for they were moulded in entirely similar form and used at similar distances.

Note 964. From Berty, A. *La Renaissance* etc. Vol. 1.

3. Brick Architecture in the late Renaissance, in the times of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

619. Sixteenth Century.

The system of forms of the so-called style of Henry IV consists of bosses, brick surfaces, and separate ornamental motives, such as masks, helmets, trophies, skulls, frames or rows of leaves etc., are found employed isolated or together, already fully developed on the facades of Chateau Charleval in 1572 by Du Cerceau. (See Figs. 119, 132).

The famous architect and copper engraver has here emphasiz-

emphasized more boldly only the elements, that we find in a series of his compositions, that are frequently isolated in his work published in 1559, *Livre d'Architecture* --- contenant les plans de cinquante bastiments. (See Art. 162).⁹⁶⁵

Note 965. See Plates 3, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20 (exterior), 21, 26, 28, 45. Plate 22 approximates to the heavy arches of the Place Royale.

620. Examples.

On Chateau Fresnes, eight leagues from Paris, probably built between 1570 and 1585 by marquis Francis d'O (died 1594), about which I could obtain no other information, is found a combination of bricks with rustication, which appears to follow the forms of Du. Cerceau for the Chateau at Charleval. As Fig. 148 shows,⁹⁶⁶ one animated composition and fancy has not given place to the "reason" of the time of Henry IV. and of Louis XIII.

Note 966. From Ismael Silvestre. *Oeuvre*. Vol. 1. Pl. 114.

One should assume that the famous New Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye, whose erection Henry IV again took up after new plans and completed, followed this tendency in the richer treatment of the crowning members. (Figs. 133, 234).

621. Age of Henry IV.

With the age of Henry IV we pass to the development of the style of Louis XIII, so famous in France, that originated from a combination of bricks with rustication.

We have endeavored to emphasize, that this so-called Louis XIII brick style was in nowise the sole expression of that time. (See Arts. 225 - 230). Far more it was not even the sole character of the tendency then in brick construction. It only represents a strong current thereof. We shall have to mention beside it a somewhat freer one.

1. Severe Tendency.

It is evident from the preceding, now strongly right was Cesar Daly, when he accented the mistake of designating all mixed brick and ashlar work as the style of Louis XIII. Still the type, with which we now meet, was so rarely expressed, that this mistake in the usual mode of speaking was something possible to explain.⁹⁶⁷

Note 967. Constructors not well informed term style Louis

XIII all architecture in brick and stone later than the beginning of the Renaissance, that does not bear its origin very clearly marked in its decoration, and they naively suppose that structures of brick and stone only date from Louis XIII. See *Revue Generale d'Architecture*. Vol. 28. p. 150.

622. Natural Elements.

In the 16th century brick occurs simply as an artistic, picturesque and animating element. With Henry IV and Louis XIII, by its exclusive combination with cold and angular touchings, it suddenly assumes as perhaps never before existing character. Thereby it also actually receives something nationally French, that many prefer to see in it.

Among many Frenchmen there still prevails today a preference unintelligible to me and a predilection for this style tendency. Men find it truly French, anti-Italian, rational and pure. It is in fact heavy, not to see therein somewhat of the character of a political fashion, of the standard of a party and the motto of a portion of the Christian church.

I have already had opportunity to refer to the peculiar character of this style tendency as well as to the connection with a mighty intellectual current of that time. (Arts. 11, and 13).

623. Character of the Style Tendency.

It is just as if men had intended to emphasize the character of "hard cornered" everywhere, even on each as far as frequently and as much as possible, and to avoid all grace and every chief fantasy, so as to everywhere appear genuine and solid. Is it not a part of Calvin and truly Huguenot?

The architectural character of solid earnestness and unimaginative simplicity corresponds just as well to the Huguenot intellectual tendency as to that of the more Gallic branch of the counterreformation in the period of about 1600 to 1623. ⁹⁶⁸

Note 968. This justifies the opinion of Lemonnier, that then the dogmatic difference between Catholics and Huguenots remained unchanged, but the earnest Christian perceptions were about the same in both faiths.

If one reads the words in which Henri Martin ⁹⁶⁹ describes the new French language of Calvin and did not know that it related to a literary style, he might take it to be a very correct description of the tendency in brick and stone const-

construction of this so-called style of Louis XIII.

Note 969. See *Histoire de France*, Vol. 12. p. 186. He terms it firm, clear, plain, fluent without pomposity, lively without haste, expressive in simplicity, and above all logical in the precise severity of construction. By too much logic it has sacrificed one of the elements of poetry, the free movement of the imagination. Lanient has emphasized in the "refugee style" the progressive stress, as well as that the "graces of its natal soil" were wanting to it.

To the inventor of this architectural type might be applied the words:-- "He was an intellect and a fettered heart." ⁹⁷⁰

Note 970. Words of Marechal de Charbonnieres on Agrippa d'Aubigne. See Lintellac, *E. Litterature Françoise*, p. 281. P Paris. 1894.

It is not to be denied, that this actually slightly artistic tendency, sometimes dry and without imagination, may yet sometimes assume a noble and really distinguished character, as for example on the Chateau at Dalleroy.

But as soon as this style loses the character of noble simplicity and worth, in connection with dignified proportions, its charm is gone. The more the relief of bosses and toolings is enhanced and enclosed by rich mouldings, the more clearly appears the character of artistic poverty, since one then sees, that it was no longer dignified simplicity to which this style tended, out to a cold and angular intellect without feeling.

2. Severe Tendency in the Style of Henry IV.

(The so-called Style of Louis XIII).

624. Sully, the Father of the Huguenot Style.

If men desired to designate this style tendency after its moral founder, then must it be named not the style of Louis XIII, but the style of Sully. Likewise may it be said of the spirit of the great Huguenot minister, that he was clad in iron, and that he armed with asnlars all the corners and angles of the houses of the two Places, that originated under his rule.

Before these two squares one must always ask himself anew, whether he may be really in France and in Paris, in the land that produced the slender Gothic and the elegance of Francis

I and of Henry II? Here all is simple and earnest, and in part almost boorishly heavy. One believes himself transferred to Holland. Sully is here in the domain of secular architecture the father of the Huguenot style, as we see Salomon de Brusse such in the domain of church architecture.

The first of these two squares was the Place Royale in Paris, begun in the year 1599 or 1600 on the site of Place des Tournelles, ⁹⁷¹ the modern Place des Vosges.

Note 971. See Martin, R. Vol. 10. p. 458.

The second important example of this tendency is Place Dauphine in Paris. On March 23, 1609, De Harlay, First President of the Parlement, obtained the concession of the square between Pont Neuf and Palace of Justice under the condition, that he should build according to the plans received from the Grand Voyer de France (Sully). Francois Petit made them. ⁹⁷²

Note 972. See Lonce, A. Dictionnaire etc. Francois Petit.

The system of treatment for this square was already illustrated by Fig. 53.

Reference has previously been made to the buildings of Henry IV at Fontainebleau, the Galerie des Cerfs and the Cour d des Cuisines. (Art. 223). The brick enclosures of the windows in the court of the last building may be seen in Fig. 322 through the opening of the main gateway.

On the Galerie des Cerfs appear no visible toothings. By the Doric capitals of the lower pilasters and the volute consoles of the upper vertical bands, the dullness of mere toothings is avoided.

The chimney caps on ashlar buildings were themselves frequently built of bricks with toothed ashlers at the angles. The Hotel de Sully in Paris is an example thereof, Fig. 304.

Facades of cut stone and bricks may further be seen on a Hotel from the time of Henry IV, No. 30 Rue de Francs-Bourgeois in Paris. In La Ferte-sous-Jouarre, the Chateau was built in 1615, according to an inscription. ⁹⁷³

Note 973. Illustrated in Souvageot. Vol. 4.

627. Chateau Dalleroy.

That as already stated, this tendency may yet sometimes assume a really dignified character, is shown by the Chateau at Dalleroy. The facade consists of two side portions with nar-

three windows in width, two stories high, and a projecting middle building of the same width and with a third somewhat lower story. At the front corners of the broad terrace are two detached square pavilions of a single story. These five masses of buildings have their separate high hip roofs and form an interesting elevation, that animates the simple treatment of the surfaces.

As of the first importance in this architectural system should not be forgotten the following:-- the proportion of the lengths of ashlars to their heights, the lengths of the toothings, the proportion of angle quoins to those of the windows, and that of the brick surfaces to those of the ashlars, merely elements that must be carefully considered. Just on account of their simplicity do they require great talent of the architects, to not appear merely cold, angular, without feeling and thought. Here are entirely plane, slightly projecting and regular toothings, a plain belt cornice with the height of the ashlars over the ground story, a second below the frieze and a modillion cornice, which furnish the means together with the dormer windows.

The quiet charm of this Chateau seems to be based on an actual harmony in proportions of all these parts to each other, joined with "real, noble and dignified simplicity".

623. Chateau Beaumesnil.

On Chateau Beaumesnil near Bernay, the latter is no longer the case. Such an outlay has been made with elements, which are in themselves neither noble nor beautiful, but are first of all angular, cold and without feeling, that one immediately thinks:-- with this money should have been created something nobler. The general elevation recalls that of Chateau Galleroy, excepting that the little free pavilions of the latter are attached at the sides as extensions of the main building.

Chateau Beaumesnil ²⁷⁴ is one of the better known examples of this ashlar and brick tendency.

Note 274. Illustrated in Sauvageot and in Lübke, *K. Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich*. p. 339.

Toothed ashlars at the angles, broad stone window jams interrupted by rusticated ashlars, support solid consoles, on

which rest the strongly projecting gables of the windows in three stories. The uppermost row of windows already extends above the high roofs in the form of dormers. Simple asolar bands form panels on the wall piers; a cold modillion cornice with stone balustrades crowns the dry, angular building with perhaps an unrestful effect.

629. Example in Paris.

The former Hotel Tubœuf, belonging to Mazarin after 1643, now a part of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, was built by Le Muet, when the street was opened there, and as Fig. 149 shows, ⁹⁷⁵ it is an example of the severe and simple mixture of brick surfaces with plain rusticated toothings.

Note 975. From Marot, J. Oeuvre. Vol. 2. Pl. 75.

The Galerie Mazarine, that Francois Mansard built behind it, and that forms a part of the Cabinet of Copperplates, adheres to this tendency with peculiarly dignified proportions.

3. Freer Tendency.

630. Its Elements.

Besides this dryer tendency, that is based on the emphasis of the toothing, there is found another, that endeavors to bring somewhat more refinement into the combination of bricks and stone. Toothing is avoided or is concealed by bricks. Pilasters occur in some places, and in the middle of the brick panels are inserted moulded asolar tablets. These sometimes have consoles for marble busts. The first Chateau at Versailles, built by Louis XIII, had this character, as may be seen in Fig. 53.

We doubtless stand before a tendency, that is allied to the freer time of Charles IX and of Henry III.

Chateau Sully near Autun in Burgundy, already commenced in 1567, but whose erection still continued under Henry IV and Louis XIII, must be an example of the free tendency, that this carries from the 16th into the 17th century. The Doric rusticated pilasters of the ground story receive directly and without entablature the bases of the Ionic order of the second story, whose entablature alternates with high consoles in pairs and terminates the architecture of this court.

631. Examples.

The Palace de Justice at Lisieux appears to me to be one of the

the best buildings of this tendency. The distribution of colors and that of the reliefs is happy. There also occur pilasters, niches, a sculptured frieze, a loggia in the ground story next the court, with narrow hermes-like piers below and a middle pavilion above.

Likewise the Château des Ifs near Fecamp has somewhat less dryness,⁹⁷⁶ and it also has tapestry patterns on the brick surfaces.

Note 976. Illustrated in Sauvageot. Vol. 2.

Sometimes the ashlars and bricks do not only appear beside each other, but are combined with some parts of broken stone (boulders) in courses of different sizes, and with small cubical fire-stones, that form mosaic patterns. An example of these is shown by the Manoir de Mantry at Touques near Trouville.

Although on the little Château d'Agnessau near Trouville, that has a pilaster order below and projecting bands above, the fire-stone occurs in combination with ashlars and bricks.

C. Ecclesiastical Architecture.

Churches, Tombs, Monasteries and Hospitals.

Introductory.

632. Particular Interest of this Division.

With the "ecclesiastical architecture" of the French Renaissance, which forms only a portion of that of the entire Renaissance, we enter a domain most suggestive for the architect, both in purely architectural respects as from the standpoint of history, from which it cannot be separated. It is at the same time one of the most difficult, when one is not satisfied by a mere enumeration of buildings or of their fragments, but desires to penetrate into the aims of the architects, and endeavors to recognize the undertakings, that the style in accordance with its nature and its capabilities was in position to complete. Just in France as the limited and the native and the Gothic -- of this sole religious style, as some believe, -- is it of special interest to pursue the fortunes and the history of the ecclesiastical architecture of the new style. This land received the privilege of embodying the longing of the northern peoples for a national style as attained by the Gothic. Therefore nothing appears more instructive, than to follow and to observe the work of the artistic creative gifts and of the intellect of the French in this new historical period.

633. Difficulties in Treatment.

Unfortunately the ecclesiastical architecture of the French Renaissance during the first and most interesting period thereof from 1495 to 1595 must develop under conditions, highly disadvantageous for it. The number of the buildings, that only approximately sprung from an original design and bear a native stamp, is extremely small. It is easily intelligible, that from this alone a description of the development of the style presents great difficulties. A second and no less great one comes from the numerous fragments, which even though frequently but small, possess a high artistic and stylistic interest, and arouse the wish to present an entirety or a complete church in the style of the given fragments. It was not easy to form a method of treating such fragmentary materials., that would afford a clear survey and permit the following of

the historical development of the forms of the style.

The difficulty in collecting these numberless fragments, of judging and grouping them, so that the architectural ideal of the style would be recognizable, has not only very much delayed the completion of this labor, but also made it necessary to extend the scope of research and to employ aids, without which the purpose was scarcely to be attained. This has also gradually produced its subdivision.

So far as possible, have I endeavorie to find characteristic types of the steps of development and to group around them the fragments, allied in style to them. Occasionally must r references be made to Italian or Spanish monuments, which aided a better understanding of the tendency only partially expressed in separate fragments. On account of the difficulty of treatment of such dismemoered materials, I ask special lenity in the judgment of this Division, that is just the one f for which I felt a particular preference, and which I desired to treat with success if possible.

634. Subdivision of the Materials.

The special material is distributed into main subdivisions. Chapters 14 to 16 treat of the exterior, of the interior, and of domed structures. In Chapters 17 and 18, I have described the parts and fragments of the exterior and the interior. Chapters 19 to 21 are devoted to the architectural works of the provinces, the Huguenot buildings and the tombs. Chapter 22 treats of the internal decoration. In the two following are mentioned some monasteries and hospitals. In each Chapter, as far as possible, the works are grouped chronologically and according to the phases of the style.

Therefore so far as this may in general be possible, whoever desires to take a general view of the examples of the high Renaissance, must successively consider the works of this phase distributed in the first five Chapters, and also take the tombs as an aid.

For a number of works, especially important for the style and for history, I have attempted, so far as the materials permitted, to determine the history of the building and the author of the design. For very many others, on the contrary, these questions were entirely left out of consideration, and

attention was paid to the form alone. The latter have been but approximately dated in accordance with the average dates of similar works.

With such an unfortunately and unavoidable number of isolated groups particular care must be devoted to the general survey at the close of ecclesiastical architecture (Chapter 25). It was first possible there to collect the types, that a valuation of capabilities, opinions and of works permitted, and on the other hand to defend these against the attacks, which the ecclesiastical architecture of the Renaissance so frequently must suffer. Against these attacks I collect in a special work, that for lack of space cannot be included here, the architectural means at the command of the Renaissance for producing a religious effect. In another Chapter I indicate the chief types of Renaissance churches, on the one hand, in order to obtain a scale for the works of French ecclesiastical architecture, and on the other, to allow many of its purposes to become clear.

I hope that by this separation of the questions into different Chapters, a clear survey may become possible, and that even if this labor has been somewhat extended, that the results obtained may compensate for this.

Chapter 14. The Exteriors of the Churches.

a. Transitional Period and Early Renaissance.

1. Different Methods of combining forms during the transitional Period.

635. The Round Arch in Late Gothic Compositions.

It may perhaps be permitted, to designate the appearance of the round arch in late Gothic works as one of the earliest forms in which the new spirit commenced to shine faintly. In the rich late Gothic vestibule of the Cathedral at Aloi, the pointed arches are already replaced by round arches.

636. Abandonment of the Buttress and the vertical Mode of Composition.

In the facade of the Chapel of Tilloloy (Fig. 150 ⁹⁷⁷), so to speak, all recollection of the principle of the growth of the members from below upwards in an unbroken manner has disappeared. The members are inserted in the antique spirit in the brickwork as in horizontal courses, particularly capricious, indeed even venturesome is the caprice to be termed, by which are treated the main gable and that over the portal. We shall return to the design with two low towers.

Note 977. From Berty, A. La Renaissance etc. Vol. 1.

Gable and console with the representation of the Ascension on the upper part of the facade of the Chapel of S. Geoire n near Vienne are derived from a similar mode of composition.

Sometimes is evidently lacking all understanding of the art of composing a proper facade with the new forms. Men are satisfied with inserting some Renaissance motives in the plain masonry of the facade. An example of this is the Church of Aumale, about in the style of 1535, on whose facade wall the motive of a triumphal arch simply forms the facade; above the entablature are slender tabernacles at the sides, a wider one with gable being built in at the centre, above this being a Doric entablature with triglyps, ⁹⁷⁸ unprepared and entirely isolated for the entire width.

Note 978. Illustrated in Rodier & Taylor, Picardie. Vol. 1.

In S. Martin-aux-Jumeaux at Amiens, the subdividing composition appears freely attached to great plain walls. On the right and left of the doorways are two columns connected by a niche, repeated in two stories. The lower system suggests

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a continuous Doric entablature; on the upper rises an archivolt surrounding the rose window, and here as a arch forms the chief motive of the facade. Shrine-like terminations of the sides and a tabernacle with gable over the archivolt in the middle completes this composition, to which may fall the character of about the time from 1540 to 1550. ⁹⁷⁹

Note 979. Illustrated in the same, Pl. 1.

Some other facade motives may perhaps best find mention in this place.

The chapel of Chateau of Tallard in Dauphine, with shells in the tympanum of the portal, has a gable that instead of ending in a vertex, is terminated by a broad and low tabernacle covered by a statue, and whose angles are treated as three-quarter columns with spiral ornament.

In the Church of Rosnay in Champagne, the lower half is still late Gothic in arrangement. From this develops a Renaissance architecture with pilasters at the angles, on whose entablature rests an antique gable.

638. Penetration of high Renaissance Elements into Compositions of the Transition Period.

While this transition period developed in France, in which chiefly the forms of upper Italy of the so-called Bramantesque style are mixed with the Gothic, one also exceptionally finds examples in which, instead of the former, were already introduced separate motives of Bramante's high Renaissance into a Gothic composition.

In the portion of the Church of Magny shown by our Fig. 151, ⁹⁸⁰ the buttress system, by means of pilasters and three-quarter columns, is taken into the domain of the columnar orders. The gables are treated in the manner of stepped attics. The antique idea of the placing of the parts over each other, instead of their outgrowth, shows itself in the treatment of the tracery.

Note 980. From Palustre. La Renaissance etc. Vol. 3. Paris.

On the facade of the Church at S. Calais shown in Fig. 152, ⁹⁸¹ the upward growth of the members is retained in its main lines, but the strong projection of the buttress is changed into the moderate relief of simple and bold pilaster forms. The slender finial forms are connected with the latter with

slight skill. Just as capricious as in Fig. 150 is the subdivision over the middle doorway, that must recall a divided gable. Notable here is further the occurrence of a single gable for the entire width of the facade.

Note 981. From the work mentioned in the last Note.

The Chapel of S. Jacques in Dieppe exhibits a peculiar mixture of Gothic forms with those of the Renaissance. At S. Quentin the southern end of the transept appears to be of the time of Louis XII, and the facade of the Church at Laneuville in Picardy to be of the early Renaissance.

639. Compositions with Gothic structural Framework and Renaissance Panels.

On all examples so far mentioned is taken as a basis the "lack of system" that prevails. Men grasped no clear ideas of the treatment of forms or of the mode of composition. It is as if they employed at random the new forms, that they had become acquainted with in Italy or with their French pupils, or that some Gothic principle had been simply abandoned without rightly knowing how to replace it. We now come to solutions where a certain method in the treatment of forms may be described. And it is indeed based on the same idea, to which we have already referred. (Art. 105). Before all the supporting or strengthening parts, as well as the buttresses at the angles remain Gothic, while the new Renaissance forms exhibit between them rather as decorative panels.

The facade of the Church at Roches-Tranchilin, now a ruin, was divided into three bays by Gothic buttresses. The middle one is somewhat wider and was occupied for its entire height by a pointed arched niche, below which lies the portal. First in the side bays appears the Renaissance subdivision; below as an arcade with three arches supported by flat pilasters, above being slender vertical bands, that have Renaissance panels, like the shafts of the pilasters, and are connected at two-thirds their height by medallions with heads like the antique.

Even on the facade of the Church at S. Galais (Fig. 152⁹⁸¹), that was described above, is found something of the same idea. The middle buttresses have been abandoned and changed into a antique forms, while at the angles Gothic forms are retained

as such. Between these fixed corners opens the field for the new forms.

It is still similar on the following examples, but the forms developed between the Gothic angle buttresses are already connected in accordance with a native idea and are treated together after the manner of the described method of the completed early Renaissance. (See Art. 113).

640. Combination of vertical and horizontal Members.

The facade of the Church of Montresor in Touraine (Fig. 153 982) shows how men endeavored to combine the aspiration of the vertical mode of composition with the increasing horizontal elements (see Art. 104) without a disturbing conflict. They resorted to Romanesque vertical bands connected by round arches, which subdivided the wall like the buttresses, which had nearly become flat pilasters. Their transition to the strongly expressed entablature was made by means of the canopies over the statues, that served as terminals of the vertical motives.

Note 982. From a photograph marked M. F. 3163.

The entablatures themselves are treated more as broad bands between two mouldings, on the friezes of which busts of saints look forth, as if from metopes. To the great arcade motive, that connects doorways and windows into an entirety, we shall return.

The Church of Montresor (two hours from Loches), begun in 1519 at the cost of Ymbert de Batarnay, was completed in 1541 by Renee de Batarnay. 983

Note 983. See Mandrot, B. de. Ymbert de Batarnay, Seigneur du Bouchage, councillor of King Louis XI, Charles IX and Louis XII. p. 396 et seq. Paris. 1886.

2. Choir Designs.

For the design of the choir parts and apses, the Renaissance in France adopted the Gothic arrangements and added nothing new, so to speak.

The choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels, the high elevated windows beneath the vaults, never vanished from the customs at Paris, as may be seen in S. Sulpice.

Ribbed vaults frequently continued into the 17th century, and even later are found flying buttresses transformed in sin-

singular ways.

On the smaller buildings as a rule are likewise the polygonal choir endings without ambulatories.

641. S. Pierre at Caen.

One of the most famous examples of brilliant ornamental architecture is found in the five radiating chapels around choir of S. Pierre at Caen. They must have been erected from 1518 to 1545 by Hector Sotier, or according to others after 1521.⁹⁸⁴ They form three sides of the octagon to a height of 9.84 ft., date from the Gothic period, and are characterized by the clear visibility of the main subdivision and the beautiful, very rich and fanciful ornamentation.

Note 984. Hector Sotier from Caen in 1521 took the same part -- built the apse, the vaults of the choir and of the eastern side aisle, if not those of both. (France, A. Dictionnaire etc.).

At the angles of the polygon are bold pilasters instead of buttresses, on which rest the cornice and the balustrade. At the sides join directly the archivolts of the broad round-arched windows, that are without impost mouldings and tracery and occupy the entire width of the side up to about two-thirds their height, or about at the height of the imposts of the windows, these pilasters are strengthened by projecting and diagonally set half piers with two pilaster sides, and in the upper third they extend as finials like candelabras along the rear pilasters to their capitals.

The richly perforated balustrades with vases, garlands, scrolls and consoles terminate the chapels covered by terraces. In the arch spandrels are also rich arabesques.

The middle hexagonal chapel of S. Maria is a little wider, and since the proportions remain the same, the angle pilasters are higher. On their architrave follows a frieze with arabesques and a small cornice. Above this and corresponding to the height of the internal vaults and ribs, the exterior rises around it as a free attic above the side chapels. The beautifully enclosed round windows of the lunettes are likewise crowned by arabesques, a cornice and a perforated balustrade. Behind these also the stone roof forms a terrace. On the attic the angle pilasters are somewhat thinner. Their

lower half is joined as a shallow niche, above which the most charming canopies with shrines and candelabra finials extend into the beautiful capitals.

For the character of the details it is still to be said, that the enclosures of the round-arched windows of the middle below, and further of the two on the left and of the first windows of the rear chapel on the right, seen from the exterior, consist of two jamb posts abutting against each other. The interior recedes slightly and goes down to the splayed sill, the exterior down below the window parapet. The many plain members of the mouldings with few flats recall the early round-arched mouldings of Brunellesco; likewise the cornice with its scarcely projecting fascia. On the contrary, other mouldings, as well as the other windows of the two right hand chapels and those of the attic rather show a study of the Lombard works of the Bramante style, of the side doorway of 1491 on the Cathedral at Como, of the candelabra of Bramante on S. Maria della Grazie in Milan, of the medallion heads with long necks by Caradosso in the sacristy of S. Maria near S. Satiro in the same city. One of these heads represents Francis I.

In any case it must be assumed that the master of this building had seen and studied the Italian buildings mentioned and also the Certosa itself near Pavia.

In the interior as on the exterior the round windows in the lunettes are separated by a frieze with sirens and scroll work between two cornices.

The treatment of the vaults will be described in the Section on these, as well as the finials and buttresses in that of the latter.

642. Other Examples.

According to Palustre the beautiful choir chapels of Notre Dame des Marais in La Ferté-Bernard, built in 1335-1544 by Mathurin Delaourie, were under the influence of those of S. Pierre in Caen.⁹⁸⁵ We shall return to this building in treating of windows and balustrades.

Note 985. According to Lance, Dictionnaire etc., Jean Texier (not to be confounded with Jean Le Texier) named de Beouce, who worked at the same time in Chartres) was architect of

the church until 1529. He was succeeded by Mathurin Grignon, who died in 1532. *Lance*. Vol. 2, p. 322, further refers to the brothers Viet.

A somewhat freer composition is shown by this choir structure in the Church of Madeline in Montargis, that is ascribed to the elder Du Gerceau.⁹⁸⁶ Around the choir composed of five sides of the octagon extends an ambulatory, that is of rectangular form for the height of the chapels, but above the chapels also passes into the octagon, and is about as high as the choir itself, as in nail churches. Internally the character is still essentially late Gothic, but is externally entirely Renaissance. The flying buttress system treated with pilasters, projected columns and entablature, crowned by vases, in the character of the details is allied to the two beautiful churches at Tonnerre.

Note 986. Illustrated in Geymüller, H. von. *Les Du Gerceau*. Fig. 36. On the building may be seen different dates between 1545 and 1586.

The transition from the square to the octagon recalls Lombard buildings of the time of Bramante and based on S. Lorenzo in Milan.

The former rear facade of S. Sauveur in Paris showed between five round-arched windows with tracery, Corinthian-like pilasters on a high substructure, before which stood statues beneath canopies. The latter were placed at the height of the imposts. The figures stood on projecting small round pedestals, that replaced the bases of the pilasters. Above the entablature were four slender pointed gables and the gable on the middle axis was low.

To be mentioned are further:-- the exterior of the apse of S. Sauveur in Caen (Francis I), and the apse of the Church at Gneznou, and the external treatment of the Church at Folgoët, both in Brittany.

The choir with three sides of the earlier Chateau chapel of S. Saturnin at Fontainebleau (erected between 1523 and 1545) has boldly projecting buttresses, on which pilasters of the lower chapel, and with one column on each front side, correspond to the upper ones. This has round-arched windows with triply divided tracery.

This chapel and the so-called peristyle in the oval court are by the same master. Men have long and absurdly desired to see in the latter a work of Serlio. Some parts of the chateau from the time of the early Renaissance are worthy of the architect, who was evidently not Gilles le Breton, even if he might be the contractor. He had brought with him a careful study of the mouldings of the choir and of the sacristy of the Cathedral of Pavia, and he otherwise adhered to the school of Chambord.

3. Facade Compositions.

a. Facades with great Arch Motives.

643. Examples.

There are facades on which the architect has created a great niche-like principal motive, which should appear as an indication of the height of the interior. Here belong the ruins of the Church at Roches-Franconelin and the Chateau chapel at Usse, probably originating between 1510 and 1520, to which we must soon return. One must assume, that this motive was taken from the transept facades of different Gothic cathedrals.

The facade of the Chateau chapel at Usse in Touraine of about 1510 to 1520 shows a plain wall with steep gable, diagonal buttresses and a slender pointed arch in the middle third, which combines the doorway and the window into a common recessed niche motive. Its jambs are formed of several orders of pilasters and candelabras. Rich finials rise above the arches. Between them develops as the crowning accompaniment of an ogee gable an indescribable mixture of parts, candelabra and finial forms with consoles like flying buttresses. Certain parts are formed in a more refined and nobler way, such as the jambs of the niche with busts in round medallions.

The Churches of Lauzac (Charente-inferieure) erected by Galiot de Genouillac, grand master of artillery under Francis I, and of Chateau Assier (Lot), according to Palustre, must belong to the style according to the region of the Loire, and are not as usually stated of the former, to be ascribed to the famous Bachelier from Toulouse.

In a particularly beautiful manner on the facade of the Church at Montresor (Fig. 153) is the portal combined with the great window above into a whole, especially into an enclosed

facade, inserted into the bay of the middle aisle. This great transverse bay is itself characterized externally in the high and slender arch, which encloses the doorway and window in common. By its skilful development is avoided the danger, that this great motive of the opening of the middle aisle may cause the scale of the facade to appear smaller.

On the facade of the former Church of S. Pierre in Rheims (Fig. 154⁹³⁷), concerning which I possess no further information, but which must belong to about the high Renaissance already, the middle aisle is likewise indicated externally by a great arch.

Note 987. From Israel Silvestre etc.

In the Church of Brie-Comte-Robert, the middle aisle exhibits above a Gothic ground story a slender gallery like a triforium, with pilasters and four arches with tracery, above this being a round arch over a rose window, very similar to that on S. Pierre at Rheims. Above the entablature are a balustrade and the steep gable, all between buttresses, that are formed as pilasters of a colossal order. The details are allied to those of S. Eustache in Paris of about 1540.

b. Type of the Certosa near Pavia.

644. Importance of this Composition.

Reference must be made to other church facades of Du Cerceau, that indeed apparently show a somewhat advanced style, but which are actually contemporary with his facade for S. Eustache. (Fig. 156), and that exists only in an engraving known as that of the "Grande Chartreuse de Pavia". In spite of the relation to this model, it is an independent composition of Du Cerceau, and is to be regarded as evidence of the different ideas in this domain in that time.

It exhibits the facade of the Certosa of Pavia transformed according to a definite principle, shown as composed with its lacking central additions with their semicircular gables on the middle and the outer side aisles.-- Du Cerceau has sought to give to the building arranged in three heights a severer and more architectural character by means of three Corinthian orders of half columns with coupled pilasters at the angles. The two very high middle friezes and the plinth of the ground story are subdivided between the breaks by the arcade of Dol-

Dolcebuono, which in three effective horizontal bands, at the same forms the parapets of the three stories. ⁹³³

Note 988. Illustrated in Geymüller, H. von. Les Du Jerceau. Fig. 28.

It is an attempt to combine the Renaissance facade with several stories of columns with the front facade of the chief example of Milanese love of ornamentation, and it shows once more, how the thoughts of the French masters were directed toward the same region, in which they sought the first prototypes of their Renaissance.

This composition represents the moment, when the thoughts began to turn from thence toward Rome. It is a preliminary of the later type of Roman pilasters and of the facade with half columns with an elevation stepped like a basilica.

c. Facades with Small Towers.

One meets with small facades, flanked by one or two low towers, that apparently should contain a winding stairway to the roof and the cornice gallery.

On the early Renaissance facade of the Church of Brie-Comte-Robert (probably about 1535 or 1540) there projects only at the right corner of the middle aisle such a stairway tower. Below Gothic and polygonal, above round with two orders, half columns before pilasters. The ruins of the Church of Rocnes-Tranchelin have at the left corner of the facade an octagonal tower of this kind.

On the Church at Vetheuil, the angles of the middle aisle are treated as small square towers.

S. Saturnin, the earlier chapel of the Chateau at Fontainebleau, had from the time of Francis I (between 1523 and 1545) a vestibule with two small campaniles, which projected into the oval court, and that should be recognizable within the new facade of Henry IV.

In some cases, as in the chapel at Tillaloy (Fig. 150), the Chateau chapel at Anet (Figs. 192, 193), and in the "Temple" at Conches (Fig. 206), these two low towers appear to indicate the possessor of a fief.

d. Architecture of Towers in General.

Before the treatment of the facade with two towers for S. Eustache in Paris and of S. Michel at Dijon, something should

be said on the development of the architecture of the towers of the Renaissance in France.

645. Influence of the Cathedral at Tours.

First of all comes into consideration here the completion of the towers of the Cathedral at Tours, that were commenced between 1492 and 1498, and finished in 1547.⁹⁸⁹ Their forms evidently exerted a very important influence on the treatment of the church towers of the French Renaissance.

Note 989. See Archives de l'Art Français. Vol. 2. p. 321.

Their upper parts exhibit in addition to the lower Gothic subdivision all possible steps of mixture of the old and new forms of the transition phase and of the early Renaissance. Above the square they pass into an octagonal dome with large lantern, likewise shaped as a small dome. The earlier north tower was completed in 1507. Whether Bastien Francois and Martin Francois were actually the designers or were merely the executors, I am unable to finally decide.⁹⁹⁰

Note 990. See Arts 105, 108 and 116.

Yet, when I referred on page 102 to this said master, I added thereto, that the determination of the main forms of these dome terminations could not occur before the arrival of the Italians of the colony of Amboise, and that a definite participation of their chief master Fra Giocondo appeared to me more probable than the contrary. And indeed just because a contrast between the security of all general forms of this domed elevation exists, which one should not expect from the masters, that had to answer for the tolerably rude details of the execution. The figures in the niches have something crude and dwarfed, and even on the south tower, only completed in 1547, occur in places forms, that already are under the influence of Blois and Chambord, and that are still less mature than the peculiar composition of the domed structure, whose form was fixed before 1500.

The termination of the south tower was completed in 1547 and is ascribed to Pierre Gandier.⁹⁹¹

Note 991. Lance, A. Dictionnaire. Vol. 1, p. 294.

One here observes, how the gradual development of the alphabet of forms of the school of Amboise was applied by steps to those members, that could occur on a tower, without passing

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outside the chief currents of the originally decided design for completion.

A further application of the same forms is found on the Church of S. Germain at Argentan. (Fig. 155⁹⁹²).

Note 992. From an old drawing in Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Vol. Vh 146.

The spire of the tower on the facade is formed as a two story dome stepped in two parts, as a transition from the square. The idea is still early Gothic, and the simplified forms approximate those of the high Renaissance.

e. Facades with two Towers.

346. S. Eustache in Paris.

Before the ~~vanished~~ facade with two towers of the famous Church of S. Eustache in Paris can be described, something must be said of the exterior of the same. Its history will first be treated in reference to the interior and in connection with Figs. 132 and 134.

Particularly interesting on this at present is the facade of the transept. Below are two doorways, that are combined with a broad tracery window under a common round arch into a single motive between broad pilasters. (Fig. 29). Above the entablature of the latter are two broad Corinthian pilasters at the angles, and between these are two triforium arcades a above each other. In the second story follows the great wheel window. Over this comes an entablature, whose cornice and balustrade are extended as a termination of the middle aisle. Finally to the roof corresponds a slender gable with a small wheel window beneath a Gothic blind arch. At both sides round turrets terminate the buttresses.

The composition of the transept facade of S. Eustache in Paris is based on such as are shown, for example, by the transept of the Cathedral of Beauvais. (15th century).

On the elevation the style clears and simplifies itself. The consoles of the entablature over the portal already approximate to the style of the Chapel of S. Romain at Rouen. On the two triforium arcades the Doric capitals recall those of Ecouen. The pilaster treatment is unusually sharp, plain and tense.

With the execution of the above described beautiful transept

facade the exterior of the side facades of S. Eustache is less sympathetic. The scarcely projecting Corinthian pilasters between the windows of the chapels appear broad, short and not in the scale of the tracery. Entirely flat and weak, they do not, as they should, form the ground story of the buttress system, that boldly projects above their entablature and its balustrade. They further have no proportion to the two upper pilaster orders of the outtress.

The tracery of the windows of the chapels and of those of the side aisles reaching above them is no longer truly late Gothic and not even in good Renaissance forms. Finally quite discordant are the varied ascending oval arches of the doubled flying outtresses, that in two stories support the upper walls of the middle aisle and transept.

The facade of the chapels on the right between transept and facade extends obliquely, so that the depth of the chapels diminishes from the first one and in front only amounts to that of a side arch.

The former main facade of the five aisles of S. Eustache had two towers and a wide middle aisle between them. For the entire width were completed two stories of the facade and half the third, which extended to about the cornice of the middle aisle. Four bold buttresses subdivided it. On the ground story, that corresponded to the height of the main portal, were on each of the two wider middle piers and two tabernacles with gables beside each other below the height of the impost, and two similar ones corresponding to the round arch. On the second story were two coupled Doric pilasters on pedestals. The pilasters had none in the third story. The capitals, probably of the Ionic order, were not executed.

At the outside, i.e., farthest from the middle, somewhat narrower buttresses had but one tabernacle and one pilaster in width. The same on the side facades of the towers.

On the towers were triply divided windows in the ground story, whose lower part is not visible on the engraving, but was probably connected into a single motive with the side doorways. In the second story a round arched window with two mullions and tracery for the entire width. In the third story was visible the beginning of a window in two divisions.

On the middle aisle in the second story and above the portal was in a figure panel for the entire width, a deep blind arch with an arcade of five arches below the impost. In the third story was commenced a great rose window.

Over the round arched portal and the side windows on the towers was an entablature, that only extended between the buttresses and corresponded to the pedestals of the pilasters of the second story on the buttresses.

On the southern longer sides of the Church, the side facade of the right tower is preserved in the second and half the third story. The Doric entablature lies higher than the cornice of the aisle, and thereby was independent for the architecture of the side facade. The ground story, on the contrary, was harmonized with the new facade, whereby the ancient chapel located there was destroyed. This produced the erroneous opinion, that the building of the existing facade was at the cost of the first bay of the church.

The Doric cornice with triglyphs abutting against the cornice of the side aisles recalls those of the little gallery of the Louvre (next the Jardin de l'Infante).

The great facade composition of Jacques Du Cerceau for S. Eustache shows, as may be seen in Fig. 156⁹⁹³, already the conventional native translation of a kind of great cathedral facade into the ripe style of Francis I. Everywhere is pilaster architecture employed. Its combination with arches four times above each other on the towers has only a monotonous and weak effect.

Note 993. From the original drawing, formerly with M. Destailleur, now in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris.

On the contrary, the treatment of the facade of the middle aisle is much happier. Likewise here is the internal height characterized on the exterior, yet only by the splendid arcade in the two middle stories, instead of the usual rose window. A kind of loggia is there arranged like that, which Antonio da Sangallo projected on the Church of S. Peter for the dispensation of the papal blessing, and therein is a new proof of the already frequently mentioned fact, that Du Cerceau had studied the models and designs for S. Peter. The combined effect of this arcade with the gable has something grandly beautiful.

Particularly nappy is the decorative subordination of the gable, where Du Cerceau has developed the motive of a triumphal arch in the style of the window of the roof. In the same spirit is also treated the main portal.

While Du Cerceau separated the towers from the middle building already in the fourth story by a narrow passage, he attempted to give more importance to the upper half of the towers, which appear low.

Du Cerceau can have composed this facade soon and not 10 years after the beginning of the church. Unfortunately we do not know what moved him to this step, or the relation of his design to that originally intended.

On the mediaeval facade of Notre Dame at Rodez, instead of the gable between the towers is executed such a two story architecture in the form of a complete and clearly composed church facade. The narrower upper story is crowned by a low gable. This western gable must have been erected in 1562 by Jean Salvanh, and it exhibits the mature style of the high Renaissance.

647. Cathedral at Angers.

Likewise on the Cathedral at Angers, the upper half of the middle building was first built during the Renaissance period in a peculiar way. Instead of the gable of the middle aisle, there begins in the fifth story a square temple, separated from the upper story of the towers by a very small interval, as in the design of Du Cerceau. (Fig. 156). It is crowned by a second story with octagonal dome and a large lantern. On the third story of the facade pilasters subdivide a kind of slender arcade, whose eight narrow intervals are filled by statues on rich consoles. This story with the rich pilaster panels and beautiful canopies over the figures has the character of the early Renaissance. On the frieze below the little temple is the date of 1540, while aside from the garland frieze, the latter a plain yet rich subdivision, that more and more upwards passes into the triple Renaissance.

This dome or tower of S. Maurice, as it is called, as well as the quite similar tower of the Trinity, as Lance remarks, was built in 1554-1556 by Jean de Lepine.

648. Notre Dame at Tonnerre.

648. Notre Dame at Tonnerre.

One of the most interesting works of the entire French Renaissance incontestably remains the facade of Notre Dame at Tonnerre. By the richness and the fantasy of its composition, and in part by the charm of the details, it is a work scarcely to be described, and indeed is unique in its way. It is not entirely completed and consists of a tower at the left of the middle aisle and the right side aisle.

Before the middle aisle and occupying about the entire width between the buttress and the lower half, is the double doorway beneath the tympanum of a great round arched portal. On its jambs are placed pilasters below and an arch above. The architrave is in three bands, ornamented most richly by consoles, coffers etc. In the spandrels of the arches beneath the entablature are medallions and figures.

Above this entablature rises a kind of attic with three round arches. The middle one is wider, projecting in trumpet form, and supports a three-sided balcony with a balustrade. At both sides a small and oblique motive like a triumphal arch combines these three arches with the boldly-projecting buttresses, while a richer, higher and similar motive fills the middle arch of the attic with unglazed tracery.

Corresponding to the gable of the roof, that succeeds this attic, is added a form in two steps, somewhat as the composition of the middle arch in the drawing of Du Cerceau. (Fig. 156).

On the tower at the base and between the buttresses, a round-arched portal is enclosed by columns and a pointed gable. Above is a rose window between pilasters furnished with a modillion cornice. Beside the buttress on the right rises a small round stairway tower with several pilaster orders arranged spirally. It has a good effect, that the buttresses are treated as angular, rich yet solid masses, enclosed at the angles by pilasters connected by arches, in four orders over each other.

According to its style forms, the facade must have been begun between 1525 and 1535. On the tower at the left above is the date of 1630.⁹⁹⁴ On the portal the outer little columns appeared to me to be closely allied to the Ionic screen in the Church at S. Florentin, perhaps by the same master.

994. This facade stands in such a narrow alley, that a photograph of the entire elevation is not to be thought of. Its richness has taken the courage from most to attempt a drawing. A representation may be seen in *Nodder, Taylor etc. Voyage dans la France Pittoresque. Champagne. Vol. 3.*

In the strongest contrast to this one with richness spread over the entire facade stands that of the Church at Isle-Adam near Paris. The masonry between the buttresses is entirely plain. In the ground story is found only a very beautiful round-arched portal in Renaissance style, while the rose window in the first story remains Gothic. Before the right side aisle stands the tower. The left one adjoins with a half gable the middle aisle.

649. S. Michel at Dijon.

The beautiful and imposing facade of S. Michel at Dijon is in the masses and their subdivision entirely built after the system of the French Gothic cathedral facades with two towers. The four buttresses at the angles of the towers subdivide the facade into three divisions of approximately equal widths. On the high ground story, that has about one fourth the total height, the buttresses scarcely project at all, so that it forms a continuous and united substructure with the three great and deep round-arched portals, which are crowned by an entablature with bold cornice. Above this commence on the towers rectangular panels four stories above each other, whose strongly projecting buttresses on the front side are treated with three orders of coupled pilasters (Ionic, Corinthian and Composite orders), while in the lowest story the entablature rests on plain wall piers. The two upper orders are fluted, and all have pedestals. Above the Ionic and Composite orders the buttresses have pointed gables and segmental gables. Between the buttresses on the recessed fronts of the towers are in each story two slender round-arched windows arranged like an arcade, accompanied by free fluted columns standing before pilasters, (Doric below), whose pedestals and entablatures are returned, excepting the uppermost, that is continuous. Thereby rise through the four stories to the last cornice unree continuous, receding, light and richly subdivided buttresses. Above the fourth order rises on a high substructure the

fourth order rises on a high substructure the fifth order of the drums of the octagonal domes, that crown the towers. They have at the angles. They have at the angles light returned pilasters, from which spring the ribs of the domes, beside them being columns, between which lies a round-arched arcade, as below.

The middle aisle lies in the plane of the recessed portions of the towers, and on both sides the quarter-circles of round stairway towers form a connection with the projecting buttresses. They have above the fourth story small domes as terminations. Above the entablature of the ground story, as crowning the round-arched middle portal, is arranged a charming round tower with dome, whose lantern corresponds about to the pedestals of the Ionic order. Six round arches of an arcade separated by somewhat projecting and coupled columns, subdivide its drum. This dome serves as a lantern for a round opening formed in the tunnel vault of the lower portal.

Behind this little Temple, the entire width of the wall of the middle aisle is occupied by two coupled round-arched windows, each with two mullions, and that nearly correspond to the height of the two lower stories of the towers. Above them the entablature of the Ionic order extends through. It bears a charming loggia, which is formed by five arches and three-quarter columns of the Corinthian order. The two side arches are partially concealed by the stairway turrets. The loggia has a continuous entablature, above which a balustrade with perforated panels forms a passage between the towers, behind which the facade is crowned by the steeply pointed gable of the roof of the middle aisle between two obelisks and crowned by a third.

In the entire ground story is yet expressed the character of the mature and clear early Renaissance. ⁹⁹⁵ The numerous arcivolts of the deep portals, the canopies over the niches in their jambs, the two stories of pilasters with arabesques and niches on the fronts of the scarcely projecting buttresses, the medallion busts in garlands in the spandrels of the arches, the splendid scrollwork on the frieze of the crowning cornice, all this joyful, even if already clearly arranged love of ornamentation belongs to the mature early Renaissance

of Francis I onwards. Above the ground story the details date from the high Renaissance. The question, whether this difference indicates two different masters, has already been touched on and not entirely decided. The circumstance, that before the date of 1537 was placed over the right portal, the left tower had risen to the frieze of the second (Ionic) order, rather seems to indicate one master, who consciously simplified his style. This appearance would have nothing surprising, for example in the elder Du Cerceau and the innumerable drawings and engravings, which show contemporary early Renaissance and high Renaissance compositions. The opinion prevailing in Dijon, that this facade was by Hugues Sambin, has nothing impossible,⁹⁹⁶ and the more so, since on a part above the ground story the same design was retained for 130 years.

995. See Arts. 42 and 110.

Note 996. See Art. 127. Over the side portals is 1551.-- On the left tower on the right buttress in the Ionic frieze is 1537. On the Corinthian frieze of the left buttress is 1561.-- On the right tower on the right buttress and in the Ionic frieze is 1541, and 1655 on the Corinthian over it. On the same frieze of the left buttress is 1570, on the contrary.

According to Lance the facade of S. Michel in Dijon was completed in 1537 by Hugues Sambin! On the tympanum of the main portal is placed his name.

f. Facades with one central Tower.

This arrangement of the facade appears in France especially to have been little favored for the larger churches. Yet the two following examples from the Renaissance period are to be mentioned here.

The rich facade of the Collegial Church in S. Riquier in the style of Louis XII with a square middle tower with terrace roof, whose front angles are accompanied up to about the last third by small polygonal stairway towers with pointed spires.

Not uninteresting although heavy is further, likewise in Picardy, the facade of the Church at Pont-saint-Maxence on a middle tower, at whose angles the buttress are square below but above form round angle turrets, terminated above in the form of domes, like the tower itself. The front sides of the

buttresses, that project from the small turrets are subdivided by pilasters with niches. The side aisles with their half gables adjoin the tower. ⁹⁹⁷

Note 997. Illustrated in *Modier & Taylor. Picardie. Vol. c, 1)*

b. Style of Marguerite de Valois.

We now pass to the examples from that charming brief transition phase between the early Renaissance (style of Francis I) and the high Renaissance (style of Henry II), which we have designated by the name of the sister of the king as the style of Margaret de Valois. ⁹⁹⁸

Note 998. See Arts. 132, 133.

1. Examples of the Development of Forms.

650. Church at Neuvy-Santour.

The portal of the Church of Neuvy-Santour (Fig. 157 ⁹⁹⁹) (1540, according to Palustre), shows a step of development, that is already a little clearer and simpler than on the southern transept portal of S. Eustache in Paris. In the arcade crowning it, the early Renaissance already proceeds to that step of nobler and yet fresher simplicity, which the high Renaissance directly assumes. ¹⁰⁰⁰ (See Arts. 132, 133).

Note 999. From *Calliat, V. Encyclopedie d'Architecture. I III series. Vol. 2. Pl. 38.*

Note 1000. The middle doorway of the Church at Villeneuve-St.-Georges shows a further development of this idea in the sense of the simplified high Renaissance. Above the entablature of the Doric pilasters, which enclose the round arches, there rises in good proportions to the lower part a structure of three niches accompanied by Ionic pilasters. Over the middle and higher one is a pointed gable with half gables over the sides. Consoles as in Fig. 157 connect the upper motive with the entablature. The pilasters are fluted, in the niches are shells, and in the archivolts of the portal arches are bouquets of fruits and flowers).

651. S. Martin at Epernay.

The portal of S. Martin on the Church at Epernay (Fig. 158 ¹⁰⁰⁰) exhibits this harmonious combination of the freshness of the early Renaissance with the noble purity of the high Renaissance in a still more perfect way, and it must belong to the most charming examples of this tendency. According to

Palustre it was built in 1540. The section may permit the belief, that there exists a certain relationship between this portal and the architecture of the two Renaissance chapels of the Cathedral at Toul (Figs. 185, 186), even if the latter be more boldly and dryly treated.

Note 1001. From *Moniteur des Architectes*. Year 1872. Pl. 32. Paris.

652. S. Pierre at Tonnerre.

The Church of S. Peter at Tonnerre deserves special consideration on account of the magnificent subdivision and of the charming details of the southern transept facade and of the adjoining chapels. The style of this monument represents in the French Renaissance almost an allied phase to that occupied by the Cancellaria in Rome and the Cathedral in Como in reference to the Italian.

The transept has two orders above each other. Below at the angles instead of pilasters, the very beautifully treated and fluted Corinthian columns with returned pedestals and entablature, which also separate the bays of the choir chapels. In the second story very nobly shaped flat pilasters of the same order subdivide the quiet wall surfaces.

In the ground story is a great portal, whose style treatment stands about between the two portals of Neuvy-Santour and of Epernay represented in Figs. 157 and 158. In the second story follows a round-arched window with triple tracery. On the frieze of the upper entablature beautiful consoles support the cornice as on that of Palace Cancellaria at Rome. The entablature, though without consoles, extends on the middle aisle of the nave, which consists of only two bays. Here spring from the capitals instead of pilasters the flying buttresses, whose external curve shows the form of the inverted S-consoles, with the same tense though elegant line, such as the model of the Cathedral of Pavia has. In the bay of the side aisle adjoining the transept on the west is a second smaller side portal with a window above it, accompanied by two orders, that are connected by niches. Likewise on the portal of the transept are two orders. In the highest degree surprising is the date of erection in 1562-1590 given by Palustre. The time of the design might be placed between 1540 and 1550.

Perhaps it is best to mention here the series of **chapels** with Doric order at the right on the Church at Chatillon-sur-Indre, which I knew only from illustrations.

2. Facades with three Stories.

653. Church at Vetheuil.

From the transition period of the early Renaissance to the classical phase is to be mentioned the facade of the Church in Vetheuil. It consists of the three story facade of the middle aisle between two small square towers, that project about half their width in front and sidewise. Above the three stories they are connected by narrow passages with balustrades above the cornices.

These small towers are entirely plain and have only at the angles of the two upper stories small angle columns instead of angles. The ground story occupying the same height of the facade is entirely filled by the round-arched portal with two doorways and three niches in the tympanum. A Doric entablature succeeds these, extends around the towers and has a gable in the middle part. In the second story are two twin round-arched windows, in the uppermost being three medallions. The towers are terminated by two little octagonal temples with domes, that have the height of the round gable, which crowns the middle building. The contrast between the smooth surfaces of the ashlar and the sculptured parts, and further the recession of the middle part, makes the whole a pleasantly animated elevation, without the proportions being particularly good. Since the gable roofs of the bays of the side aisles stand at right angles to the middle aisle, their facades are crowned by balustrades without inclined half gables or console buttresses, which adds to the earnestness of the composition. The nave of the Church at Vetheuil was erected in 1553 and the western portal in 1540.

3. Facades with two Stories.

A further group of church facades in smaller villages around Paris consists of the buildings, for which no towers were erected. Perhaps they are influenced by the building of the Chateau at Ecouen. They show varying and in part charming steps of the development between the early and high Renaissance, tolerably similar to those on the portals at Troyes and in its vicinity.

654. Luzarches.

In the Church in the little village of Luzarches, from the time of the still youthful high Renaissance, the middle aisle occurs with a steep gable about one-third pitch. The side aisles adjoin it with half gables, so that the former rises above the latter by about the height of the entablature of the upper order. At the angles of the middle aisle are two orders of coupled Doric and Ionic half columns.

Below the entire width is formed by a deep round arch, in whose rear wall lies the portal. In the upper story a rose window occupies the entire width, and in the plain gable is only a small plain round window. The Doric entablature also extends on the side aisles, at the angles of which are buttresses with segmental gables instead of columns, above the doors with depressed arches being a round window and a smaller one in the half gable.

655. Belloy.

In the facade of the Church at Belloy with gable on middle aisle and two half gables, the Renaissance portion is limited to the subdivision of the facade between the strongly projecting outtrusses of the middle aisle.

The ground story consists of the portal motive, a great round window over it and a gable. The round-arched doorway, with a broad coffered enclosure between two archivolts, stands under a tabernacle with gable, that is supported by fluted columns standing in the angles. The round-arched window is subdivided by four posts. Before it stands a slender finial as the middle acroteria of the gable, and beset by three little temples. Two similar ones fill the angles. As termination of the facade at the base of the gable a balcony with columnar balustrade projects above the cornice, and projects on seven rich and bold consoles, a motive that perhaps served as a model for St. Florentin. (Fig. 162).

656. Sarcelles.

The facade of the Church at Sarcelles is a unified and more mature development of that of Belloy. The general subdivision is the same, but the tabernacle over the portal lacks a gable.

In stead of the round-arched window over it is a rose window as in Luzarches, at whose sides stand fluted Corinthian columns.

columns as below, that support an entablature extending around the outtrusses and terminates them. Like the less steep half gables of the side aisles, it is enclosed by an antique cornice with dentils, instead of the scarcely noticeable mouldings, which exist in this place on the two preceding facades.

Palustre believes these churches and also a number of others ¹⁰⁰² may have originated under the influence of the Chateau at Ecouen and of Jean Bullant. The facade of the Church at Belloy ne even holds to be a work of Jean Bullant himself. In any case they have nothing to do with the later portions of Ecouen, which we alone recognize as assured works of Bullant. They tend more to the style of the second master of the chateau, who was probably Jean Goujon.

Note 1002. These are the Churches of Luzarches, L'Isle-Adam, Maffliers, Belloy, Villiers-le-Bel, Le Mesnil-Aubr, Sarcelles, Groslay and Gausseville. (See Palustre, L. Architecture de la Renaissance. p. 248.

657. Chapel of S. Romain at Rouen.

On the portal of the Church at Sarcelles, ¹⁰⁰³ the form of the form of the Corinthian capitals recalls those of J. Goujon in Rouen and the little temples, which form the finials of the facade of Belloy, and the crowning of the Chapel of S. R Romain in the same city, whose relation to J. Goujon was mentioned. This is here so much the more the place to discuss them more fully, since by their two orders they approximate to the type described here.

Note 1003. The facade of the Church of Sarcelles near Ecouen (middle of the 16 th century) has nothing which would recall Bullant, also writes A. de Montaiglon. (See Archives de l'Art Francais. Documents. Vol. 6. p. 317. Note 1).

This charming work, already represented by Fig. 54, has already been frequently mentioned. ¹⁰⁰⁴ it is over the passage from a great court to the street, built on the upper landing of a double flight of steps, and it forms properly only the tabernacle for an altar, whose lower order encloses the passage. The treatment of the orders and of the entire elevation is so refined and artistic, that we may here gladly see a direct influence, or even more, a work of Jean Goujon himself.

Note 1004. See p. 127, 135, 175.

Palustre praises the facade of the Church at Othis (Seine et Marne), from the time of Philibert De L'Orme.

4. Two story Portal Motive.

653. Examples in Troyes and Auray.

Here is perhaps the most suitable place, in connection with the group of small church facades just described, to allow another small series to follow, which shows a certain analogy to them, both in reference to the development of the style as well as in a part of the arrangement. This is a number of two story portal motives from Troyes and its vicinity.

To give the doorways a greater importance, they were often involved in a composition of two orders above each other. The window above was thereby combined with the doorway into an important general motive, that sometimes almost receives the character of a small church facade, or indeed something of that of a two story triumphal gateway. At least six beautiful portal motives of this kind are found in Troyes.

The earliest example must be that of S. Andre-les-Troyes, built in 1549 by Domenico del Barbiero (called Fiorentino); the participation of Francois Gentil ¹⁰⁰⁵ in the design must therefore be excluded. Below are two round-arched doorways beside each other at the middle, accompanied by a column at the side and two detached, over their continuous entablature being two round-arched windows with tracery. Before the upper middle column is placed a statue under a canopy; in the niches between the outer columns stand other statues. Over the entire continuous upper entablature is arranged a beautiful gable, which in a striking way has a low inclination shown by the Grecian temple, but which is rare in Italy.

Note 1005. It is Palustre (see *Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 268), who mentions this portal as the result "of the united talents" of both masters. He even names Gentil in the first rank. But it suffices to read the work by Abbe Eabeau (Dominique Florentin, *Memoire a la Sorbonne*. Paris. 1879; See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Vol. 28. 1884; p. 330) to see that Domenico was the chief master, and to recognize the important position occupied by him. If one sees, that just in the year 1549 in which this portal was commenced, Domenico associated himself with his son-in-law Gabriel le Favoreau, in order to

make the rood screen in S. Eustache at Troyes, and the year after with Jean Le Roux, called Picard, to undertake the Mausoleum of Claude de Lorraine in Joinville, then one asks, whether it was not this son-in-law, who executed with him the portal of S. Andre-les-Troyes, or whether he was actually so busy, that he must have designed with Gentil. In any case, one would not err in referring substantially the design to Domenico.

The preceding was already printed, when we received the beautiful work of Koechlin, R. and J. J. Marquet de Vasselot:-- *la Sculpture at Troyes et dans la Champagne meridionale*. Paris. 1900. We find therein a complete verification of the here emphasized position of dominance of Domenico Florentino in relation to Fr. Gentil. The authors indeed must question (p. 298), whether in spite of the existing traditions, Domenico also actually practiced architecture. For this one must go into the importance of the passages of the contract by them for the rood screen at Troyes, as given by A. Babeau (p. 299 et seq.). We see Domenico --- and his son-in-law Favoreau designated as "master masons dwelling at Troyes". Further, "one for the other and each of them --- promises to make and perfect by their trade of mason --- a rood screen of stone of Tonnerre --- and they will be held, the said masters Dominique and Favoreau, master in work, cutter and setter of the said stones, according to the form of the same portrayed"--- But that the design itself was likewise by Domenico is evident from the following passages:-- (Oct. 29, 1549) "to make two or three drawings for making the rood screen from those by master Dominique Florentino --- (Nov. 19, 1549) the drawing for making the rood screen --- that master Dominique brought into this chapter --- (Dec. 10, 1549) to see the drawing of master Dominique --- "and finally (Aug. 6, 1550) --- master Dominique, master mason has made another drawing --- which is to embellish and enrich the front of the said rood screen.

If according to the custom of the time, the word "mason" at one time designates a mason and at another an actual architect, one may be certain, that when it was employed for important artists like Jean Goujon or Domenico Florentino, it can only treat of practice as an architect. Domenico also made

the design and executed it accordingly. A second son-in-law of Domenico, Nicolas Hurant, painter, took part in another work. For Fr. Gentil, see the same work, p. 347 et seq.

This building cannot have remained entirely without influence on other main entrance doorways.

The portal of the Church at Pont-Saint-Marie near Troyes, likewise of about 1550, belongs to this tendency. It shows but one bay, below an oval arched doorway with an inner and outer enclosure of Corinthian three-quarter columns, and wide architrave with panels between the two. Above with a great round-arched window with doubled archivolts. Between Ionic pilasters, before which as on the middle pier stood three vanished statues under canopies, connecting both stories. Over the entablature as termination a kind of dormer window motive with segmental gable between consoles and foliage, whose character permits a thought of the master of the enclosures of the chapel of baptismal fonts in the Cathedral. Left of this is a second similar and somewhat earlier portal with pointed arched window by the same master.

On S. Nizier at Troyes the main portal is built as a two-story triumphal arch between the outtrusses. Below are four Ionic columns, which accompany two lower and at the centre a higher round-arched doorway. In the upper story are likewise three such arches, that serve as windows, with mullions and round arches as tracery. The entablature of the Corinthian order serves as impost of the middle arch, above which is arranged a gable, scarcely connected with it. The beautiful orders will be particularly mentioned in the next Chapter.

The side portal of S. Nizier, from the time of Henry II, is likewise very beautiful and is perhaps somewhat earlier. A round-arched doorway between two niches is enclosed by two Corinthian columns. Above their continuous entablature a rich round-arched window between two Ionic pilasters with a gable, as a second story forms a somewhat narrower motive than the lower one. The foliage of the capitals is very fine and almost superior to that in the court of the Louvre.

The side portal of S. Nicolas in Troyes is a somewhat later variant of the main portal of S. Nizier. Except that below are Doric and above a few Ionic pilasters, and niches are arranged

arranged instead of the side openings. In the upper story the entablature continues over the arch. At the middle is developed the upper half of the cornice into a gable, without any preparation therefor by returning the entablature. The forms are somewhat more classical in the colder sense of the word, perhaps from the time of the small gallery of the Louvre.

The main portal of the Church at Rosnay l'Hopital, four hours from Troyes, is also noteworthy. Yet the lower story is late Gothic.

Likewise in Brittany is found a very important severe, though later design of this kind. On the Church of S. Gilles at Auray the doorway of the side facade, by a tolerably severe accompaniment of coupled columns in two stories, crowned by a broken gable with attic, has received a skilfully stepped enclosure, whose elevation rises above the side facade almost like a transept.

c. High Renaissance.

659. Sporadic Occurrence of Elements of the High Renaissance.

When the Italian Renaissance forms gradually commenced to penetrate into France, not only the early Renaissance in Milan had reached its noblest development, but modern architecture was passing through its most perfect bloom in Rome contemporary with Bramante and Julius II. And even if in the first 35 years of the 16th century, the Renaissance forms in France were either inspired by the Milanese, or made a further development allied to the treatment of forms there, then it must not be too surprising, if occasionally in the midst of a composition conceived in Gothic, to see instead of Italian early Renaissance forms, those of the high Renaissance already appear and combine with the French, as for example on the following monument.

660. Example.

On the facade of the Church at S. Calais (Fig. 152), the pilasters beside the middle doorway by their size and simplicity already belong to the high Renaissance tendency in the midst of an early Renaissance composition.

The circular chapel of S. Sacrament in the Cathedral at Vannes has already been described,¹⁰⁰⁶ and it also affords in

the most complete manner a proof of this early appearance of sporadic works or elements of the Italian high Renaissance.

Note 1006. See Art. 50.

Perhaps here is the place to speak of another work in Brittany, no representation of which is known to me, unfortunately. In Nantes, Thomas Le Roy (& Regis) had a very interesting chapel erected from 1514 to 1524, which was torn down with the Collegiate Church, but was rebuilt in the Archaeological Museum. The same owner had built by Antonio da Sangallo the younger before 1517 the charming little Palace in Rome, known as the Farnesina of Via di Baulari, in the vicinity of the Cancellaria.¹⁰⁰⁷ The chapel is ascribed to Michel Colombe.

Note 1007. See Guilletta, L'Abbe, in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*. Rome. Year 1889. p. 401.

In three different ways must the forms of the high Renaissance have appeared in church architecture as here described.

1. By a partly direct study of the antique monuments of Rome.

2. By the study of the design and models of Bramante and his successors until 1547 for 3. Peter's Church in Rome and Italian compositions in the high Renaissance.

3. By the increasing influence of Italian forms of Bramante's style tendency on the Cancellaria in Rome, and of the forms of his last manner, upon the arrangement of the French Renaissance.

1. Tendency of the Roman School.

361. Tomb Chapel at Anet.

There must be few works of that time on which the character of the high Renaissance is more expressed and more completely executed, than the facade of the tomb chapel of Diana de Poitiers near her Chateau at Anet. (Fig. 159¹⁰⁰⁸). The impression of this architecture appears somewhat more decided than that of the Chateau chapel by Philibert De L'Orme there. The scale of the pilaster order is larger, and the treatment of the details is different. Cornices and architraves have fewer members, but are executed with great precision and graduated with much refinement. Diana died in 1566 and De L'Orme two years later. Have we altogether a work of the latter before us? Must he have worked as architect of Catherine and

after the fall of Diana still for her or her heirs? Or do we stand before a work of J. Bullant? We cannot decide all these here. 1009

Note 1008. From Du Cerceau. Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France. Vol. 2.

Note 1009. In the year 1566 was completed the masonry of the chapel. The description of the lacking woodwork of the roof and of the tomb of Diana de Poitiers is still preserved. See Archives de l'Art français. 2nd Series. Vol. 2. (1862-1866). p. 379.

The architect manifests a preference for the attic form. Above the four internal doorway motives rests a somewhat narrower attic of square form, over which is a second with a gable. For a better understanding has been added in Fig. 160¹⁰¹⁰ to the ground plan of this chapel.

Note 1010. From Du Cerceau. See Note 1008.

662. S. Nizier in Lyons.

Of special interest is the facade of S. Nizier in Lyons, which is ascribed to Philibert De L'Orme, and that was unfortunately carried further than is shown in Fig. 161.¹⁰¹¹ A portion of this has been removed and the facade completed in modern Gothic style.

Note 1011. From Chapuy. The work does not give the name of the author, but only designates:-- Ex-officier du génie maritime. Voyage pittoresque dans Lyon ancien et moderne. Pl. 3. Paris & Lyons. 1824.

Now remains only the great niche in apsidal form, in which is the middle doorway. In contrast to the small scale of the Gothic details, the remainder of the facade now appears somewhat clumsy and tasteless. The gable over the enclosing arch is no longer complete in suitable proportion to the latter. But if one returns to the original composition, the purpose becomes entirely clear.

Two points are to be particularly emphasized here:-- the great niche never occurring elsewhere as the principal motive of the facade and the immediately recognizable fact, that the master was acquainted with certain designs for the facade of S. Peter in Rome, and desired to give here a reduced recollection thereof. And he had indeed conceived a composition in

which occurred great and small orders, one with and the other without pedestals. (Fig. 18 ¹⁰¹²).

Note 1012. Further see Geymüller, H. von. Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe für St. Peter etc. Pl. 20. Fig. 7.; Pl. 42, Fig. 3; Pl. 48, Fig. 1.

The recession of that facade corresponding to the side domes has further been retained here, as well as the projection and the bold treatment of the angles. Instead of the towers at these places, he has been satisfied to approximately repeat the subdivision of one of the buttresses, ¹⁰¹³ as also at about this time Antonio da Sangallo did in a design for S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome, which we reproduce in Fig. 164. The Doric order is here employed for the exterior as in all designs for S. Peter's before Michelangelo. And as men endeavored to arrange a great arch in the middle of the facade of S. Peter's, ¹⁰¹⁴ so has the architect in Lyons constructed his strikingly great portal niche. In the previously mentioned Fig. 164 is also retained a great arch motive.

Note 1013. See the same. Pl. 20, Fig. 7; Pl. 41, Fig. 1, and Pl. 42, Fig. 1.

Note 1014. See the same. Pl. 31, Figs. 1 and 2; Pl. 35, Figs. 1 and 2; Pl. 36; Pl. 39, Fig. 4; Plates 41, 42.

The year 1542 as the probable date of this facade cannot be far from the truth. On the authorship of De L'Orme, see Art. 152. Without being exactly probable, such a possibility cannot now or absolutely be rejected.

663. Nogent-sur-Seine.

Of the purposes of the church architecture of the high Renaissance many tokens may be obtained in Nogent-sur-Seine on an addition to S. Laurent, like a chapel. It has three round arched windows treated as an arcade, with tracery between square projecting pilasters, whose entablature has a modillion frieze and is crowned by a balustrade and finial in obelisk form.

The impost is formed by the entablature above small Corinthian pilasters, and the wide archivolts are stepped and sculptured with fine ornaments. The members already exhibit the simplicity and the proportions of the classical phase, but are still freely animated.

664. Troyes.

Further on S. Jean in Troyes, where the chapel first exhibits the so-called "minaret", a Doric-like pilaster order with diamond pointed panels instead of triglyphs in the spirit of the high Renaissance, good tracery and a balustrade in which the early Renaissance appears.

2. Beginnings of the Type of the Roman Basilica Facade.

One might readily be inclined to believe, that the type here mentioned first occurred in France in the 17th century. It is therefore worth while to show, that already a century earlier it sometimes floated in the minds of architects, and they began to employ its elements as orders of pilasters or of half columns.

665. Ground Story of the Facade at Mesnil-Aubry.

A perhaps still earlier attempt, a pilaster facade in the high Renaissance style, is shown by the Church of Le Mesnil-Aubry.¹⁰¹⁵ It is three-aisled. The tower stands before the left side aisle; the right is connected above the ground story by a slightly convex half gable wall with the entablature of the second of the three orders, that stand before the middle aisle. Judging from photographs, the Doric order of the ground story alone appears to date from the time of the high Renaissance. Four fluted pilasters subdivide the ground story corresponding to the middle aisle into two narrow side bays with niches and a broad middle one, in whose lower half lies the round-arched portal, above which extends the impost cap of the niches. In the upper is arranged a round window for the entire width.

Note 1015. According to Magny, L. (*Les Vitraux de Montmorency et d'Ecouen*, p. 64, Paris, 1888), the Church was rebuilt anew in 1582 as the northern side aisle. The ground story of the middle aisle seems to me to be certainly older.

On the right side aisle, at the outer angle is a buttress formed as a Doric pilaster; instead of the doorway is arranged a tabernacle motive with pointed gable, over it being a round window with *aquatrefeuille*. On the middle building the Doric entablature with triglyphs and metopes extends without returns. The form of the capitals has something bizarre, which we shall see on the middle doorway in the rear wing of t

the Chateau court at Ecouen, and have already recognized on the altar of the same chateau by Jean Goujon as an influence of Michelangelo. (Art. 140). A row of leaves decorates the necking of the columns, on the echinus are drops instead of the beaded astragal, and the very high abacus has a middle rosette and other leaf motives at the sides. Here appears to exist rather the influence of Jean Goujon than that of J. Bullant.

666. Designs for the facade of the Church of the Sorbonne.

The two designs for the rebuilding of the former Church of the Sorbonne exhibited in the year 1553, but not executed, that Albert Lenoir thought to be the works of an Italian, exhibit three stories below a steep gable with Doric, Ionic and corinthian half columns with returned entablature and side pilasters, which subdivide the facade into three bays. In one design a fourth bay adjoins the tower on the left, which terminates the third story as a round domed structure. In the second design the Ionic order is replaced by caryatids and the Corinthian by vertical band-like panels.

The ground plan of the second design shows a tendency allied to the tomb-chapel of Diana de Poitiers at Anet (Fig. 160) and to the last ground plan of Serlio at the close of his fifth Book on the Temple. The influence of the niches, as Bramante employed them in the design for St. Peter's, is still recognizable.

3. Church Facades with these Orders.

667. Transept at St.-Florentin.

In the Church at St.-Florentin, of which only the choir and transepts were built, the north facade of the latter presents an interesting example of treatment with three orders. As Fig. 162 ¹⁰¹⁶ shows, these are pilasters here, and the facade is flanked by two small polygonal towers instead of buttresses. The subdivision of three stories and the steep gable is sufficiently clear from the Fig. The peculiarity of this facade consists in this, that one might place its composition in the time from 1535 to 1550, while according to an inscription it was begun in 1611; at least we saw on the portal the words:-
"Begun May 3, 1611 and June 1613". ¹⁰¹⁷

Note 1016. From Berty, A. La Renaissance monumentale. Vol.1.

Note 1017. On a capital of the southwest pier of the crossing is the date of 1616. The western enclosure of the chapel in the right transept is of 1629, while the northern side of the same chapel is of 1539. In the northeast chapel of the transverse aisle is an altar in the forms of the early Renaissance style of Francis I, but with the date of 1625.

This sort of return to the forms of the early Renaissance, at the beginning of the 17th century, has already been mentioned.¹⁰¹⁸ Since in the interior of the church certain parts were constructed in 1536 and 1539, it would be conceivable, that the design of the facade was then decided on, and that from some feeling of regard for its author, it may have been retained. A different explanation might be more correct. The facade was merely treated by bosses in the rough, was built, and perhaps certain ornaments of the ground story were carved perhaps in 1570-1580, while the final completion was only begun in 1611.

Note 1018. See Art. 226.

Similar things occurred on many buildings of that time, even on the Louvre in Paris.

The following variations are found:--

The lowest entablature with modillions in the frieze is very good, especially the profile of the latter and the leaves, that cover them. The Corinthian capitals are somewhat lean out good, and they seem to me more animated than in the court of the Louvre. Charming are the tablets for inscriptions between the capitals. On the piers of the portals, the ornaments are conceived as in the time from 1540-1550, but are rude, partly executed in the character of those of 1611; ¹⁰¹⁹ also those of the frieze. On the contrary, much better are the mask heads and rosettes in the archivolts, and the low reliefs of angels in the arch spandrels.

Note 1019. They are better on the south portal.

On the other hand, in the second order the details are as if by a French Buontalenti of the time of Louis XIII, and everything becomes still heavier in the fourth story.

668. S. Pierre at Auxerre.

Special mention is deserved by the facade of S. Pierre at Auxerre,¹⁰²⁰ that has three orders (one Ionic and two Corin-

Corinthian) before the middle aisle, while before the side aisles above the ground story two steep half gables are enclosed only by a small inclined cornice extending to the cornice of the second order of the middle building. These half gables are entirely plain; only a round window with square enclosure, segmental gable and side consoles project therefrom as a termination of the same bays in which are the doorways of the side aisles. Above these half gables in their planes and outer halves rise buttresses to half the height of the upper order, ending with segmental gables, and ornamented by niches and a frieze with garlands. Thence rises a flying buttress crowned by a small arch, to the middle height of the third order.

Note 1020. See Art. 226.

By the subdivision of the middle aisle with its two side bays and the middle bay of about twice the width, the same belongs to the group of these portal-like compositions, that may be found in Figs. 315 to 317. Excepting that as in Ecouen and Anet, the pairs of columns in the side bays are connected by a continuous entablature, but in Auxerre each column has its broken entablature. Thereby are produced four continuous buttresses, each composed of three three-quarter columns above each other, whose elevation is richly animated by the projections of pedestals, capitals and entablatures. A rich perforated and straight continuous balustrade terminates the third story, above this a gable-like structure crowns the facade and conceals the roof. It consists of a round window in an attic with pointed gable with the width of the lower middle bay, and rich side consoles, vases etc. at the sides above the narrow bays.

The orders are fluted and so severely treated, that one might almost place them in the time from 1550 instead of 1623. In the side bays may be seen three niches with ogee gables, segmental and pointed gables. In the middle bay below is the round-arched doorway, in the second story a pointed-arched window with triple tracery, and in the third story a round-arched window with similar tracery.

The angels, seated in the arch spandrels, on the contrary, show from story to story the Louis XIII character expressively,

so that the date of 1623 may denote the beginning, and that of 1653 the completion of the building. The Ionic pilasters of the side aisles belong to a somewhat higher order than that of the middle aisle, and like the side doorways, window niches and garlands, have the character of the time of Philibert De l'Orme.

This facade presents an entirely special charm. The happy relief and the proud continuous elevation of the three columnar orders imparts to the composition the distinguished ornamentation of the high Renaissance, on the one hand animated by semi-Gothic reminiscences on suitable even if subordinate places, on the other being principally terminated by the bold relief and the crowning vases of the well treated and graduated gable structure.

4. Other Church Facades.

Here must be mentioned the beautiful and well treated portico on the right northern side facade of the Church at Livilliers, which projects like a small chapel. Two columns before pilasters with Doric entablature and leaf capitals, in the style of those of the Tower of Winds at Athens, enclose the recessed round-arched portal between two niches with segmental gables. On the side facades stand each two buttresses treated as pilasters with broken entablature, to receive the thrust of the coffered tunnel vault, which projects at both sides above a row of consoles. The building appears to be from the time of Jean Goujon's altar of the chapel of the Chateau at Ecouen or of the portals of Anet. (Figs. 187, 108).

669. S. Clotilde at Andelys.

On the transept facade of the Church of S. Clotilde in Grand-Andelys (Fig. 163 ¹⁰²¹) in the style of the high Renaissance, the composition remains that of the French churches after the 12th and 13th centuries. In the ground story two round-arched doorways are beneath a common great round arch, in the upper story follows an arcade, which repeats the triforium externally, connected with the great rose window above and fills a round arch, that corresponds to the entire width of the transverse aisle. The buttresses at both sides were replaced by coupled columns, that enclose niches. The ground story is at the same time one of the richest examples of the

nigh Renaissance. The upper half therefore only appears more quiet and simple, since it was not entirely completed, as the bosses intended for the carving the ornament are still left plain here.

Note 1021. From Rouyer, Et A. Darcel. Vol. 1. Pl. 28.

This facade is such a rare specimen in French architecture, that something must be said of the architect, whose name is unfortunately unknown. In any case he was one of the most important masters, worthy to be placed on the same plane with the five great French masters of the high Renaissance. Like Goujon, he had studied the best masterpieces of Italy, and to judge of the innate art, such as the six caryatids inserted in the architecture and the capitals connected with them, here appears to stand the work of a master, who was both architect and sculptor.

As on the altar of Goujon at Chantilly, Fig. 187, the proper architecture is very severe, while in the decorative parts, such as the cartouche work, the freest fancy of the bizarre tendency appears. The four female caryatids on S. Clotilde at Andelys, which support the round arches of the doorways, and the two male figures, that bear the common arch over the latter, combine something of the correct and dignified pose of the good French statues with the reanimated antique nobility, such as repeated in the painted caryatids of Raphael in the hall of Heliodorus in the Vatican and in those of Jean Goujon. It is interesting, as in the sculptures of Goujon on the doors of S. Maclou in Roan, to meet on this church in N Normandy with something of the influences from the painted figures of Raphael.

Two of the female caryatids are so fine, that one will be tempted to think of Jean Goujon. The profiles and the proportions are better than in the court of the Louvre. In the ground story the lower half is finer than the upper, according to which the architect no longer supervised the execution himself. Even the niches have coffers, whose refinement recalls those of Villa Madama near Rome. Internally the treatment of some capitals recalls those of Sansovino.

Darcel speaks in reference to this Church ¹⁰²² of the important works of the school of Normandy, that one finds in the region of Vexin Normand, and he names among them the western

portal of the already described Church of Vetheuil (Seine and Oise) of 1533-1550, and the facade of the Church of Gisors. On our part we have proved, that Jean Goujon introduced the high Renaissance into Rouen., (Art. 139), and was the earliest French master in this style in France.

Note 1022. See Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 1. p. 33).

We do not venture to ascribe this church with certainty to him. Yet from it all results, that we here find ourselves in an atmosphere of Goujon. Les Andelys lies not far from Rouen, where he worked for a long time, and not far from Gisors, where occasional reflections of his art are visible. If documents are found later, that attribute to him the project for this building, we shall not be astonished thereby.

The dates of 1540 and 1560, that are found on the painted glass windows of this Church must tolerably correspond to the time in which the architecture of this church originated, and must have been executed, at least their lower halves. ¹⁰²³. This would entirely correspond to all, that we know concerning Jean Goujon.

Note 1023. Darcel (p. 34) refers to the band around the columns of the upper story as an indication, that this part must possibly have originated after the beginning of the Tuileries in 1564. But the entire character of this upper part is decidedly somewhat later than that of the lower half.

670. Church at Gisors.

The very important facade of the Church of Ss. Gervais and Protais at Gisors exhibits both an interesting and beautiful example of nearly all phases of the development of the Renaissance from the introduction into late Gothic to the overrich high Renaissance. The left tower was still begun in late Gothic in the width of the chapels and external side aisle. Corresponding to it on the right side was the right tower, ¹⁰²⁴ commenced at the time of the richest high Renaissance in 1553, and built 2 1/2 stories high. The space between the two towers is subdivided by bold buttresses into three intervals, the wider middle one corresponding to the middle aisle and the others to the two inner side aisles.

Note 1024. See in the following on the orders on this church the description of the same.

At about half the height of the facade, these three parts are spanned by round arches, whereby are produced high niche-like recesses, in which are recessed the portals of the aisles. Over the middle round arch is turned a segmental arch flush with the front of the buttresses, that forms a tympanum in front and supports a terrace. On the latter projects a kind of loggia like a triumphal arch, as if for the dispensing of the blessing, freely between the buttresses. At this height and above the right side bay is constructed merely an arch, in order to conceal the recessed roof of the side aisle. On the contrary, over the left bay is built a plain wall, which at the height of the belt of the bell story of the adjacent tower is terminated by three niches with figures, pilasters and medallions beneath a gable.

All these members are sculptured with rich ornaments, in part excellent and frequently sharing the influence of Jean Goujon. Occasionally are they superior to those of Descot in the court of the Louvre. Pilaster panels, friezes, panels, tympanums, archivolts, coffers, consoles etc., exhibit throughout the rich imagination and art love of the leading architect.

The previously mentioned analogies with the style of Jean Goujon struck me so forcibly in my two visits to Gisors in 1884 and 1895, that each time I noted the parts where I noticed them. My notes of 11 years apart almost entirely agreed thereon, and I mention the following places:--

Externally:-- on the middle pier of the main doorway, the small figures in the niches below the earlier statue of the Madonna are in the style of Jean Goujon.

The scrollwork on the lintel of the doorway is similar to the school of J. Bullant.

The figures in the arch spandrels of the niches over the doorway are in the Goujon style.

The griffins in the frieze of the tabernacle correspond to the griffin frieze on the tomb of Breze in Rouen.

The pose of the dreaming Jacoo recalls that of the Nympha of the Seine by Goujon and of his Diana at the fountain of Anet, also in the characteristic position of the feet.

The outlines of the winged figure in the round-arched trian-

triangle at the left recalls the outlines of Goujon's Caryatids in the Louvre, also in the clothing and in the figure is something of his style.

Perhaps there is one more figure on the right in the lunette a distant recollection of the figure of a prophet by Goujon in Ecouen.

Internally:-- On the pier of the tower forming the corner in the church, the external Corinthian order is here employed as a fluted pilaster in the grouping of the Rhythmic bay. The foliage of this capital is very fine, as in the court of the Louvre or on the capitals of J. Goujon in S. Maclou at Rouen. On the crowning of the niche of this pier occur palms in the style of Bullant and of Goujon. On the cornice of this order is a doubled geison in the style of Goujon in the chapel of S. Romain in Rouen.

On the base of a pier inside, the crowning of two mouldings of unequal height is according to the same principle as below a cornice on the same chapel of S. Romain.

The arches of the organ balcony (after 1569) likewise recall the latter chapel.

A mask head beneath the vault of the new tower (after 1558), whose expression recalls the Caryatids of Goujon.

The forms of the legs of the figures on the same rood screen strongly recall those of Jean Goujon, and likewise certain portions of the costume recall the Empire style, as this already is frequently the case for Goujon in the waists. The frieze recalls that of Goujon on the tomb of Breze at Rouen.

The two angels over the pointed arch, that leads from the low choir into the Maria chapel, likewise belong to this tendency.

On the other hand, the researches of Leon de Laorde in the archives of the church here produced a series of dates, from which it results, that this alliance in style with Goujon cannot be referred to models or designs by that master, that were only executed by the Grappin family. For example, the stone for the rood screen was only obtained in 1569, thus about 7 years after Goujon had left France. Therefore Jean Grappin, to whom the parts belong, where these analogies occur, must have been a direct pupil or a zealous admirer of Goujon.

The results of the researches of Jean de Laborde are as follows:--

Robert Jemel succeeded his brother-in-law Pierre Gosse and had charge of the building until 1520.

Robert Grappin (also Grapin) already worked in 1521 as sculptor on the facade. In 1523 and the following years in reference to works supervised or executed by him, he is termed "master mason of said church". In 1547 he repaired the injuries to the nave by a storm.

Jean Grappin, Robert's son, worked from 1539 to 1580 for this church, indeed:--

1539, for the great portal a Madonna, S. Michael and other figures.

1542, other figures for the vaulting of the portal. We find further the following statements.

1559, completion of the nave and corner stone of the great tower.

1569, selection of stone from Vernon for the rood screen.

1572-1573, was built the chapel of Nicolas de Gomachere.

1575-1575, the stone font and the stairway to the tower were constructed.

1580, Boquet was appointed his successor. 1025

Note 1025. See Lance, A. From de Laborde, C. & Leon. documents inédits tirés des archives de S. Servais et S. Protais de Gisors -- in Annales Archæologiques. Vol. 9.

1552-1553, Pierre de Montherault is also found employed on the building of the church of Gisors. In 1555 he is designated as "master conductor of the work of the church". 1026.

Note 1026. Lance, A. Dictionnaire. Vol. 2. p. 149.

According to these statements, what was said in Art. 173 in relation to the Grapin family is justified and to be extended, since the statements of Leon de Laborde, with which I was not then acquainted, deserve entire credence.

371. Analogies in Spain and Italy.

One here stands before a somewhat allied stage of development of the style, of imagination and of treatment of details, to what he sees in the beautiful "chief sacristy" of the Cathedral of Seville, before an influence of the further development of the school of Bramante in Milan and Como. Likewise

with the "Hospital de Santa Cruz" in Toledo, where the influence of the Plinius Monument and of the Porta della Rana of the Cathedral of Como is palpable.

In the proportion of the recessed motives or of the deep and narrow recesses with soft modelled beaded astragals etc., one might think of the treatment of certain enclosures or details in the court of the Palace Marino in Milan. A part of this system is based on forms, that may be seen on the echinus of the pier capitals of the court of the Cancellaria, and which once existed on the antique monument near S. Adriano in Rome.

672. Other Examples.

So far as it is possible to judge from the representations and descriptions, the facade of the Cathedral at Auch should be regarded as at least a composition of the high Renaissance, even if the tower be ascribed to Gervais Drouet, "master architect of the city of Toulouse and sculptor of the king", who must have completed it in 1672, and have begun the construction of the rood screen in 1661. For on the other hand, the inscription of 1560 on the base appears to give the name of the architect designer of the facade.

The facade of the Cathedral of Auch ¹⁰²⁷ has two rectangular towers with three stories in each. Only in the ground story, that forms an open vestibule of three arches, are they connected in their front plane. In the second story the middle aisle with the rose window recedes by about half the depth of the tower. Only in the fourth story do they rise entirely free. By these variations is produced an imposing effect. Even if with later idea of composition with the half columns, rhythmic bays, arches and niches, belongs to the spirit of the high Renaissance.

Note 1027. It is believed that the plans for the new church, begun in 1489, were by Mathias Raguanault, architect from Touraine.

Lance ¹⁰²⁸ gives a series of statements relating to the successive masters, which follow here:-- Meric Boldoyte, from 1536 to 1547, designated as "master of the work". (Indeed the father of Pierre Boldere). -- Between 1530 and 1567, Jean de Beaujeu worked on the Cathedral, and in 1547 became architect, successor to Boldoytre.

Note 1028. See his *Dictionnaire des Architectes Français* under the names of the different architects.

According to the inscription on the oase; "Jo. d. Beaujeu, architect, made in 1560 A.D."; one is right in assuming him to have been the designer of the facade.

Pierre Boldere or Boldotre, master mason and architect, was successor to Pierre (?) de Beaujeu. He was in office in the year 1537. Jacques Belange died in 1598. He is believed to have been successor to Boldere. Souffron (Souffroni) built in 1599-1609 the new apse and altars. In 1629 Jean Cailhon went from Paris to Auch to take over the control of the works.

Further to be mentioned are:-- the former Chapel of the Goldsmiths in Paris, begun in 1551 and completed in 1556, ascribed to Philibert De L'Orme, that must have been erected by F Francois de la Flanone and Jean Marchand. 1029

Note 1029. Lance, A. Vol. 1. p. 4, 114.

According to Palustre, the purity of the lines of the choir of Notre Dame in La Ferte-Milan (Aisne) is worthy of Philibert De L'Orme, to whom he attributes it. In Dieppe the existing Protestant Church must date from the time of Henry II or Henry III. The right transept of S. Pierre at Dreux must be from about the date of 1570. Finally the facade of the Church at Granville as well as that of the Barefoot Friars in Franche-Comte, appear to present interesting arrangements.

5. Churches of Brittany.

Some monuments of Brittany may be mentioned here, which form a tolerably independent and individual national group.

673. Pilgrimage Churches.

As Palustre correctly remarks, the custom of pilgrimages in Brittany has developed many peculiarities. One often finds a rectangular termination of the choir, few side chapels, three aisles of about equal widths and heights, separated by slender columns, with rich wooden vaults beneath one roof. At the west end is frequently a slender tower. On the south side and usually projecting are a rich portal and a monumental sacristy. In the adjoining churchyard is found a tomb chapel, one or more ossuaries -- sometimes termed "reliquaries" and shaped after the model of reliquary shrines -- further a Mt. Calvary and a great fountain. To this rich group of buildings

one generally enters through a gateway like a triumphal arch, as in Saint-Tregonnec and Sizun.

Not unskilfully composed and attractive is the facade of the Church of Guimilian near Malaix.

Here prevails only as the sole motive an antique gable on fluted three-quarter Corinthian columns, which enclose the richly stepped round-arched portal with great keystone-console. Above this low gable follows an entablature and without disturbance, the steeper roof gable, in whose tympanum stands a tabernacle with segmental gable and statue. At both sides of the facade are strong diagonally set buttresses, treated more in the spirit of the finials in Como and on the Certosa of Pavia, than as elsewhere usual in France. Open tabernacles with dome and lantern crown them, while a third and bolder one, with doubled lantern, terminates the gable and bestows a pleasing unity on the whole.

Attractive in appearance is the side facade of the chapel in the churchyard near the Church of Tregonnec, with two stories of classic severity. Below stout columns before the piers of the windows, whose series forms an arcade. Above are niches with shells instead of windows. At the middle and skilfully connected through both stories is the portal. At the ends the members extend around the bold diagonal buttresses, and then are skilfully terminated by suitable tabernacles. The whole exhibits a peculiar combination of classic repose and richness with a somewhat wild and dry fancy.

Further to be mentioned is the Chapel in La Roche ¹⁰³⁰ with a square and half projecting middle tower, with two low stories above the balustrade, having a cornice-like effect, and a slender pyramid accompanied by gables and finials, the whole with happy outlines.

Note 1030. These three places named L. Roche in Brittany. Representation in Nodder & Taylor. Vol. Bretagne. II. 1.

674. Character of the Style.

Partly compelled by the use of granite was the necessary simplification of the forms, partly as a result of national peculiarities of Brittany, certain members are conceived in the style of Francis I, but have an appearance recalling Hindoo architecture, for example, certain buttress like finials

attached to the wall of the Church in Tregonnec, as well as a holy water stoup externally on the ossuary, the finials and gables of the latter. At other places one might believe that he had a Roman monument of the last period of decadence before him.

875. Calvaries.

With the peculiarities of church architecture here are also the calvaries, that stand in the churchyards near the church. The severe simplicity of the only boldly outlined substructure is only contrasted with the richness of the figures, that in high relief or free in one or two rows above each other, surround the foot of the cross, and alone make their group bearable. The cross is sometimes formed as the trunk of a tree or a column with branches chopped off, not crudely realistic, but as Bramante did in Milan. From the trunk grew skilfully outlined consoles at one or two heights to receive the figures, which stand nearest the crucifix. In Tregonnec the crosses of the robbers each have their separate plain and somewhat lower column.

The Mt. Calvary of Guimiliau is octagonal, accompanied by four piers connected by arches with the nucleus.

Palustre gives for the more important of these structures the following dates, that we are not in position to check; -- Sizun, 1538; Pencran, 1594; La Martyre, 1629; Ploudry, 1635; La Roche Maurice, 1640; Guimiliau, 1648; Lampoul, 1667; the most beautiful one at Tregonnec, described by us, he appears to place in the time of Henry III.

i. Age of Henry IV, transition phase and beginning of the new period. (1595-1624).

Of the age of Henry IV, as we have designated it,¹⁰³¹ it is the transition phase of 1595 to 1625, that is here considered. During this we see the Gothic mode of treatment pass through its last forms and disappear, and the new period appears complete.

Note 1031. See Art. 211.

1. Character of the new Period.

676. Introductory.

At the entrance of the second period of the Renaissance, there rises before us the facade of S. Gervais in Paris. Al-

Already in the year of its completion none other in France or Italy was held to be comparable to it. The entire 17 th century showed this admiration, and in the following one even Voltaire was full of the same inspiration.

On the facade of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris, the official France of the Renaissance took leave of the Gothic. It was the last attempt made to employ both scales of composition beside each other without a common fusion. Men saw that the ideal of old Rome could not be united with the Gallic-German individualization of each separate member.

The reply to the problem there studied was the facade of S. Gervais. Here Salomon de Brosse gave the programme of the style tendency of the new century, clarity, unity, magnitude.

After the attainments of the 16 th century, French genius and French reason experienced the need of bringing clearness into the newly inherited treasures, to recognize their innate value, and to employ them methodically in accordance with their innate laws. This was a great part of the programme of the 17 th century and of the second period of the Renaissance.

Whoever follows attentively our description of the facade of S. Gervais will recognize, that we have not erred in our decision as to the position of Salomon de Brosse, and that he first with architecture built the road, that in other spheres Corneille, Poussin and the great Frenchmen of the "Grand Age" should follow.¹⁰³² And that Salomon de Brosse was the creator of the "grand style" will be proved by the immediate and century long admiration of his countrymen. The inspiration aroused by this facade equals that, which the "Gid" of Corneille at once awakened. The Huguenot architect first combined on the facade of a Catholic church that clearness and grandeur, that "French reason" required.

Note 1032. See Art. 407.

During the second period of the architecture of the Renaissance in France (about 1610-1745), we meet with the following types in chronological sequence.

1. Facades with one order. (Rare).
2. Facades with three orders.
3. Facades with two orders.
4. Facades with towers.

2. Forms of the Transition.

a. Increase of the Scale of the Orders.

677. Character of this Tendency.

The movement in favor of employing a colossal order of columns at about the end of the 16th century and to the time of Henry IV, that has already been mentioned, ¹⁰³³ appears to have rarely occurred in that form in church architecture. I am able to mention only the beautiful side portal of 1531 on S. Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris and the interior of the former "Temple" (Huguenot Church) at Charenton, on which occurred a colossal order, even if not in the first case at a very great scale.

Note 1033. See Chapter II.

Something of this tendency nevertheless existed and expressed itself in two forms. Men endeavored to give a great relief to the orders and as large a scale as possible, ¹⁰³⁴ and to combine them with the simple angular antique gable, as we see on the portal just mentioned, and meet with on the facade of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris. On S. Gervais we shall see the use of this relief and scale carried out on the entire facade. Already with De L'Orme we once find the pure antique gable (Fig. 195), and on the grand gallery of the Louvre (Fig. 114) he then employed it over each bay.

Note 1034. See Arts. 403 to 409.

678. S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris.

The first example of this tendency is found on the lower part of the facade of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris, which was erected in 1609 to 1617. The corner stone of the main portal was set in 1610 by the first wife of Henry IV, Marguerite de Valois.

The chief motive of this facade is produced by the half columns and the severe gable of the ground story, that gives something of the earnest impression of an antique temple facade, and exhibits the monumental scale, that prevails in the works of Salomon de Brosse of that time, combined with the influence of the better development of the time of Philibert De L'Orme.

Further the middle aisle is much more richly treated than the side parts. The former is subdivided into three stories;

the lower one with an antique gable above four Composite half columns; the middle one with a broken segmental gable over a wheel window between two niches enclosed by vertical bands, the upper one as a steep Gothic tympanum, before which is an attic motive, accompanied at the sides and above by consoles, and enclosing a round window.

The side parts have two stories with very simple plain walls, in which are set the doors and windows with their enclosures. The upper termination is treated with numerous stepplings of the attics and pedestals by three variously shaped consoles, small gables, vases, candelabras and obelisks connected, and it permits similarly as in Notre Dame at Havre and in Auxerre the connection with the middle aisle. There prevails in this facade no proper connection between the middle aisle with its order and its large motives, and the plain side parts with their small stepplings. Like two different scales and styles, they stand beside each other, as if the subdivision of the middle portion were inserted in an older facade. It is as if the antique were laid aside to employ a composition in Gothic proportions, and it had been decided on this building to take leave of the latter. The beautiful treatment of the details of the Composite order will be mentioned in the Section on the latter. For a better understanding of the composition found here, we further refer to the facades of S. Pierre at Auxerre (Art. 668) and Notre Dame at Havre. (Art 685).

b. Further Development of the Roman Basilican Facade.

679. Increasing Influence of Italy.

With the departures from Gothic, that architecture took on the facade of S. Etienne-du-Mont, the treatment of French church facades decidedly entered the way, that Italy had prepared during a century, a thorough subdivision taken from the antique columnar orders.

To this conclusion did men pass entirely aside from the Council of Trent and the Jesuits. The development of the culture of the Renaissance had alone led to this. On the other hand it may be assumed, that the triumph of the Jesuits and the beginning of their Church of Il Gesu in Rome had contributed thereto, arousing a certain preference for the form there chosen.

We shall have to follow this movement chiefly in three different types. 1. The facades with three stories and orders-- 2 those with two -- 3. finally, the facades with towers, as already stated or indicated in Art. 676.

Something may be said here on the origin of these forms in Italy, on the one side to make more intelligible the connection of French facades with the same, on the other in order to cause to appear more clearly the original tendency confirmed by them.

630. Development of this Type in Italy.

With the almost entire lack of executed church facades of the high Renaissance in Italy and especially in Tuscany, it is necessary to show this connection and then to recollect, that though no occasion existed for building, the development of the style took its logical course in the ideas of architects. The proof of this exists in the unexecuted designs. Thus in spite of the lack of construction, the circle of ideas then prevailing, and the tendency of the taste of the leading Italian masters was not unknown to foreign architects staying in Italy, and it was esteemed by them as the "great novelty" of the time.

For a better understanding we have reproduced in Fig. 154 1035 an Italian composition, that will aid in showing with especial clearness the course of the development of this tendency of facades. It is the design of the younger Sangallo for the Church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentino in Rome, that certainly did not pass into execution. If this composition be compared with other designs of the same master for S. Peter in Rome, it is plainly seen, how the development of this type already occurred on S. Peter about 1520. 1036

Note 1035. From the original drawing of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger already published in our "Ursprüngliche Entwürfe für St. Peter in Rom". Pl. 42. Fig. 2.

Note 1036. See the same. Pl. 41, Fig. 1, and Pl. 42, Figs. 1, 2.

It is only necessary to omit the towers on a facade of S. Peter, as we have given that originating form, that follows, or the school of Raphael in Plate 42, Fig. 1, when the subdivision and the elevation of this type is there complete.

To comprise everything may be said:-- it is the more or less happy transfer of the bolder forms of subdivision by means of the rhythmic bay, the half columns, pilasters and niches, that Bramante developed in designs for S. Peter, to the general motive, which L. B. Alberti exhibited on the facade of S. Maria Novella in Florence. This Church and the competition designs of Giuliano da Sangallo and of Michelangelo in 1516 for the facade of S. Lorenzo in Florence ¹⁰³⁷ are the first echo of the powerful impression, that the treatment by Bramante in his design and models for S. Peter produced in Italy.

Note 1037. We have illustrated them all in the monographs on both masters in "Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana".

The treatment of the ground story by means of a continuous entablature and a gable in the middle part, with round arches about the door below, recessed side parts and projecting angles, are found to actually exist on the Church of S. Maria in piazza Trajana in Rome, already begun in 1596 by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, which we have likewise published in Pl. 42, Fig. 5, with the originally intended form of the dome.

On the famous model, that Antonio da Sangallo had completed in the year of his death in 1547 for S. Peter, and which is still preserved there, the middle portion shows the same elements of his design for S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, except being transferred to the requirements of S. Peter's. If in Fig. 164 an arch be conceived over the Corinthian order, like that over the lower one, with a gable above it, then would be obtained the upper middle part with the loggia for the blessing. The side portions, instead of having half gables on consoles, likewise received entire gables above the entablature, below them being round arches as in the ground story, lower side arcades forming the loggia for the blessing.

The circumstance, that Michelangelo immediately after the death of Sangallo omitted the so necessary ambulatories for S. Peter, and adopted a colossal order for the exterior, has caused much to be forgotten. Among others the connection of the facade of the Church Gesu with the studies for S. Peter. Giacomo della Porta's facade for S. Caterina dei Farnari at Rome (1549-1564 ?) establishes on the other hand the connection with Vignola's facade for the Church Gesu (made between

1565 and 1572) and completes the modification thereof executed By G. della Porta himself.

With the great influence, that Palladio must have exerted in that country, we remember that although he always adopted a colossal order for the middle aisle on his church facades, yet on those of his two projects for the facade of S. Petronio at Bologna, in which he restored all the existing parts, he follows exactly the same tendency.¹⁰³⁸ Over the two step-pings corresponding to the chapels and the side aisles are a assumed half gables. Nowhere with Palladio occurs the imitation of great buttress consoles for them.

Note 1038. Among the projects preserved in the sacristy of S. Petronio, this bears the number 18.

The influence of the great northern Italian or of his works on Salomon de Brosse has already been mentioned.¹⁰³⁹ We here recall pellegrini's very important and beautiful Church of S. Fedele in Milan (1569-1570), the side facade of S. Paolo in the same city, which must be connected with Galeazzo Alessi, and especially his facade of Crespì. Even if the latter be somewhat later than that of S. Gervais in Paris, it is always interesting to observe, that also there by means of broken entablatures were produced slender vertical lines of two columns above each other, and a very clear, bold and effective subdivision of the facade was attained.

Note 1039. See Arte. 278, 399.

In the following and with reference to Fig. 170 will be mentioned the principal examples of the further development of this tendency.

3. Salomon de Brosse and his School.

681. Church of Capuchins at Goulommier.

Before the chief works of Salomon de Brosse in this field, we must speak of a somewhat earlier church facade of this master, the chateau chapel or Capuchin Church at Coulommiers-en-Brie. So far as one may judge from the illustration (Fig. 1 165), there also particularly appears here a chief characteristic of Salomon de Brosse; clarity in composition and of motive.

The already frequently mentioned idea¹⁰⁴⁰ of a motive occupying the entire height of the facade, which on the one hand

expresses something inviting to the person entering, and on the other hand allows the form of the interior to appear externally, also again appears here. It is perhaps nowhere more clearly expressed than on the facade of this Capuchin Church, as evident in Fig. 185.¹⁰⁴¹ Here it is a great niche, that forms the motive.

Note 1040. See Art. 642.

Note 1041. From an engraving of Israel Silvestre in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris.

The church with the monastery was located east of the Château¹⁰⁴² and was likewise erected by Catherine de Gonzaga, and since she laid the corner stone on April 19, 1617, it may be assumed, that the design for the same was likewise by Salomon de Brosse,¹⁰⁴³ as for the chateau, and so much the more, that the ~~Chateau~~ was already consecrated on July 18, 1625, even if not entirely completed; the monastery was only finished in 1630. It still remains but serves for agricultural purposes.

Note 1042. By the engraving of Silvestre the position of the Church is reversed, as it lies on the left instead of on the right. Courteous communication from Minister Landry in Paris.

Note 1043. See Arts. 393, 413.

The court was paved in 1623. From the accounts of this year it may be seen, that here also Charles Du Ry and his son Matthieu were in charge of the work.

From Dauvergne's description¹⁰⁴⁴ it is not clearly visible whether the execution corresponds to Silvestre's engraving. There was nothing remarkable in the interior, except the rich decoration of the grotto, that was constructed beneath the high altar, was intended for the burial place of Catherine, and is in the character of the tasteless Italian style of the Capuchins. -- The Church has but one aisle (108.3 ft. long and 52.5 ft. high) and is covered by a sham vault of laths and plaster.

Note 1044. Dauvergne, A. Notice sur le Château Neuf et l'Eglise des Capucins de Coulommiers in De Caumont's Bulletin Monumental. p. 23, 24. Caen. 1853.

682. Facade of S. Gervais in Paris.

We come now to the long famous facade of St. Gervais (Fig. 166 ¹⁰⁴⁵) in Paris, that Salomon de Brosse erected as the termination of this late Gothic church, and that has already been frequently mentioned. ¹⁰⁴⁶

Note 1045. From Blondel, J. *Architecture Francaise*. Pl. 2 233. Vol. 2.

Note 1046. See Arts. 401 to 418, also p. 486, 487.

The corner stone of the facade was laid by Louis XIII on J July 14, 1616; it was completed in 1621. ¹⁰⁴⁷ It may be seen from the manuscript quoted below, that already in the year of its composition, it was "held to be" the most perfect and most complete among both ancient and modern buildings, both of France and of Italy.

Note 1047. Sauval, Le Maine, Robert and others have placed the beginning in 1609, Pelibien in 1617, on the contrary. The exact date however results from the following record in the archives of the church, that I owe to the previously mentioned courtesy of Charles Read. (See Art. 391).

"Construction of the portal and great house of the said Church"

"The 14 th day of July, 1616, Louis XIII, king of France, with great festivity and play of organs, trumpets and musical instruments, set and laid with his own hand the first stone of the great and splendid portal to be seen, built anew at the said church. Under which stone he placed two medals, one of silver and the other of bronze, on which were figures and other devices. There were as wardens Messieurs de Fourcy, councillor of his majesty in his council of state, and intendant of the buildings of France, and De Dosnon, also Countil-lor of his said majesty, controller of said buildings; the lords St. Georges (?), Nicolas, citizen warden, keeping the accounts of the revenue and domain of the said building. The said lords De Fourcy and Dosnon were so interested in this edifice, that not being satisfied by their knowledge and long experience in the erection of buildings, have communicated v various drawings to the greatest architects and best master masons of France, and have finally made it the most perfect and accomplished work, that may be found among the ancient and modern, both in France as well as in Italy. Those that understand drawings, know the orders and rules of architecture

and can judge. In the matter of this grand design, the said warders continued it in their time to him, whose conduct was best and completion was most prompt. Which having been done, there has it been since the year 1620 and the 22nd of the wardership of Messieurs de Flecesses, also councillor of state and one of the secretaries of the council, and de Breslin, Councillor of his majesty and councillor general".

"S. Gervais, Inventory of the foundations. Register L. L. 746 (not paged). This passage was written in the year 1621 and is on the third right hand page of the introduction".

The worth of this facade itself is based on the simple composition, the clear, firm and beautiful subdivision, the harmony of the proportions, and on the scale and the earnest and massive treatment of the columnar orders. Its severity is thereby increased, in that besides the foliage on the four upper Corinthian capitals, leaf forms are only employed in the four angle metopes as garlands around the monogram S. G.

All appears very strong without really looking heavy.

683. Its Celebrity.

The circumstance, that this is the first clear and decided church facade in Paris entirely executed in the new classical style, has certainly contributed to attract to it quite particular attention. From the necessity of treating the high Gothic gable originated the third story at the middle. Thereby the middle of the facade received something of those gateway towers, that form the entrances of the Chateaus at Ecouen and at Anet (Figs. 315, 317) and thus are one of the characteristics of the French Renaissance. This third story distinguishes not only the facade of Salomon de Brosse from the Italian; there is also further imparted to it thereby in a two-fold manner something national. But this alone would not have sufficed to have obtained for it such high estimation during two centuries. This could only result from entirely definite architectural peculiarities. It is therefore advisable to show the nature of these, and so much the more, since it must conquer an enemy within itself, the coldness and the lack of living details.

The facade of S. Gervais and the small group derived from it differ from most others in France and Italy in that here

the aspiring height is so strongly expressed. Before the entire width of the facade a flight of steps ascending toward one side forms a continuous substructure. But since the bases of the columns lie at more than one and a half times the height of a man above the square and the street, the observer is already compelled to look upwards to the beginning of the development of the facade.

The manner of employing the columns, as well as their treatment here becomes an element of great importance. Without being colossal, they are so large that they rise to an ideal height. How important is here the effect of fluting may be realized, if this facade be compared with its imitation on the neighboring Church of Ss. Paul and Louis, where the shafts are plain. To this is added the clear and unified idea in their use and grouping.

Especially favorable is the clarity with which the purpose of the columns here appears to us and therefore has such great effect. Nowhere occurs an isolated column or may be seen several grouped at various intervals, but they are everywhere closely coupled and connected into similar pairs of columns; they stand there boldly. This close connection is still enhanced by the entablature returned above them and the common pedestals.

This effect is increased by the massive fourfold expressed rhythm of these coupled pairs of columns, that is repeated in two stories, and is continued in a third story before the broad middle aisle.

Unusually beautiful is the effect of the two high aspiring long lines of the middle pairs of columns as a single connected vertical element. Here may have come to us something of the airy effect of the then existing Septizonium in Rome. Because in each order the diameter of the columns is reduced, the columnar construction in each story appears more airy. In the ground story the pilasters and shafts touch each other, and the shafts stand so near before the pilasters, that the Doric capitals have a common abacus. In the third story the columns of the third order stand free from the pilasters, so that one may pass between them. The verticality and aspiration of the buttress members is not interrupted by the entablature and the pedestals of the orders. On the contrary, they

increase the massiveness of the columns in their firmly connected appearance. Thereby since these columns are coupled, they appear more stable at such an airy height.

At the sides are enclosed a recessed panel extending through two stories each. Thus on the middle building the entablature of the third order is not returned above the segmental gable but forms a rounded vaulted ceiling, by which this panel becomes a high and effective niche, into which open two large series of round-arched windows over each other, whose deep jambs are heightened by the effect of reliefs. On the other hand in the ground story this aspiring structure is ensured, as the entablature over the pairs of columns of the middle building is not broken, but rather is straight and extends boldly from one pair to another, spanning and uniting both with its quiet gable. -- By its strong angles it recalls the treatment of the masses of the ground story of S. Maria di Loreto on Piazza Trajana in Rome. 1048

Note 1048. The ground story of the Chapel of Notre Dame des Artilleurs les Sauveur illustrated in Fig. 194, as well as the entire chapel seems to be influenced likewise by this Church of Antonio da Sangallo.

to 684. Its Peculiarities.

How comes it then, that such a simple and clearly observed composition, even with an at first rather cold exterior, yet exerts a singular attractive force, as soon as one steps quietly before it, and allows it to affect him? Why does one feel himself elevated by a mysterious beauty and transported into an architectural dream? I believe that the reason for this lies in the harmony and in its exhaustless charm, in the mysterious attraction of the concord of parts, that actually stand in harmonious relations to each other. But further in the number and nature of its good characteristics.

The number of its good peculiarities therefore causes that every separate form thereon is beautifully composed and has good proportions.

On this facade it is advisable to consider by itself each story with its own differing order. It presents a beautiful separate form, finely grouped and with varied, but always harmonious accenting toward the middle. In the middle building

then the great equal arched openings of the doorway and of the windows formed as arches have a peculiarly massive and united effect.

In this general composition are further fused together in inseparable unity two architectural forms, each complete in itself; strong power absolutely coupled with ideal aspiration. This comes from the effect of certain numerical relations:-- the triple division and the manner in which this occurs as a horizontal and as a vertical element.

In the first form, the rectangular facade as an expression of beautiful and firm strength, two horizontal differing though combining triple subdivisions within common elements are united in a beautiful facade, already complete in itself. In the third story is perfected the appearance of the second form, and the union of the first with the latter into a new unified general composition. Each separate form, although in a different manner, has the effect of a part of the two main forms, contrasting with and supplementing each other. By the balustrade and the two great figures is here repeated a third horizontal triple subdivision, though of a different kind. It acts as an ideal crown and termination of the lower rectangular building, and at the same time as a connection and transition to the other ideas developed on this facade.

The second is the vertical form. In the middle structure is created a vertical triple subdivision, likewise perfect in itself, with the diversity of the crowning gable, the ever more slender pairs of columns, and the massive combined trio of the three equal arched openings.

Thus in each separate story is emphasized such a clear and strong accenting toward the centre, it results, so to speak, that from it must rise and project a higher middle portion.

On this facade rests the blessing of manifold architectural virtues and verities, that Salomon de Brosse understood how to combine on it. To embody such is the mission of true composition. Therefore its permanent value consists in this, that it creates or selects elements, that by their inner meaning harmonize with each other, and so combines them, that their harmonic affinities lead to combinations, from which proceed new and richer concords.

685. Churches of allied Tendency.

We have already had opportunity to learn to know the influence, that the facade of S. Gervais exerted on Francois Mansard, when he erected the facade of the Church of Feuillants in Paris, ¹⁰⁴⁹ which has now disappeared. It suffices to compare the representation of the same given by us (Fig. 167 ¹⁰⁵⁰) with Fig. 166 in order to see how its facade was an exact reproduction of the two upper stories of that of Salomon de Brosse, so to speak.

Note 1049. See Arts. 409, 418. The Church of the Feuillants was begun in 1600 by Jean Crespin and continued by J. T. Tellier in 1602-1605. The facade was built later by F. Mansard. (Lance. Dictionnaire, according to Berty).

Note 1050. From Blondel, J. Fr. Architecture Francaise. V.3.

The facade of Notre Dame at Havre stands under the influence of that of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris. It is a kind of adaptation of the two upper stories of S. Gervais to wider proportions. The pairs of columns are connected by niches, instead of being coupled. Above the side pairs is a segmental gable, as on the upper part of the middle portion. Two recessed outside bays with angle pilasters correspond to the chapels. The combination of the low side parts with the middle building is similar to that on the facade of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris, and it occurs by means of four consoles of different heights in three steps in combination with balustrades and pedestals crowned by vases. The treatment of the lower Ionic columns likewise recalls these Paris churches. Fluted and banded drums with plain rustication alternate. The capitals are bold in the style of those in Fig. 167, above fluted Corinthian columns.

With this character the statements of Lance also seem to agree, that after 1630 it was built up to the Corinthian capitals by Marc Robelin from Paris.

The facade of S. Remy at Dieppe must be nearly contemporary with the last. It exhibits a three aisled church between two towers, the right one having three stories and the left only one. Pilasters treat the angles, and at each side of the middle aisle stands a pair of columns, Doric below and Ionic above. An attic with small Corinthian pilasters (perhaps added in 1862) forms at both sides the points of support of the st-

steep, gable of the middle aisle.

In the latter are two doorways below and beneath a round arch, in the second story being a rose window and a tabernacle in the gable. Before the bays of the side aisles below are round arched doorways with segmental gables, above being three niches, the middle one higher, and finally a round-arched window divided by two twin arches.

Of the two towers, only the ground story of the northern was built. According to Ch. Normand (*La Cite Normande*, Dieppe. p. 60. Paris. 1900), it bears the date of 1633, the southern that of 1630-1636.

e. Age of Louis XIII. Early Phase of the second Period of the Renaissance.

a part of the churches, that apparently belong to this time, have already been described under the Age of Henry IV. Another portion will come under consideration somewhat later in the Section on the buildings of the Jesuits and on domed structures, while the remaining examples will be mentioned here.

1. Different forms of Facades.

686. Unexpected Types and other Examples.

We have earlier already called attention to the diversity of the tendencies of the time of Louis XIII (p. 228-254). It may be safely assumed, that at least in the imagination of the architects of this age of Louis XIII, there originated compositions for church facades, that attempted one of the previously mentioned different treatments of the elevation.

The architecture in paintings often reflects such compositions, and in them the architect acquainted with the history of

the period cannot draw too strictly the limits between what is purely the imagination of the painter and what he did not himself originate, but had seen in a design, or what in his time was a type frequently occurring among architects. Thus it is the case with the facades represented in Fig. 168 ¹⁰⁵¹

and 169, ¹⁰⁵² whose purposes are sufficiently given by the inscriptions accompanying them. In the Section on the Jesuit buildings shall we mention a study of M. Martellange with a round gable, such as the facade of a Jesuit church represented in Fig. 168. exhibits.

Note 1051. From an old engraving of Abraham Bosse in Cabl-

Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Vol. Ed. 30. p. 77.

Note 1052. From an old engraving of the same. Vol. Ed. 30. p. 19.

The facade on Francois' Church of S. Marie in Paris (Fig. 62) has already been mentioned. It was long regarded as a prominent work. J. F. Blondel writes:-- "The famous facade of the Temple of S. Marie situated in Paris, Rue Saint-Antoine, of the design of Mansard^{based}". This fame was indeed on its naked realism, novel at that time, and on the lack of any order. As in Fig. 163, there likewise occurs a semicircular gable.

On the recently destroyed facade of the "Minimes" at Nevers, the ground story was formed of a round-arched doorway between coupled columns. Over this in the upper story were two niches with bold segmental gables and consoles. Between both a higher pointed-arched window within a broad enclosure with a low gable. These three motives were simply set in the plain wall, that had no further treatment and ended as a steep gable wall. (Art. 419). To the facade of S. Maria at Nevers we shall return further, on account of its colossal order.

We also mention the three following facades without being able to class them further. The Church of the Carmelites in Troyes by Francis Levan. The Church of S. Nicolas at Coutance built by Jacques Lebaron in 1620-1621 according to an inscription. Further the portal of the destroyed Church of the "Feuillantines" in Paris by Jean Marot. It is not to be confounded with the Church of the "Feuillants" represented in Fig. 167.

2. Abbey Church at S. Amand.

687. Its Peculiarity.

Indeed unique in its way is the facade of the great Abbey Church at S. Amand near Valenciennes. The circumstance, that it was erected under Spanish rule -- above the clock of the tower stands the date of 1633 --, explains much in its appearance. In the lower half, which is divided in five stories of tolerably equal height, there correspond square tower-like projections of the side aisles. In the upper story there a three story octagonal tower corresponds to the middle building, and it is terminated by a dome with a slender finial

composed of two lanterns above each other. The side towers were crowned by one story octagonal, endings, that likewise have domes with double lanterns.

Each of the three front portions is subdivided in each story by pilasters with columns before them. On the towers they are placed $1\frac{1}{2}$ diameters distant from the angles, and in the middle part they form a wider panel between two narrower ones. In consequence of the returning of the entablature, there are produced by this continuous members like buttresses. In the middle part are found below, doors with straight lintels and circular windows above these in the side panels; in the middle one is a wide round-arched portal. In the second story are three arches, in sham perspective being an open loggia of three bays in depth, in which is represented a sacred scene in relief perspective. Half in the fourth and half in the fifth stories is a circular recess with relief figures, instead of a rose window.

In the principal spaces of the towers are niches in the lower, middle and upper stories, in both of the other panels being placed rich enclosed surfaces. On the upper half the towers have doubled arched windows or smaller openings and dormer windows, that are made round or similar to circles.

The small number of openings imparts something foreign to this broad and high structure. The rustication, that subdivides the three lower stories in diminishing quantity, the colossal fluttering relief bands, such as are found on Spanish churches, emphasize this impression. In the partially wild forms of the recessed great flat borders one is justified in thinking of Mexican recollections, ¹⁰⁵³ which are possible on this Spanish-Flemish work. And although the dome-shaped terminations on the Cathedral of Tours, there arises an impression by their triple repetition and the bizarre form of the details and certain outlines, which allows one to think of certain groupings of slender domical terminations, such as are found in the kingdom of Siam, in the "Architecture Kmer" at Angkor Wat". Abbot Nicolas Dubois himself must have been the architect.

Note 1053. As proof of this Mexican or Peruvian influence it may be stated, that even in the 19th century was sometimes celebrated in Valenciennes a "Fete des Incas" with a great procession.

The shafts of the columns of the four orders were composed of four adjoining semicircles instead of one circle, and this increased the foreign appearance.

Although the ornamentation is no less than noble, a series of elements here have a combined effect, so as to interest our imagination in a peculiar way. The horizontal subdivision by five entablatures, the vertical one by six buttresses, the richness of the ornament, the alternation of this with the quiet and smooth surfaces of different stories, the unified idea of the richly treated composition, whose termination in the high middle dome is enhanced by the grouping with the two lower side domes, all is combined with the considerable dimensions of a facade about 88.6 ft. wide and has a powerful effect.

The ground story with its diamond rustication on the piers is conceived as the substructure of the facade with its four orders, and the energetic crowning cornice with bold modillions in the frieze, which is placed above the entablature of the uppermost fifth order, gives to this lower half of the facade an effective ending.

Above this the upper half of the composition may then commence with its three crowning domed structures as spires of towers and afford a most original termination.

3. Facades with a colossal Order.

638. Their Variety.

Of facades on which a colossal order occurred, or at least a decidedly main order, I can now recall but two. The first belonging to the free, and the second to the severe tendency.

The scarcely French character of the facade of S. Marie at Nevers was previously mentioned in Art. 259. The bold entablature of the single colossal order sharply separates the walls from the gable of the roof. Before this rises in the middle bay a second order, that supports the bold segmental gable, with which the building terminates. At the same time it forms a tabernacle for the niche, itself very bold and overloaded, in which the Madonna with the Child stands. Only above the two side bays is visible the slope of the steep gable wall, adjoining the entablature of the middle bay, beside whose bold relief it has an entirely subordinate effect.

The facade of the Church of the College des Quatre Nations, built in 1661-1663 by Leveau, now the Institute de France, whose section may be seen in Fig. 198, must be one of the few on which only a single order occurs. Columns and pilasters on the angles support a slightly projecting gable. They stand in good proportion to the order of the drum. Their effect is not bad and is increased by the two small orders of the adjoining segmentally curved wing of the College, whose central motive is formed by the church. Short and twice receding side buildings with pilasters connect the portico with the wings recessed in the middle. Likewise on the pavilion of the Louvre, that Leveau built beyond the Seine (Fig. 332), he employed a colossal order. Perhaps this was determinative for the College des Quatre Nations.

4. The Buildings of the Jesuits.

a. Is there a Jesuit Style?

689. Necessity for this Question.

We previously had opportunity to describe the lives and works of the two chief architects of the Jesuit order, Martellange and Durand (see Arts. 419, 420), and further to say something relating to the buildings of the Jesuit order and to the connection and analogy of the influence of the order to that of Vignola, as well as to refer to a similarity of the tendency of the style of Louis XIV and of the Jesuit style. (See Arts. 319 to 321).

Yet the question whether one may speak of a Jesuit style, strictly understood, as so frequently happens, we have reserved to this place.

It will appear to us, that the statements of what the Jesuit style comprises is not always quite precisely limited, and therefore contradict each other; further that sometimes such things are regarded as peculiarities of the style, which belong to their time in common.

The words in which Henri Martin ¹⁰⁵⁴ describes, what he understands as the Jesuit style are sufficiently characteristic to be given here.

Note 1054. See Martin. Vol. 10. p. 473.

"The Jesuits endeavored to create an architecture of their own, but they could only attain to a degeneration of that Re-

Renaissance, which they denied. They would be great and strong; they were heavy and awkward. In Rome by the supremacy of conditions they reached a certain material greatness, where heaviness combined with the end sought, with subtlety and sinuosity, it was this heroic period, the amazement of generations, that more and more lost the sense for the beautiful in monumental art. It did not rest there, but would pass from strength to grace, strove for the pretty in order to stand in harmony with the pretty coquettish, ranged decoration ornamented by artificial flowers, and it fell into that last abyss of unreason and bad taste, which has been termed the "architecture of the Jesuits".

The description of this style given by Planat must indeed be different and perhaps indefinite; for the ground is inexplicable, by which he mentions among Parisian churches Notre-Dame-des-Victoires and S. Roch as examples of the Jesuit style.

The circumstance that the fathers had their own architects in the order, might indeed justify the belief in their own style; yet the independence of the order in the Political-religious field was much greater than in the artistic and architectural one.

In regard to the letter of Father Coton, confessor of Henry IV. to Acquaviva, general of the Jesuits in Rome, Bouchot says in reference to Martellange ¹⁰⁵⁵:-- The king has no great power over the Jesuits, since there the "provincial" can finally permit or refuse to the king the participation of his architect. ¹⁰⁵⁵

1054. Bouchot, H. Notices sur Martellange etc. p. 7, 22.

Note 1055. The specifications of the architect Martellange for building the Jesuit College at Moulins, of Jan. 17, 1605, contain many details of technical matters and of the custom in Jesuit buildings. Likewise those for the College of Vesoul of 1616. See Chauvet, L. Etienne Martellange. p. 56-60; 74-80. Lyons. 1874.

I am not convinced, that strictly speaking, one is entirely justified in speaking of a Jesuit style. They built in the style of the contemporary development of the Roman Renaissance. Since in the north the era in which the Renaissance everywhere entered into church architecture coincides with that in a

which the Jesuits were busiest and began to appear prominently, men believed the new style to be that of the Jesuits. The dominant position frequently attained by them lent to this opinion a kind of justification.

690. Different Character.

And if men frequently connect with the Jesuit style the idea of overloading and tastelessness, then is it again a mere accident, but is no characteristic peculiarity of their architecture and not always correct. These peculiarities were generally characteristic tendencies of their prevailing Flemish-Roman Barocco. And since ~~this~~ style extended into many provinces of Germany from the Netherlands, men believed it to be the Jesuit style. -- In Italy, Jesuit colleges, such as the Brera in Milan and the existing University in Genoa, indeed belong to the strongest buildings of Italian architecture of that time.

Thus have we emphasized, that the style of the famous Jesuit architect Martellange (1569-1641) by its severity recalls that of the great Huguenot master Salomon de Brosse, and by its simplicity exerted a second influence on his contemporaries. (See Art. 419).

Finally we will examine the two most important buildings of the Jesuits in Paris, the Church of Maison Professe (now Ss. Paul et Louis) and the Novitiate, entirely independent of two other buildings:-- the former being the facade of S. Gervais, and the latter the facade of Church Gesu in Rome. But the derivation of this facade from churches of the time, when the Jesuit order did not at all exist has been proved. (Art. 680).

For these reasons the question must be negatived for France. Just as it belongs to the characteristics of the French Renaissance, that there is in France neither a real Barocco nor a Rococo style, it appears to me that the style of the Jesuits differs little from the other contemporary style tendencies.

The Jesuits, considered as an order, have had no time to invent a style of their own. They indeed had other questions in which they interested themselves far more. On the other hand one may perhaps speak of a Jesuit ornamentation.

691. Decorative Endeavors.

Men must understand hereby the richest, for those who strive

for the greatest effect, at the same time show the greatest poverty of soul. Everywhere does one perceive a strong contempt for every artistic ideal or for a beautiful perfection. Nowhere is a clean and noble line; all is blown up hard, or as if made of fat and meaningless dough.

And yet one must again ask here, whether it be just to lay on their shoulders alone the privilege of this dreary phase of decoration. Was this not the general tendency of taste in one of the art currents of that period? We do not venture to decide it. But in a wider sense the Jesuits certainly have their part of the responsibility. When they influenced the religious character of their age, the church architecture and by this the secular architecture. While their conception of religion particularly feared the emphasizing of the individual and the subjective, and strove to curb these, it manifestly aided to promote the common soullessness and the lack of personal character and artistic-individually animated forms of the art period of 1610-1745.

The result to which we have attained, appears to me to substantially agree with the views reached by Lemonnier in his frequently mentioned remarkable studies of the art of this period.

He writes thereon as follows:-- "Under Louis XIII the Jesuits of France were not yet what they became under Louis XIV by his fault. They sought especially to control instruction. -- They made of intellectual culture, what it must be for a worldly aristocracy. -- But they permitted the superficial development of all, that they denied to reason, -- considered before all the saving of orthodoxy of dogmas?".¹⁰⁵⁷

Note 1057. See *L'Art Français au temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin*. p. 113. Paris. 1893.

They influenced the arts in two ways. First by having their own arts, particularly an architecture and architects; secondly by inspiring with a certain spirit the arts, which did not belong to them. To them is to be attributed in part the decorative conception of religious painting, the appearance of the churches with a certain mannerism, although the inclination of the court world had a good part therein".

Of the activity which the Jesuits in France began to develop, an idea will be obtained from the following statement concerning the number of colleges with which a church was connected.

Bouchot ¹⁰⁵⁸ speaks of a drawing "of the architect of the Duc de Mayenne and of the year 1585 for the Jesuit College at Dijon, which was sent to Rome for suggestions, was returned but was not followed, and whose arrangement was criticized by Martellange in 1610.

Note 1058. Bouchot, H. *Notice sur la Vie et les Travaux d'Etienne Martellange*. Paris. 1886. p. 18, 19. (Extract from *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*. Vol. 47. 1886.

From the drawings in the volume, Bouchot has prepared the following list of the colleges in the erection of which Martellange took part in any manner. The numbers in brackets indicate the commencement of his work thereon. The pages of the previously mentioned work of Chauvet on Martellange have also been added, in which these are mentioned.

College of Puy.	(1605).	Chauvet, p. 23.
College of Vienne.	(1605).	,, 44.
College of Sisteron.	(1605).	,, ---
College of Carpentras.	(1607).	,, 65.
College of the Trinity in Lyons.	(1607).	Chauvet p. 131.
Noviciate of Lyons.	(1617).	Chauvet. p. 201.
College and Noviciate of Avignon.		
College of Dole.	(1610).	Chauvet. p. 28, 188.
College of Besancon.	(1610).	
College of Vesoul.	(1610).	Chauvet. p. 72
College of Dijon.	(1610).	,, 81.
College of Roanne.	(1610).	,, 103.
College of Bourges.	(1611).	
College of La Fleche.	(1612).	,, 88.
College of Nevers.	(1612).	
College of Bezis.	(1616).	
College of Chambéry.	(1618).	
College of Orleans.	(1620).	
College of Rennes.	(1624).	
College of Blois.	(1624-1625).	
Maison professe.	Paris.	(1627).

Noviciate in Paris.(1628).

College of Sens.(1628).

College of Moulins.(16--).

College of Embrun. Charvet. p. 189.

College of Rouen. ,, 186.

When Henry IV in the year 1603 again opened France to the Jesuits, they settled in La Fleche, and this College was especially favored by the king, since his parents spent there the first period of their marriage. The exterior of the College of the Jesuits at Dole presents various interesting matters.

b. Different Churches in Paris.

893. Ss. Paul et Louis in Paris.

At first the famous Maison Professe (House of the Professed) of the Jesuits in Paris, formerly S. Louis, now Ss. Paul et Louis, located in Rue St. Antoine. With S. Gervais it exhibits the only facade in Paris, that has three stories and orders. Both on account of its relation to S. Gervais, as well for its differences, it deserves to be described somewhat fully.¹⁰⁵⁹ The corner stone was laid on March 16, 1627, and the building was completed in 1641. The facade of the church was erected at the cost of Richelieu.¹⁰⁶⁰

Note 1059. It was previously stated, under what circumstances the Jesuit Father Francois Durand in 1625 made the design and completed the building in 1641. The apparent consultation of Lemonnier in regard to the orientation of the church was mentioned in Art. 416, as well as the opinion and design of Martellange in Arts. 419 and 420.

Note 1060. On the frieze of the first order was formerly the following inscription in gold letters:-- "To St. Louis, king, to Louis XIII, king, Armand ~~Cardinal~~ Duc de Richelieu, has erected the facade of this Basilica". Charvet, L. Et. Martellange. p. 209. Lyons. 1874.

By the bold and unbroken projection of the entablature in the ground story and the unified projection of the segmental gable on the middle aisle,¹⁰⁶¹ the ground story has the effect of . bold substructure and a continuous and firm anchoring of the entire facade. The ascending vertical subdivision only begins above this solid ground story, not from below like

the pairs of columns on S. Gervais. This aspiration is strongly ~~expressed~~ by means of returns and continues through two stories, being generally found only on the angles of the middle building. In the two stories of the side facade indeed exist certain vertical relations between the lower and upper three-quarter columns and pilasters, but the unified continuity is interrupted by the always strongly projecting entablature, and must begin anew above that. This occurs without the least artistic disturbance, but the idea differs from that on S. Gervais.

Very skilfully has Durand arranged his subdivision here. His three-quarter columns are accompanied on both sides by flat pilasters, and therefore stand one diameter distant from the two angles. Over the three-quarter column nearest the middle building the entablature is not broken, but joins with its entire projection on the middle building. The consoles thereby receive small dimensions, by which their scale does not lessen that of the facade, and ~~bring~~ skilfully to a termination the movement of a side outtress commenced in the second story.

We cannot justify the contemporary scorn with which this facade is treated as a Jesuit building in contrast to the facade of S. Gervais. It is inferior to the latter in several points, but it always possesses sufficient characteristics to be instructive by comparison with S. Gervais, and to have a picturesque and imposing effect as an architectural elevation in combination with the dome.

Because the facade is only subdivided by means of three-quarter columns, the elevation recedes in the stories by the dimension of the diameters of the columns, but remains equally bold above as below. On S. Gervais, where free columns are set in front, the axes of the lower must be retained above. By the reduction of the diameters of columns, they are more free above than below, and therefore have a more animated and ideal effect. By the recession of the facade the uppermost gable is effective, even if its inclined cornice projects without returns, as on S. Gervais, yet not satisfactorily covering the niches like the recessed portion of the facade of the middle aisle.

Since Derand did not flate his orders, they are less sharply treated and accented. Being less individualized, they combine more with the wall as a whole. Finally, contrary to S. Gervais, Derand has employed below a segmental gable and above an angular gable as a termination. Both solutions have their own beauties and advantages. On S. Gervais the general termination is more softly rounded and more quiet. On S. Louis it is more clearly animated and a more aspiring termination.

394. Variations of this Type.

The motive of two stories with a narrower third one at the middle is likewise retained on the two following churches, but is more freely treated and developed.

The first example must even be some years earlier than S. Gervais. It is not unpleasing, being the facade of the Carmelite Church at Dijon, apparently begun in 1609 by Nicolas Tassin. A wide middle and two narrower side bays extend through two stories. Over the middle bay and above a base is a third story, forming a rectangular attic with gable, connected by interrupted console-buttresses with the lower side parts. -- The bays are so masked by Ionic and Corinthian three-quarter columns, that in the ground story the middle bay projects with a segmental gable, while in the second story the side bays project. The two segmental gables, that crown this are first united in a whole by the angular gable of the upper attic, while the entire middle panel in the second story, as in Fig. 168, ¹⁰⁶² is occupied by a great oval cartouche around the round window. By these alternations and the verticality this composition presents a certain interest.

Note 1062. Illustrated in Chabeuf, H. Monuments et Souvenirs. 140 photographes. Dijon. 1894.

A prettily disposed, animated and yet severely composed facade from the age of Louis XIII or Louis XIV is exhibited by S. Joseph at Chalons-sur-Marne. The middle portion has in two stories Doric and Ionic pilasters, which form two narrow and one wider bay in the middle; it is crowned by a gable and over this again on the middle bay alone rises a third Corinthian order, which between two consoles forms a termination like a tabernacle with segmental gable. Adjoining the two lower orders at both sides is further another bay as a concave

quarter circle, that emphasizes the middle portion in an animated way. The Doric order is imitated from that of Bramante on S. Pietro in Montorio.

695. Church of the Noviciate in Paris.

Not less important than the church of the Maison Professe was the Church of the Noviciate des Jesuites near S. Germain-des-Pres in Paris, now to be described. Here the severe unbroken facade projected about the width of a pilaster before the narrow sides, and it had four Doric pilasters below and Ionic pilasters above, with a gable over the entire front. In the narrower side bays were niches, in the middle one being the doorway with gable below, above it a window with segmental gable. The recessed parts at both sides of the gabled structure, corresponding to the chapels, repeated below the narrow bays of the middle part, and above steep volutes, that ended as Ionic pilasters with entablatures, accompanied the projecting gable of the facade like buttresses.

The Noviciate of the Jesuits in Paris exists no longer. The facade of the Church was in Rue Pot de Fer, and the entire plan extended to Rue Cassette. The severe facade might as well stand in Rome as in Paris. As on S. Caterina de' funari, by Giacomo della Porta, or on S. maria de' Monti, entablatures are not returned above the separate pilasters, but extend the entire width of the middle aisle, that projects somewhat. ¹⁰⁶³ J. F. Blondel praised it as one of the most regular in Paris.

Note 1063. Illustrated from the works of J. Marot and J. F. Blondel in Charvet, L. Etienne Martellange. With a title plate. Lyons. 1874.

The differences between the two preceding facades and from those following prove that the Jesuits were not exclusively committed to one type.

A study of the Jesuit architect Et. Martellange in the year 1627 for the facade of the Maison Professe on Rue S. Antoine in Paris exhibits a facade crowned by a semicircle. ¹⁰⁶⁴ Our Fig. 168 exhibits a Jesuit building crowned in this manner.

Note 1064. Bouchot, H. Notice sur etc. Vol. Ed. 4b. P. 300. (Pl. 218-225).

To the facade of the Church of the Jesuit College in Lyons ¹⁰⁶⁵ Martellange gave in 1617 two slightly projecting to-

towers, corresponding, to the chapels. They were deeper than wide and corresponded more to the character of the college as simple chateau towers covered by gable roofs.

Note 1065. Illustrated in Charvet, L. Etienne Martellange. p. 174. Lyons. 1874.

In connection with the interiors of churches, we shall have to mention some of the Jesuits, likewise their tendency in relation to the decoration of churches.

c. Jesuit Decoration.

696. Examples.

In Art. 691, we saw that one is justified in speaking of a Jesuit style. On this point may be noted the following.

Charvet emphasizes the value of the cartouches, that accompany the plates of the work of Father Durand on stonecutting.¹⁰⁶⁶ and reproduces one of them.¹⁰⁶⁷ He also conjectures, that they may be compositions of Derand and of Martillange, who took part in some things in this work. He likewise emphasizes here the continual mixture of the sacred and the secular, of soaring angels and of mythical figures, that forms one tendency of the art adopted by the Jesuits.

Note 1066. See the title in Note 766.

Note 1067. Charvet, L. Etienne Martellange etc. p. 215. Lyons. 1874.

Everywhere on the vaults of the Church of St. Paul and Louis in Paris (cross vaults with angular groins and transverse arches in relief), the ornamentation of the style of Louis XIII exhibits the leather cartouches and medallions with curled leather volutes. On the frieze prevails a continuous scroll work.

This decoration is skilful, yet business-like, arranged and executed with assured knowledge of the work.

The Bohemian vaults of the chapels are decorated by Louis XIII scrolls as a whole. On the capitals the flat leaves are as if cut out of leather.

In consequence of the richly distributed ornament, one nowhere has the cold impression of the churches of the age of Louis XIV, as in St. Sulpice and St. Roch in Paris, or the Cathedral and Notre Dame at Versailles.

Charvet¹⁰⁶⁸ gives a description of the grisaille ornament-

ornamentation in distemper of the cross vaults of the Church of the Jesuit College in Lyons, whose arrangement he refers to Martellange (about 1621). There are figures of the virtues on the surfaces visible from the entrance, and gray arabesques on a blue ground in the other panels. The different ribs of the transverse, diagonal and side arches, mouldings and ornaments are reproduced in grisaille.

1068. Charvet, L. Martellange etc. p. 174. Lyons. 1874.

The great court of the Jesuit College in Lyons was adorned by paintings in 1622. Four orders above each other, and whether the building had higher parts were employed Composite hermes. Seven great sundials formed a part of this decoration,
1069 that places before the eyes of the pupils a representation of the literature, sciences and history of the Lyonesse.

Note: The same. p. 164.

The Church of the Jesuit College of La Fleche was designed in 1606 and begun in 1607, has an aisle with Doric pilasters, between which are the chapels below and above are balconies, both opening with round arches. The severe treatment and the broad proportions are allied to those of Salomon de Brosse.

1070 It was completed about 1620 and apparently represents at a small scale what Martellange's Church of the Novitiate in Paris was at a large one. According to Charvet the influence of this master on the famous church was considerable.

Note 1070. Illustrated in the same. p. 91.

Judging from a sketch by Martellange, ¹⁰⁷¹ the Church of the Jesuit College of La Trinite in Lyons, built by him, in its original condition was kept in the severe and simple style of de Brosse. The ~~fronts of the~~ ~~chapels~~ formed Tuscan pilasters. Between these and on consoles are the oval arches of the chapels, and higher above the round arches of the galleries rest on continuous impost mouldings. Above this impost the pilasters extended to the capitals. The latter projected somewhat like consoles in order to become supports for the transverse arches of the vault above the broken entablature. The archivolts of the arches of the gallery were intersected by the angles of the pilasters. The round-arched windows were placed in the pointed side walls.

Note 1071. Illustrated in the same. p. 171.

The rich altar in the Jéasit Church of La Fleche, the work of the architect Pierre Corbueu from Laval, was commenced in 1633 for the price of 7000 livres and some corn and wine. It exhibits the richest Flemish-Roman Barocco of the Rubens style. It forms a formal structure, intended to impart a richer architectural appearance to the apse. -- The plan follows the rounding of the choir. The middle portion with the altar painting and the fronts of the wings are crowned by broken segmental and ogee gables, above Corinthian half columns and rich niches. -- In the upper story are three separate attic structures like tabernacles with rich gables above them. This is even enhanced by rich stepped forms on the middle portion. ¹⁰⁷²

Note 1072. Illustrated in the same. p. 90.

On the altars and ornamentation of the Noviciate of the Jesuits in Paris, Charvet has collected and published various items. Likewise in those of the Church of the Jesuit College in Lyons. ¹⁰⁷³

Note 1073. The same. p. 100-102; 155-163.

f. Age of Louis XIV. and of Louis XV.

1. Roman Basilican Facades.

697. Determination of the Type.

Already in the transition phase the complete arrangement of the orders of columns and pilasters on facades was described, and a glance cast upon the development of this tendency in Italy. (Art. 680). We further recall certain examples, that as it were, form stations in this current. The design for a facade of the Sorbonne in 1553 (Art. 666). The facade of the Church at Mesnil-Aubry. (Art. 665). The Tomb-Chapel of the Chateau at Anet (Fig. 159, Art. 661), and the Church of Feuillants. (Fig. 167). In the composition of Du Cerceau designated as "La Grande Chartreuse de Pavie", ¹⁰⁷⁴ we likewise see a preliminary step of the type of the Roman facade with pilasters and half columns.

Note 1074. See Art. 644.

One will recognize from these, that this solution already from 1520 forms one of the typical programmes of the Renaissance. It is like a further development of what the Roman in Tuscany pursued on the facade of S. Miniato al Marti near Florence or on S. Pietro at Toscanella.

After the description of the buildings of the Jesuit order, we shall now describe with a better understanding the church facades with two orders and without towers in connection, and refer to the better examples until the close of the second period (about 1745).

In the Section on Domed architecture will be fully described other important facades of this period, such as those of the Sorbonne, of Val-de-Grace and of the Church of the Invalids. The two transept facades of S. Sulpice will be mentioned in connection with the interior of that church.

Perhaps the most important requirement for all facades of this system is the correct determination of the intercolumniations. The smaller the number of variations therein, the more unified and massive is the effect. Quite mysterious is this diversity in the spacing of the columns, whose purpose is not at once perceptible to the eye, and it clearly results from the composition of the masses as necessary and legitimate.

Mere sinning in this respect makes of the facade of S. Peter one of the most unlucky and defective compositions in architecture, although its elements used otherwise would have made it one of the very grandest.

To determine where a repetition of equal distances, where a regular alternation of two intercolumniations, or finally where an increasing of the same intercolumniations, are required according to a "perceptible" and clear arrangement by the composition of the grand idea, therein lies the mission of the architect, who will at the same time be an artist.

698. Church of the Sorbonne in Paris.

The first monument in this tendency must be presented by the Church of the Sorbonne in Paris, built by Lemercier.

On it (Figs. 202, 257) are two facades, those of the nave and of the northern transept, which form the middle of the upper end of the court. The latter is an exception among French facades, since it has below a Corinthian temple facade, six columns wide and two deep at the side, as a portico, above it being recessed the transept facade with a great window, balustrade and hipped roof, crowned by a dome.

On the facade of the nave of the Church of the Sorbonne (Fig. 257) the entablature is continuous without returns, but

on the other hand the entire portion before the middle aisle projects about the width of a pilaster, as on the Noviciate of the Jesuits. Here stand six Corinthian columns directly before their pilasters and support a balcony, while the second order of Composite pilasters is set back from the lower ones and supports a gable. At the angles the columns are coupled; the second intercolumniation is wider and is filled by a niche, the third or middle one is much wider and contains the doorway with a round-arched window over it.

399. Other Examples.

The facade has a rather more quiet effect than the contemporary facades in Rome. Because columns on columns are set free below, but only pilasters occur above, the building loses in unity and harmonious gradation of the treatment in relief. The too solid balustrade of the dome has a heavy effect. The connection of the side aisles with the upper middle aisle repeats the simple convex terminal arches of the buttress walls and forms above and below merely small volutes.

The facade of Val-de-Grace, likewise with a small temple-like portico in the ground story as here cited, is said to have been thoroughly treated later. It may only be said here, that in the height of the two columnar orders, as Fig. 203 shows, no attention was paid to the internal architecture. The lower Doric order is lower than the internal Corinthian, and the entablature of the upper Corinthian order lies higher than that above the arches of the dome.

During this time was built by J. le Pautre the facade of the Dominican Church at Saumur (1675) with a two story motive of the triumphal arch, below Doric with angular gable, above Ionic with segmental gable. It rises between the Gothic buttresses, that are crowned by little shrines, while a larger and higher one terminates the middle building in form of a lantern. Further the facade of the Carmelite Church in Lyons by Dorbay in 1682. This has in the ground story a gable for its entire width, the upper story a somewhat narrower segmental gable.

On the facade of Notre Dame in Bordeaux (end of 17 th or beginning of the 18 th century), the middle building projects with a gable and by a bay, that forms a convex quadrant, is connected with the receding sides.

On the facade of the Church of the Jacobins, also at Bordeaux (1707), with two Corinthian orders, the middle part projects with a gable.

The two transept facades of S. Sulpice in Paris belong in this list; they are large, simple, tolerably bold, but mean nothing.

The facade of the existing Temple Protestant at Nancy, formerly indeed the Church of S. Jean and on the Place of the same name, is a pretty composition of the 18th century.

700. S. Roch in Paris and the Cathedral at Versailles.

The facade of S. Roch was designed by Robert de Cotte, erected by his son in 1738, three years after his death, and has already been mentioned.¹⁰⁷⁵ The perspective effect is better than our Fig.¹⁰⁷⁶ would permit one to expect. The side arches have jambs in quadrant form, which treat them as flat niches.

Note 1075. See Art. 308.

Note 1076. From Blondel, J. F. *Architecture Francaise*. Vol. 3. Pl. 410.

By the coupled breaks of the entablature, the groups of the supports at the four angles have a clear and united effect, even if the two middle ones are spaced wider. This clear and powerful verticality on the one hand, combined with the emphasizing of the horizontals by the triple swing of the equal arches on the other, the bold relief of the three-quarter columns and of the pilasters at the angles, all being connected, causes a living rhythm, that in spite of the cold treatment and of the small scale, transfers it back into that better age, in which magnificent ideas were proposed in the design of the Church of S. Peter at Rome.

The Cathedral of Versailles is not to be confounded with the Church of Notre Dame there by Jules Hardouin Mansard, and was by his nephew Jules Hardouin Mansard de Sagonne, begun in 1742 and completed in 1754.¹⁰⁷⁷

Note 1077. See Arts. 324, 441.

In composition it is strongly allied to S. Roch, and yet is entirely different in the development of the expression. Both in plan and elevation the arrangement of the group of columns and piers, their projection, the returned entablature and the connection of the upper and lower middle portion ben-

beneath the slopes are the same. The main difference lies in this, that in Versailles instead of three-quarter columns, free columns everywhere stand before pilasters, and that the columns are closely coupled (with intervals less than one diameter), while those on S. Roch amount to nearly two diameters.

If we conceive that in Fig. 170, the two columns on the middle part and nearest the arch be set as near the middle column as this is to the outer column, with a second column at the angle instead of a pilaster, then will we have the axial composition of the facade at Versailles before us. Likewise on the side aisles by the free columns before pilasters will the relief in perspective become much greater, richer and more imaginative.

Because in Versailles the columns are coupled and closer, the groups of supports are more slender and more compact. The vertical tendency is more emphasized, while on S. Roch the wider facade with its three arches of equal height has something of the strong impression of the Grecian early Doric. In contrast to the elegant strength of these groups of supports, the middle aisle appears between the two, clearly from below to the inclined gable as a united, receding, high and rude niche, inviting entrance, in which the window stands above the doorway.

The connection of the projecting groups of columns of the middle aisle with the side aisles is treated on the same principle as on the facade of Ss. Paul et Louis (Art. 693), except that instead of a three-quarter column, a free column is there placed at the inner angle of the side aisle, which stands in the plane of the pair of columns at the outer angle.

Over this isolated column stands a second upper one. Both are set one over the other and form a tall, elegant and detached line of particular charm. Connected with the mass of the building by entablatures and pedestal, they together compose a beautiful side buttress of the two groups of columns of the middle building, and also a beautiful enrichment of the same.

On the pilaster corresponding thereto at the side adjoins the console, which connects the side aisle with the high middle building.

This console has lost nearly all opposed, that is inherent in this function and in magnitude. The Louis XV style might give it a tense and slightly curved line, which imparts to it more the character of an animated buttress wall, that is at base separated by a massy volute from the horizontal base, and at top is well connected by a smaller one with the vertical, and enables it to bear the crowning entablature.

Where the concave passes into the convex curve, instead of an angular projection, that would break the curve, it forms a small point at top, that suffices to give such a beginning to the second curve, that it contributes to the aspiration of the middle part and naturally adjoins it.

The two towers are not very broad, which at the ends of the side aisles recede about two modules, and merely rise above them by a second story of the Ionic order, and are subdivided, about as S. Filippo Neri at Naples and on the Cathedral of Frascati. Perhaps they were never completed. By their ogee lines they recall at a small and simple scale something of those on S. Paul in London.

701. Palace Chapel at Versailles.

An exceptional place among contemporary church buildings is due to the great palace chapel at Versailles. (Fig. 171 ¹⁰⁷⁸). It has no principal facade, but only a side and a choir facade. In a narrow passage like a court, where the middle aisle and the roof cannot be seen, and the upper balustrade terminates the facade, the effect is quite singular. The five high arched windows with their angels sitting on the arches, the series of slender pilasters of almost classical beauty, the balustrade before them, the beautiful entablature with modillion cornice and the bold gargoyle above each window, the firm projection of the angle bay beyond the quiet substructure, finally the splendid ashlar construction combined with the noble drawing and careful execution, all this borders nearly on antique Roman grandeur. Magnificent and simply grand is further the rear view with the rounding of the choir aisle, where the coupled Corinthian pilasters project very finely as outtrusses. The really classic entablature and the treatment of details even take from the plan and the uniformly high ashlar courses the feeling of coldness, that in France is frequ-

frequently attached thereto.

Note 1078. From Blondel, J. F. *Architecture Francaise*. Vol. 4. Pl. 493.

702. Facades of Guarini and of Meissonier.

Here is indeed the place for mentioning a Church in Paris no longer existing, concerning which I unfortunately possess but very little information. This is the Church of Theatines begun by the famous Italian Father Guarini on the Quay of the same name. It was carried further in 1714 by Lievain¹⁰⁷⁹ and lay on the present Quai Voltaire, on the site of the existing Hotel du Monde Illustre. Through a facade with two orders of columns and crowned by a gable on the quay, one passed to a higher main building lying behind this, and which was parallel to the quay.

Note 1079. See Lance, A. *Dictionnaire etc.* Vol. 2. p. 86.

The last word in the free development of this type of facade appears to be the project of Meissonier from Turin, made in 1726 but never executed, for the facade of S. Sulpice in Paris, that is represented in Fig. 172.¹⁰⁸⁰ Aside from the ogee curved lines shown in our Fig., it is also to be noted, that the pilasters and half columns are collected into close groups, whereby they almost become clustered piers, that on the middle building form slender vertical lines in consequence of the returns.

Note 1080. From an old engraving in Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Vol. Hd 188. Further see Art. 435.

703. Later Examples.

Of the colder and more severe tendency of that time may be mentioned the following examples:--

In Paris, the facade of Notre Dame des Victoires by Cartaud in 1789, cold but tolerable good, Ionic below and Corinthian above. Then the facade of the Church of "Oratoires", severe and cold, erected by Pierre Cagne in 1745, apparently from the designs of Robert de Cotte,¹⁰⁸¹ who died in 1735. On it exist no returns, and the entire width of the middle building projects about one module. Three-quarter Doric columns below, Corinthian free columns above with an angular gable.

Note 1081. Lance, A, in his *Dictionnaire des Architectes Francais*, mentions this facade, Among the works of both mas-

masters. On pages 244 and 323 it is given by us simply as the work of De Gotte. Our statement there is to be extended accordingly.

Further the facade of S. Thomas d'Aquin by the lay brother Claude in 1740, Doric below and Ionic above, is treated similarly to the Oratoire. Lastly the facade of S. Etienne at Dijon.

704. Worth of this Type.

If one asks, whether among the facades of this type there may be such, that possess a higher art value and are able to produce a satisfactory impression, then speaking merely as a man, one must reply in the negative. Also in the architect is no higher enjoyment produced, on the contrary must one recognize as a specialist in several, that the laws of composition and treatment were applied with decided talent and good forms were produced. If detailing thereof followed at about 1540-1560, they became very beautiful works.

On the other hand, on all these is not a good idea, neither a grouping nor a treatment, that did not somewhere occur in nobler and better forms in the designs of Bramante for S. Peter's and in those of his pupils in Raphael's lifetime.

The three best facades of this group seem to me to be those of Val-de-Grace, especially the ground story, and those of S. Roch and the Cathedral of S. Louis at Versailles.

On the Noviciate of the Jesuits, the rhythm of the subdivision was clear, well and strongly conceived, even if without anything novel; but the proportions in all that was given were rather heavy, especially the side consoles, the middle window and the cartouche in the tympanum. On the other hand the Ionic pilaster order was too small in proportion to the Doric.

In the character of their details, these worthily join the severe tendency of Palladio. They also avoid the defect of a number of Italian Barocco facades, on which the detail treatment evidences the dying out of all individual and artistic feeling, and seeks to conceal this lack by the boldness of meaningless exercises in forms, which are as unfortunate as wretched for all noble artistic design.

Yet there are here and there some among the Barocco facades in Italy, which are finally preferred to the colder French,

since they either develop a greater movement in the masses and their subdivision, or exhibit in the latter a greater and more animated relief, a better and sharper outlining, as for example Crespi's facade of S. Paolo or Pellegrini's of S. Fedele, both at Milan, or Juvara's facade of S. Cristina (1718) in Turin with the picturesque relief of its treatment, the satisfactory proportions and the richly animated upper termination.

2. Facades with Towers.

705. Introductory.

We have already had opportunity to see, that in the first period the Renaissance completed Gothic towers, and others were commenced, as in Gisors. Likewise in the second period of the Renaissance, 1610-1745, the Gothic ideal of a facade with two towers appears to have remained that of the architects for the larger churches and cathedrals.

The decoration of S. Peter in Rome by two towers commenced by Bernini also farther came to the aid of this tendency in France.

706. Notre Dame at Versailles.

Of Notre Dame at Versailles (1684-1686) has already been made the necessary mention.¹⁰⁸² That here the free columns merely stand before the middle building, but there are only pilasters on the towers, has a good effect. They are widely coupled with an entablature returned around the pairs. In the upper story the entablature and the gable are unbroken. All this, as well as the projection of the towers at the angles of the facade, the yet stronger projection of the middle building are entirely good elements. J. H. Mansard evidently intended to do better with it, than the means permitted. The miserable upper portions of the towers are very disturbing.¹⁰⁸³

Note 1082. See Art. 307.

Note 1083. This type with miserable and insufficient towers is also found at about this time in Italy on the cathedral of Frascati (completed 1700) and in Naples on S. Filippo Neri.

707. S. Sulpice in Paris.

The project of Meissonier (1726) for the facade of S. Sulpice has already been described on account of the type to which it belongs. (Art. 702). Yet we have placed its representa-

representation in Fig. 172 beside Fig. 173, so that by the comparison of the two facades for the same building produced at almost the same time, one can better realize the difference between the currents then prevailing.

Our Fig. 173¹⁰⁸⁴ exhibits the fine facade for S. Sulpice in the competition of 1732, as it was designed by Servandoni and executed to the towers. The right tower was only erected in the rough up to the helmet-like top, what remains was executed in 1749 by Maclaurin. The left tower was rebuilt after the design of Chalgrin. The second story of the towers repeats the Ionic in the Corinthian order, and has a gable on the entire front. To this succeeds the last story as a circular Corinthian structure with four round-arched windows, each separated by two three-quarter columns. Seated statues aid the transition from the square to the round, and a balustrade crowns the building.

Note 1084. From Blondel, J. F. *Architecture Française*. Vol. 2. Pl. 168.

Note 1085. See Art. 439.

Note 1086. Since the drawing of Servandoni did not please the officials of the building, these were erected after a new design of Maclaurin. But these also were unsatisfactory, and in 1777 Chalgrin was entrusted with the erection of new towers. The north tower alone was built and the right tower of Maclaurin stands incomplete today. (Lance, A. *Dictionnaire*. See Arts. on both masters).

As previously stated (Art. 439), it is assumed that with this facade Servandoni began the contest of the severe tendency against the extravagancies of the Louis XV style. On this facade is indeed expressed the earnest, severe and even grand character of the monumental in a higher degree, than is the case on most similar French buildings.

The imposing effect of the scale of the columns on this building and their connection with Salomon de Brosse was already mentioned in Arts. 403 and 408. They occur as half columns on the towers, as fluted below in the loggia, and not as plain columns as in the Fig. Below they are coupled in depth, but above stand before arches.

The facade of S. Sulpice is one of the purest Renaissance

facades, if this word be understood as a connection of Gothic and antique art; for in few has it succeeded to combine vertical and horizontal ideals, towers and porticos into beautiful, harmonious and ideal grandeur, in spite of the defective towers.

To entirely appreciate this facade, one must remember that originally instead of being on an open square, it stood in a street of moderate width, and could only be seen under great foreshortening. The plain surfaces between the cornice of the lower portico and the pedestals of the upper one, that are actually higher than as given by our Fig., were entirely concealed by the projection of the Doric cornice, and the Ionic portico was thereby better visible. The latter appears in perspective like a second portico, since the arches over the inner row of the columns coupled in depth lie behind. The latter arrangement greatly contributes to lend to the facade a magnificent monumental relief and picturesque depth.

This facade, like that of S. Paolo in Milan, shows that architects, who are at the same time painters, can often create more fortunate works than those, who primarily prefer to devote their attention to the "technical" treatment of the "material". Their artistic horizon is broader. We allow ourselves to lessen by a hair's breadth the monumental architectural satisfaction produced by them, because of the one-sided jeering of certain optimistic Gothicists, if these criticize this upper ideal portico on the pretext, that it seems to be a loggia for the papal blessing in Rome, and is therefore entirely useless and deserving of condemnation. May one ask why the arcade with the statues of the kings of Judah was placed on the facade of Notre Dame in Paris, or why on the magnificent French cathedrals, where one bell tower would have sufficed, two, three, five or seven proud towers rise toward heaven as tokens of the eternal needs of human souls, to lend their ideal expression!

The facade of a religious building requires certain elements, as soon as the art in general participates in their production, that have no "practical" purpose, but only arouse the idea of the "superpractical", thereby consoling and refreshing. It is a great honor for the Paris of the 13th century, that

it afforded to one architect the opportunity to create this work.

708. Other Facades in the Provinces and in Paris.

The Cathedral of Nancy appears externally and internally to be of one inspiration, and has a grand effect in scale. On the facade the two similar towers are indeed not too large for the middle aisle, but still have a sufficient effect. By the scale of the three orders, each story produces a peculiarly grand effect by itself, as well as by their combined effect. The middle building corresponds to the principal aisle, and may be regarded as a repetition of the middle part of S. Gervais in Paris, with Corinthian columns below and above them two orders of coupled and detached Composite columns, crowned by a segmental gable.

To the side aisles correspond merely the two story parts. The towers project somewhat without separate returns, and have three stories of square plan, a fourth being treated as a circular building, above which high domical roofs form the termination.

S. Jacques, the chief Church of Luneville, has two towers, that end with domes of pointed-arched form. Crockets divide their ribs. A statue crowns each tower. By these and other accessories the general character of their outlines is much more animated and more Barocco than for the Cathedral of Nancy.

The ground stories of the towers are square; then follows a round story with three-quarter columns and half pilasters. The third story with substructure, drum and dome forms the termination.

Concerning the ideas, that men had of church facades about 1750, two designs for a new facade of S. Eustache in Paris afford interesting conclusions. We show them beside each other. (Figs. 174¹⁰³⁷ and 175). The first was designed by Patte, is the most advanced in style, and has nothing at all mediaeval, neither in the subdivision nor in the proportions. It has entirely the character of an actual Louis XVI facade, like the Pantheon of Soufflot, though less cold externally.

Note 1087. From an old engraving in Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. Vol. Ed 188.

Jean Mansard de Jouy on the contrary in his designs, that

show more of the character of the age of Louis XV, returned again to the proportions of the masses of the Gothic facades with towers, like those of Notre Dame in Paris, which was more suitable for this church. Considered by itself, it would have been one of the most fortunate facades with towers of this period, as Fig. 175 shows it. ¹⁰⁸⁸ Mansard had commenced it in 1754. Unfortunately it was already modified in the second Ionic story by his successor, received a gable before the middle aisle and a much lower and badly developed form of towers, so that its impression is very cold and entirely faulty.

Note 1088. From an old engraving of J. B. de Pailly in the possession of the author.

The model of Mansard de Jouy was exhibited in 1753 at the festival of St. Louis at Versailles in the hall of the queen's guards, and on May 1, 1754 was laid the corner stone. ¹⁰⁸⁹ He had made his design gratuitously. From 1772-1787 the building was carried on by Moreau-Desproux, architect of the city of Paris, with few happy alterations, and it remained incomplete with merely one low tower. He placed a gable above the loggia.

Note 1089. The statement is also repeated by Palustre, that by the building of the new facade the nave was shortened by about one bay, but this appears incorrect to me, for on the southern side facade is the rear angle of the old facade, torn down in 1753, with Doric pilasters still preserved in the second story. At the rebuilding the side chapels of this bay at most might have been suppressed.

If one conceives the second story of the towers in Fig. 175 to be five times repeated upward, then would one have an idea of the facade of the Cathedral at Rennes with its two towers. On the uppermost story the angles are cut off. The impression is monotonous and the outline of the elevation is not happy, in consequence of a kind of offsetting of the two upper stories. How this was affected by the great fire of Dec. 22, 1720, to which a great portion of Rennes was sacrificed, we are unable to say.

The facade of the Church of La Toussaint at Rennes shows a tolerably high rectangle with three orders of pilasters and half pilasters, divided in three bays. Over the side ones octagonal domes produce a defective termination like towers.

Chapter 15. Interiors of Churches.

a. Treatment of Piers and Bays.

709. Introductory.

The fact that the arrangement of plan, which had developed in the Renaissance schools and found its completion in the gothic, was substantially retained, had a great influence on the internal appearance of the churches of the Renaissance style in France. The first result of this was, that the Renaissance in this country could not develop with entire freedom according to its nature. A second result was, that with few exceptions the internal appearance of the churches was controlled by the form of the piers and of the bays developed from them. A further result was, that the treatment of the pier was one of the most important points, on which was concentrated the imaginations of the architects.

Therefore it seems to us useful at entering on the Section on the interiors of churches, to give a few examples, that exhibit the forms and ideas, which have floated before the masters. In explanation of the question, we have placed Figs. 176 to 179 beside each other. It is recognized at once, that the mediaeval clustered pier is retained as a rule.

1. Treatment of the Pier in the Early Renaissance.

710. Columns, Hexagonal and Octagonal Piers.

There is a series of churches in which the supports were treated as round piers, that are often subdivided like columns, though not very happily. The effect is mostly rather poor, cold and tasteless.

In the Church of Jouy-le-Moutier, the vaults and arch ribs rest directly on the capitals of the round columns. The capital merely consists of a colossal beaded astragal between two small fillets, and presents no harmonious appearance.

The interior of the Church of Ribemont (about 1540?) in Picardy has Doric columns, on whose capitals rest the arches and between them the round shaft for the vault. This idea was then retained in S. Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris, indeed in 1576-1581. From the seventh bay onward, the piers are formed by fluted Doric columns of elliptical plan, on whose capitals rise sidewise round-arched archivolts with rectangular enclosure and cornice, on the front rising fluted Ionic pilas-

pilasters. The latter receive above their cornice-like architrave the ribs of the middle aisle, and the windows between these extend down to the cornice above the arches. On the smooth shafts of three-quarter columns, that the division walls between the chapels adjoin, there rise three very flat vertical bands to receive the ribs of the cross vaults.

In the following examples were also made corbels on the shafts for different purposes.

In S. Etienne-du-Mont ¹⁰⁹⁰ in Paris smooth round columns tastelessly rise through to the vaults of the middle aisle, where they terminate with hateful capital forms like the Doric. At midheight are they connected by round arches, that intersect the columns without imposts, and support a narrow passage between two balustrades, that is carried around the column by means of a corbel on the side next the side aisle. Next the middle aisle the upper members of the cornice of this balcony extend straight through before the column; the lower ones are carried around it.

Note 1090. The building was commenced with the apse in 1517; but the piers referred to here must have been erected between 1540 and 1560.

S. Pantaleon at Troyes has very slender and high, yet bold Corinthian columns, at their midheight on a plate-like corbel a narrow passage extending around them. Above the cornice rests a wooden vault of tunnel form with ribs, whose height appears insufficient in comparison with the high columns.

But one also sometimes finds entirely different and indeed happy treatments of the round pier.

In S. Jean at Elbeuf are half columns or half-round piers of about 3.26 ft. diameter, that instead of capitals have a round entablature, whose cornice is supported by modillions on the frieze. The ribs spring above this. Thanks to the good profiles, the effect is very happy (Fig. 89). On the piers of the nave, four such half-columns are attached around a square pier, whose angles all remain visible.

In the Church at L'Isle-Adam are the arches supported by round piers, on which instead of capitals a Doric triglyph and entablature without architrave extends around. The effect is not bad. At certain places the portion of the pier projecting

from the clearstory wall is carried up as a round to receive the vaults of the middle aisle.

The piers of the side aisles in S. Basile at Etampes also have only a cornice.

In a number of churches are found instead of round piers those of polygonal form, hexagonal but mostly octagonal with raised decorations. In the Church at Gisors, counting from the towers, piers 1, 3 and 4 between the two right side aisles have a very peculiar character.

The first is hexagonal and like pilaster panels, its surfaces are decorated in relief by arabesques, coats of arms, monograms etc. The second is octagonal, has a doubled astragal at midheight, and in places project regularly from the surfaces spiral edges, as in the turns of a screw, whose diameter equals the diameter of the octagon. In the upper quarter the edges are alternately decorated by a moulding and by canopies connected with a small impost moulding by trefoils. The third pier is round and eight thin fillets extend around it in spiral form. At midheight a crown forms a ring around the shaft, and tracery beneath this connects the fillets. In the upper half and under the impost annulet motives like dolphins form three rings around the shaft between the fillets. These forms of piers appear to be rare, and recall certain pier motives in the Chateau of Gaillon.

In Note 237 in reference to Art. 105, we stated that no example in France was known to us, which exhibits a treatment of the pier in the sense of the school of Gaillon, as they are found in the Church at Belem in Portugal. Yet we have found one such in our notes:-- the ruined Abbey of Aubrac.¹⁰⁹¹ Likewise some piers exhibit arabesques on the recessed surfaces in the style of those from Gaillon now in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

Note 1091. Illustrated in Moller & Taylor. Languedoc. Vol. 2. Pl. 84.

711. Compound Piers.

We now pass to the transformation of the Gothic compound piers. One might also term these clustered piers, since in fact and from below upwards, so many separate members are combined into a whole, as may be necessary for each to fulfil a

different function, that the pier by its versatility has to perfect in connection with the ribs to the crown of the vault, to prepare for and to individualize.

The work of the Renaissance architects only consisted in merely transferring this principle into new forms by means of the antique columnar orders. In the general treatment is retained the Gothic idea of upward growth, but for the development of the forms, instead of the organic principle of "growth" and of development externally, the antique principle of superposing "mechanical construction" by supporting and supported structural members is adopted.

There may at first be an apparent contradiction in this, when the unified and unbroken "force" of upward growth is restricted by the successive alternations of vertical and horizontal parts.

Yet if one thinks, that the Gothic principle of formative treatment is the result of a subjective ideal and artistic fiction, then is one justified in giving such forms to a structure, that somewhat better correspond to the alternation of supporting and supported functions. This is a conception, that better corresponds to the structural reality at bottom than the former, and which may be designated as realistic.

From the standpoint of the artistic fiction, that lies at the base of every art, it is permissible in such an elevation of the bay to even strive for a harmonious rhythm in the alternation of supporting and supported parts, as a form produced from a single root, just as the Gothic made actual.

In the Church at Goussainville (Fig. 176 ¹⁰⁹²), as in many early Gothic churches with round columns, a part of the subdivision first begins above the imposts of the arches; below these four half columns are set around a square pier. Other piers of this church are simple round columns, above whose entablature spring the arches and between which rise Ionic pilasters. Above this entablature are developed the ribs of small projection.

Note 1092. From photographs by F. M. S. in the House of Giradon in Paris.

In the Church at Epiais (Fig. 177 ¹⁰⁹³) with a similar form of pier below, the front half column with the angle of the p

pier extends as a colossal order up to receive the vaults of the middle aisle.

Note 1093. The same.

Like that in Epiais is the treatment of the pier of the Church at Mesnil-Aubry; but the proportions of the two Doric orders of the half columns are more slender and their forms more fluid and classical, the colossal half columns not being accompanied by an angle of the pier. The latter exist in the side aisles. On each pier of the polygonal choir a half column with its entablature rises to the vault. The arcades have still pointed arches. From the side aisles outward the effect of the group of three half columns is very good.

In the Church at Malfliers (about 1545 ?) the vaults are supported by an almost identical colossal order of slender Doric half columns with entablature blocks. The arches of the arcades rise from half columns of the same order likewise with entablatures. Their treatment recalls that in the Church at Goussainville. The architect seeks to animate certain members by sculptured ornaments. The necking of the column has a circle of leaves.

Fig. 178 ¹⁰⁹⁴ represents the crossing pier and the first choir pier of the Church at Ennery. A continuous colossal pilaster order is created for the transverse arch, while for the diagonal ribs, somewhat less loaded and to be regarded as for a filling, two lighter orders of columns were preferred. This distinction is again found on the piers of S. Eustache, Fig. 180, and on the piers of the chapels in S. Maclou at Pontoise.

Note 1094. The same.

Even if the pier represented in Fig. 179 ¹⁰⁹⁵ does not occur in the interior of a church, but on the angle of the portico of the Church of La Trinite at Falaise, we have still placed it here with the others, since it completes the representation of the ideas, which prevailed in the treatment of piers.

Note 1095. From a photograph without the name of its author.

In the middle aisle of the Church of Villiers-le-Bel, the vault ribs rise from the entablature block of a colossal Corinthian order, whose shafts project from the wall as segments instead of half columns. In place of being fluted, they are

composed of the hollows between four rib-like rounds. The arches have something more than half their height and are still pointed.

In the side aisles Corinthian half columns with entablatures support the ribs.

In the middle aisle of the Church of S. Maclou at Pontoise a truly colossal Corinthian pilaster order projects from the second pier. The shafts have a single border moulding instead of flutes. They directly receive the vaults by means of a small entablature block, that does not extend on the wall.

712. S. Eustache in Paris.

We now pass to the treatment of the piers of the most famous Church of the entire tendency of the style, S. Eustache in Paris. (Figs. 84, 180¹⁰⁹⁶). By the selected ground principle of the composition, forms then occurred there, that express the continuous verticality of the pier, which were designed to combine therewith the support of the vault forms occurring between them. Therefore must be found at certain places in the structure of the pier columns or pilasters like the antique, which were capable of receiving both the horizontal entablature and the repetition of the same, that occurred on the walls of the side aisles, and which for uniform effect must likewise be added to the free piers. Our Fig. 84, that represents one of the detached piers of the side aisle, shows this very clearly. The dotted lines indicate the entablature above the chapels, which also occurs on the free piers. Fig. 180 exhibits the difference between the treatment of the crowning pier and that of the other. One sees how the entablature above the arches of the middle aisle is connected with the piers. On the crossing pier with its three continuous orders directly for the same purpose, it is supported by an Ionic order rising beneath. On the other piers the latter has only the height of the side aisle window above the chapels. In Fig. 184 may be seen how the pier of the middle aisle on the side next the side aisle has a treatment different from that next the middle aisle, in order to repeat the subdivision of the former in its height.

Note 1096. From Colliat, V. L'Eglise de S. Eustache. Paris. 1850.

The arcade piers of the middle and transverse aisles exhibit yet other variations in treatment.

The small height of the round arches of these arcades in proportion to the great capitals with a single order to the height of the imposts of the arcades, as may be seen on the crossing piers, indeed allowed the architects to adopt a lower form of impost for the other piers, as shown by Figs. 180, 182, 184.

Likewise in the peculiar treatment of the details of the same pier prevails a certain variety. On the left front crossing pier the arch pilaster next the transverse aisle has a Corinthian capital with enormous angle volutes and a small middle one. The pilaster of the nave arch has a Composite capital with great perforated volutes as in Chambord. Yet the capitals in general are beautiful, spirited and animated, and free by the variety of the leaf forms. The volutes grow finely from the stems and become broad and plainly moulded. The upper capitals of this pier beneath the crossing arch appear to have the same character.

One may see in Fig. 30, how the low capitals of the little orders are crowded between the great capitals, and how a common architrave, treated somewhat like a cornice, above which spring the archivolts and the ribs.

What is now the general impression produced by this pier treatment of S. Eustache? The impression of bold ascending is yet so strongly expressed by the great number of tall and slender piers, especially of those standing entirely free between the inner and outer side aisles, that it is not lessened by the horizontal subdivision of the diagonal rounds (see Fig. 84) in a substantially artistic respect. The composition is so very rare and arouses so greatly the interest of the architect, that herein is a compensation for the points relating to criticism. Further by the outlines of the pier, the little orders standing above each other, are fused together with the main rounds into a strong unity.

713. Capricious Forms of Piers.

Particularly in the time of transition from the early Renaissance to the classical phase, one sometimes meets with very fanciful treatment, in which the capricious verges on the won-

wonderful and bizarre, just as is the case in the Chateau chapel of Anet for the window piers. (See Art. 742).

In the Church at Gisors, at the change from the nave to the transept, were indeed placed about 1540 some strengthening piers with forms of capitals of peculiar shape. They form five sides of an octagon and have five Ionic pilasters extending to the impost, whose capitals with very high neckings exhibit flutes and three rosettes on each. On these capitals lies an architrave like a cornice, above which the eight angle sides extend further to their intersection with the transverse or side arches. On these upper sides are arranged tabernacles with pilasters and gables, to connect to quarter capitals, transverse arch and ribs. On the main axes are sometimes placed rather narrower Corinthian pilasters before the Ionic, concealing about three-fourths of their capitals. In the middle aisle a smaller round is placed diagonally, that likewise supports a tabernacle, above which the member reappears as a pilaster, and receives two diagonal ribs above its cap.

Very wonderful and hard to describe is the treatment of the pier, that may be seen at the crossing of S. Clotilde in Le Grand Andely. Directly above the Corinthian base and below the impost with beautiful rows of leaves, the pier is treated as a bold half column, that approaches the rich outlines of a late Gothic pier. To complete this better than by ordinary fluting, the half column is then subdivided vertically according to the section of a cornice inscribed within the semicircle, and it exhibits quarter rounds, geison, astragal and cavetto. Above the base and below the impost the profile starts with a return at right angles, becomes horizontal, and its intersection with the cylindrical surface of the half column forms on the latter coursed outlines like a cornice, that especially below, where the cornice lines are returned, produces a strange and not unpleasing recess.

On the front right hand crossing pier in S. Maclou at Pontoise, first erected in 1585, that is composed of different Corinthian pilasters, a cornice directly succeeds the abacus, evidently to afford a better bearing for the ribs than the curved abacus. The height of the cornice and capital together

is less on the narrow, than on the wide pilasters. In this position the unequal leaves and volute stems at different heights endeavor to harmonize as peacefully as possible. But the most peculiar thing is, that on the three narrower grouped pilasters and half pilasters at about half the height of the capital below it, an Ionic entablature with capitals as imposts for the side aisles surrounds the pilaster, so that the entablature extends through the three pilasters, but on the half pilasters beneath them, the height of the Ionic capitals is but half that of those on the entire pilasters.

2. Treatment of Piers of the high Renaissance and of the later Phase until 1645.

714. Examples from the High Renaissance.

Churches or even parts of churches from the best age of the high Renaissance are so rare, that the description of the treatment of the piers sometimes appears more useful than the description of the buildings themselves. In the 17th and 18th centuries, on the contrary, prevails so little diversity in the arch piers, subdivided by pilasters, that we need only mention a few of them here.

In S. Laurent at Nogent-sur-Seine a side aisle and its capitals exhibit Renaissance forms, which are perhaps allied to those of the columnar order in the interior of the hall of Caryatids in the Louvre. Three fluted Doric pilasters without entablature project one module and support the three round transverse arches, that spring from each pier between the capitals. Smaller angles of pilasters in the reentrant angles correspond to the diagonal ribs. The neckings of the columns and the members of the capitals are sculptured.

In the interior of the former Abbey of Autrey is found an entirely different form of pier treatment. On the walls are attached actual half square pilasters to receive the cross vaults. They have members recalling similar ones in the Cathedrals of Como and of Pavia. Below are two pedestals over each other, the upper one with two panels; then follows the pier proper of a ground story, above which an entablature extends around, and the pedestal of the upper and larger half of the pier rests, which extends to the impost of the vault. Frieze and pedestals have transverse panels, the high portions

of the pier having a single recessed panel, that leaves a strong and plain border around the pilaster.

The pier and arch treatment of the Chapel du Collège at Chaumont in Champagne presents various interesting arrangements, so far as one may judge from representations.

In Notre Dame at Havre, whose facade was previously described (Art. 685), exist yet some mediaeval freedoms and elements. The arcade arches and transverse arches of the side aisles rest directly on the capitals of round columns resembling Doric, to which are attached bold Doric pilasters next the middle aisle, that rise higher, partly fill with their capitals and entablature the spandrels of the arches, and receive the ribs of the cross vaults of the middle aisle, in whose lunettes are round-arched windows. ¹⁰⁹⁷

Note 1097. Nicolas Duchemin began in 1574 the Church of Notre Dame at Havre and died in 1598 (May 5). Pierre Labitree, sculptor, and Etienne Hallinguer continued the building, only completed in 1827. See Archives de l'Art Français. Doc. Vol. 6. p. 32. (1885-1860).

Pierre Legenepvois from Rouen was replaced in 1619 by Lucas Gueramel. The latter was in 1620 sent to Lemercier in Paris, who surveyed the building with him. Etienne Hallinguer built the side aisles, chapels and side portals. (Side facades?).

Lance, A. Vol. 1. p. 333, 349.

715. Antique Arch Piers.

Even in the 16 th century are found isolated experiments with the antique Roman arch piers, that obtained supremacy in the 17 th century.

In the little Church at Berville may be seen an early experiment employing square arch piers with pilasters. The latter are of the Doric order, extending somewhat above the crowns of the arches, and directly receive on the abacus the ribs of the vaults.

Fig. 181 ¹⁰⁹⁸ exhibits another example in the north, of the two bays of the left transept of S. Clotilde in Le Grand Andely. The arch is still pointed there, perhaps because it is connected with the rebuilding of a church of the 13 th century. But in the adjacent bay the arch has the rare form of an ellipse, whose major axis is vertical. The archivolt has a sect-

section like a cornice with modillions, intersects the architrave of the entablature and has its crown below the cornice.

Note 1098. From Rouyer & Barcel. *L'Art Architectural en France*. Paris. 1866.

It may be seen in our Fig., how the square pier in the antique sense is combined with a corinthian pilaster. In reality it is not plain, as in the Fig., but is fluted. This must be one of the few examples of a church with two internal orders. Likewise is the form of the pier similar in the upper story.

716. 17 th Century.

Perhaps the only original form of pier, which we still find in the 17 th century, is that in the former great Abbey Church at S. Amand near Valenciennes of about 1633. The supports had the character of columns, but instead of showing a circular cross section, this consisted of four semicircles joined together, as on the shafts of the facade. The oval arches of the arcade commence above the entablature, and those of the transverse arches of the side aisles directly on the capitals.

The examples to be mentioned still, exhibit merely variations in the treatment of the Roman arcade piers.

On the arches of Lemercier in the interior of S. Roch in Paris, the Doric pilasters with their heart leaves, egg-and-dart and pearl beads, rosettes on the necking of the capital, and the tolerably fine rosettes in the metopes, still have something of the charm of the high Renaissance, for which the Louis XV. cartouches of the keystones of the arches are little suited.

In the Church of Petit-Peres in Paris (Notre Dame des Victoires), begun by Pierre Lemuet in 1656 and carried further by Liberal Bruant and Gabriel Leduc, there still is on the archivolts a uniformly wide and plain rectangular border, carried around on three sides. Thereby the piers with their Ionic pilasters become nearly as wide as are the arches in the clear.

The arches in Notre Dame at Versailles by J. Hardouin Mansard, of 1684-1686, are good. They have Doric pilasters, whose capitals are animated by pearl beads and "goudrons" on the echinus.

3. Triforiums and Balustrades.

In connection with the forms of piers, from which that of

the arches is inseparable, this appears to be the most suitable place to refer to some examples of treatment of triforiums and balconies, that are likewise intimately connected with the forms of the piers.

In the Church of S. martin at Argentan above the gothic arches a Renaissance balcony rests on a round arch on piers of square section. In the arch spandrels between the archivolts are arranged large flat consoles, which with that of the key-stone support a Doric entablature below the windows. The piers rest on the balustrade above Ionic pilasters, between which are placed perforated panels.

Especially pretty is the triforium-like treatment of the wall between the arch and the window in S. Clotilde in Le Grand Andely. It is shown in Fig. 181. A small Corinthian order with a fluted column, whose entablature has modillions and finely sculptured ornaments, encloses the little square and round or oval windows, alternating in the bays and found in the wall behind.

To be mentioned is also the triforium of the Church of Bar-sur-Seine.

Here are also to be named the wooden balustrades, the coupled columns, tympanums and coats of arms, that the choir balcony in the Chateau chapel in Ecouen forms as an insertion in a larger round-arched opening. The work is very beautiful and is probably by Jean Goujon. The splendid balustrade of the organ gallery at Ecouen was previously described as an example of the rhythmic bay. (Arts. 531, 134).

b. Interior Designs of the Early Renaissance.

1. S. Eustache in Paris and S. Maclou in Pontoise.

717. Church of S. Eustache and its Importance.

In the interior of S. Eustache in Paris we come, not only to one of the bright points of the French Renaissance, but of church architecture in general. The number of churches, that have received a unified design and internal treatment is so small, that where we meet with one of these, we must occupy ourselves longer with it, since it affords opportunity to obtain a better insight into the contemporary views on church architecture. The authorship of this great monument therefore not only deserves to be more closely investigated, since theo-

theories concerning it have been put forth in recent times, that require thorough testing. For sake of clearness, we shall therefore treat in connection with the great Paris church that of S. Maclou in Pontoise, with which Palustre has sought to bring it into close relations.

S. Eustache, already frequently mentioned, ¹⁰⁹⁹ was erected as the parish church of the then richest and most populous congregation in Paris, that of the Market Halls. As Anthyme Saint-Paul correctly remarks, it is the only great church of the Renaissance, built in one inspiration, or more correctly stated, as far as the general impression extends, was always carried to completion according to the original unified design.

Note 1099. See Arts. 105, 111; Figs. 29, 30; Arts. 114, 131, 183, 423, 708.

According to Galliat the length of the Church is 290 ft., the width being 143.5 ft. The height of the crown of the middle aisle is 109.3 ft. From the extrados to the ridge is 51.1 ft. The distance between the axes of the piers of the side aisles measures 19.7 ft.

S. Eustache is really a great five-aisled cathedral, as shown by Fig. 182, ¹¹⁰⁰ with doubled choir aisles, a series of chapels and two towers on the facade. The system of construction, purposes and subdivision, are entirely conceived in Gothic, but are translated wholly into early Renaissance forms. (Also see Fig. 184). With the execution of the apse the arches are everywhere semicircular. The two side aisles and choir aisles have equal heights; the chapels are about half as high, and over them lie the great windows of the outer side aisle.

Note 1100. From Galliat, V. and Le Roux de Lincy. L'Eglise de S. Eustache at Paris etc. Paris. 1850.

The centre of the great semicircular Chapel of S. Maria lies on the external circumference of the series of chapels. Its diameter is determined by the radii passing through the two middle piers of the apse. Between these radii the rows of piers of the two aisles are interrupted, and three star vaults cover the space between the apse and the chapel. The latter has the height of the choir aisle and is twice as high as the other chapels.

The incomparable and elevated internal effect is first of

all based on the combined effect of two causes:-- first, the lofty forest of piers and ribs with rich and mysterious views filled with fanciful and magical light; second, the happy proportions of the interior, that by their finished harmony decidedly surpass those of Notre Dame in Paris.

This refined spaciousness therefore comes from beyond the dimensions and proportions, since everywhere in this structure, conceived in Gothic, pointed arches are replaced by round arches. The architect here stood before the great danger, that with such lofty walls and piers, the rise of the arches, i.e. of the supported parts, would be too low in comparison with the pointed arch. As Figs. 180, 182 and 184 show, he has succeeded in sufficiently stilting the round arches of the arcades and transverse arches, without reaching the point at which this would have a bad effect.

A third source of interest occurs for the architect, and consists in the endeavors of the architectural composition and in the mode of translating purely Gothic ideas into the frequently charming form expressions of Milanese and Florentine Renaissance. The architect cannot remain cold and insensible before this mighty manifestation of real architectural creative imagination. He cannot withhold recognition of the power of development, that is manifested in the treatment of the piers and in detail, and he will enjoy in the oldest parts the charm of the details and the refined fancy of the charming antique-like shrines, canopies, domes and vaults, into which the Gothic has been transformed.

But the greatest effect in S. Eustache is furthermore based on one principal cause; the massive clarity and unity of the artistic ground idea, the masterly certainty, with which it is arranged in ground plan, section and internal elevation, subdivision and detailed with clear and consistent method as an entire internal and structural composition. There prevails in this entire architectural art such a unified spirit, that it must be difficult to see in the general design the work of designing by more than one master. On the exterior, especially in the forms of the flying buttresses, of the tracery etc., there must rather be conjectured the influence of other masters.

If one is occasionally justified in criticizing some things in the treatment of this magnificent church, this rests on the circumstance, that a great part of it was only built under Louis XIII and exhibits cold details, on the other hand, that the problem of the architect in the design of this church was one extraordinarily difficult. The manner in which he overcame these difficulties in the interior stamps the creator of this building as a really important master, whatever may have been his name.

One structural peculiarity in this church deserves to be emphasized. Above the vaults of the middle aisle, the piers extend up to the bearings of the framework of the roof, and are connected together by arches above the compartments, that are concentric with the side arches. The piers thereby have a better longitudinal connection over the windows, the framework of the roof has a firmer and broader bearing, and the centre of gravity of the wall is transferred a little towards the interior.

The building was certainly erected in accordance with the original design. In the details of certain architectural members, such as the gargoyles (of 1629) or the capitals, is reflected the character of the period between 1532 and 1640, even if the old arrangements and dimensions are also retained.

In the interior there appear to belong to the oldest parts of the church the right (southern) transept, the crossing piers, then the southern piers of the nave, and perhaps also the three of the south side of the choir to the apse, and likewise the four first northern capitals of the choir, counting from the transept.

On a capital of the third northern chapel, outside in the court of the sacristy is the date of 1534. On the Composite capital of the arch impost of the front crossing pier on the left is carved a little tablet with the date of 1537. On the southern transept portal are the dates of 1539 and 1540, on the northern being 1545. This was rebuilt above the ground story in 1640. When the previously described western facade, intended for two towers, was commenced (see Art. 646), appears to be unknown. It was struck by lightning in 1726, and was torn down in 1753, apparently having become dangerous.

The first bay of the chapels on the left from the southern transept and the impost pier of the chapel on the right (of the choir) are still early Renaissance. With these parts agree ~~very well~~ the dates of 1539 and 1540 as mentioned. ¹¹⁰¹

Note 1101. "The right side of the church and the south side, which is opposite the old Rue des Prouvaires, was built in 1539 and 1540". Torre, L'Abbe A. F. Guide de l'Eglise de S. Eustache de Paris. p. 85. Paris. 1889.

Le Roux de Lincy ¹¹⁰² has also obtained the following dates from the National Archives.

Note 1102. See the work mentioned in Note 1100, p. 5-18.

• 1530, chapel S. Venice was consecrated.

1541, chapel de la Trinite, already described.

1542, existed the chapels of S. Jean l'Evangeliste and of Ss. Erieh et Guillaume.

1578, for the three first piers from the facade on the right.

1586 was the chapel of S. Francois decorated at the cost of Scipion, Count de Fiesque.

1589, the building was enlarged to the entire existing ground plan. It was soon thereafter left until 1624.

1638 was the choir completed.

1637 was the church consecrated anew.

1640 is the date of the upper half of the facade of the left transept.

The statement of Sauval, that the choir was first begun in 1624, should not be considered; it perhaps only relates to the middle aisle.

718. Church of S. Maclou at Pontoise.

In order to enter more fully into the question of who was the architect of S. Eustache, S. Maclou must be first described, since as already stated, Palustre believed that by its means the question of the original creator of the famous Paris church may be solved.

S. Maclou was formerly a church of a single aisle with a transverse aisle. The apse dates from the 12th and the nave from the 13th century. Somewhere between 1520 and 1545 ¹¹⁰³ were added on the north two side aisles and a series of chapels, arches and new piers of the middle aisle then being built, but the Gothic vaults and windows were retained in the latter.

Note 1103. Or since about 1525, as Palustre believed. These forms might occur at Blois already in 1515 or 1520.

In the years 1586-1585 the southern right side was enlarged, commencing here with the choir, ¹¹⁰⁴ only one side aisle with chapels being erected.

Note 1104. The first chapel on the right from 1578 is only cut in the rough above. The third pilaster of the chapels, counted from the facade, also bears this date externally. The third chapel is dated 1570, and the crossing pier on this side in 1585.

In the middle aisle were arch piers consisting of round columns, intersected by the arch mouldings, and that have an attached Ionic pilaster in front, which as a colossal order extends to the vaults of the middle aisle. This treatment of columns or piers, just as little as that of the columns between the two northern aisles, whose light gracefulness is mentioned by Palustre, have something in common with the system of arrangement of the piers of S. Eustache.

The expression "light gracefulness" is further especially incorrect here, since the columns do make a very bold impression, and to the beautiful capitals and their cornice is to be emphasized, on the contrary, "that grace and delicacy are there combined with sobriety and elegant strength".

In the parts executed between 1520 and 1585 may easily be recognized some phases of architectural activity. Since it is necessary to accurately distinguish between them, we have designated them and their anonymous masters (except one) by the letters A, B, C, D and E on the left, F and G on the right side, taken from the facade.

Master A was the author of the project for rebuilding the middle aisle and the two northern side aisles with their row of chapels. Under his direction were built and cut complete:-- first the entire series of capitals, externally and internally, excepting the portal at the eastern end; second the four first columns from the facade between the side aisles; third in the middle aisle, the four corresponding first capitals of the colossal pilaster order; fourth the inner angle of the transept adjoining the aforesaid eastern doorway.

Master B was the author of the five (last) columns, already

Note 1103. Or since about 1525, as Palustre believed. These forms might occur at Blois already in 1515 or 1520.

In the years 1536-1585 the southern right side was enlarged, commencing here with the choir, ¹¹⁰⁴ only one side aisle with chapels being erected.

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Master B was the author of the five (last) columns, already

standing beneath the western wall of the transverse aisle, further of the external doorway at the eastern end of the row of chapels; and lastly of the grouped capitals of the colossal order on the front crossing pier on the left.

Master C is the same Pierre Lemercier, ¹¹⁰⁵ to whom is to be attributed the completion of the tower with its wonderful domical termination, according to the notarial act of M. Leduc on Sept. 25, 1552.

Note 1105. See Palustre, L. *La Renaissance en France*. Vol. 2. p. 9, on the basis of Trou, L'Abbe, *Recherches historiques* etc. p. 94. Pontoise. 1841.

Master D, already belonging to the high Renaissance, is the interesting artist, who designed and executed the architectural portions of the "Tomb of Christ" in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, and further particularly rebuilt this chapel with its buttress projecting internally and an internal doorway.

Master E added the Ionic entablature and capital at the height of the impost of the side aisles on the front crossing pier on the left.

In the right half of the church we have:--

Master F, who executed the corresponding opposite Ionic entablature with its capitals on the front crossing pier on the right.

Master G is the one to whom we attribute substantially the other portions of the right side aisle and of its chapels.

It is permissible to find in the treatment of the piers between the northern chapels a tolerable relation with portions of the treatment of the piers of S. Eustache. From the plain substructure rise pilasters with square borders at the middle and at both sides, which receive the transverse arches above their low entablature, while at both sides, as in Fig. 84, the three-quarter columns receive the diagonal ribs, their capitals and entablature remaining below the pilaster capital.

Likewise on the exterior of the northern chapels, where pilasters like Corinthian with lozenge panels separate wide round-arched windows with late Gothic tracery, a certain analogy with the chapels of S. Eustache may be mentioned; but those of S. Maclou have better proportions and a purer and some-

somewhat simplified style, for example, than the southern transept portal of S. Eustache. Externally the chapel of S. S Sepulchre beside the tower is a real jewel in the style of O Chambord.

On the portions of the church previously passed over, we have made the following observations. On the front crossing pier at the left, the rather heavy handling of the Ionic pilaster capital recalls in some things those of the Church of S. Clotilde at Andely.

The doorway on the facade to the right side aisle recalls, although in a lesser degree, the master of the new tower of the Church at Gisors, the third pilaster of the right side aisle on the outside from 1573 is likewise an imitation of G Gisors. In the right (southern) side aisle, in the piers between the capitals, is again found a certain relationship with S. Eustache. Also the later foliage of the capitals has certain analogies with the later in S. Eustache.

719. Architects of S. Eustache and of S. Maclou.

Concerning the names of the designing architects of S. Eustache no reliable statements exist. Other ways for obtaining their names have been sought.

Le Roux de Lincy¹¹⁰⁶ wrote in the year 1850; the corner stone was laid on Aug. 19, 1532, and since the Hotel-de-Ville of Paris was begun in 1533 by Domenico da Cortona, it is assumed from this connection, that he might be the architect of the church.

Note 1106. See p. 18 of his work.

Guilhermy wrote five years later:-- The architect in charge of the work must have been named David. Thereby he meant that Charles David, "sworn of the king in works of masonry --- architect and superintendent of the church", who after 53 years of marriage to Anne Lemercier died at 93 years of age on Dec. 4, 1650, and who completed the church.¹¹⁰⁸ Lance¹¹⁰⁹, on the contrary, holds him to be the second architect of the church and the builder of the facade completed in 1637.

Note 1107. Guilhermy, M. F. de. *Itineraire Archaeologique de Paris*. p. 199. Paris. 1855.

Note 1108. See Art. 423; V. Calliat and Le Roux de Lincy. *L'Eglise de S. Eustache etc.* p. 18.

Note 1109. See Dictionnaire des Architectes Français. Art. David.

Palustre believes, ¹¹¹⁰ that both churches are the "work of the family" of Lemer cier from Pontoise. He would place Pierre Lemer cier as architect (see Art. 131) and Nicolas Lemer cier as his successor. He believes these views to be confirmed by the fact, that Anna, daughter of the last and sister of the young Jacques Lemer cier, married the Charles David just mentioned, and that the "most" of our buildings properly speaking were the works of families", since in the 16 th century the sons were frequently successors of their fathers as architects. Since now Jacques Lemer cier was too young, when his father N Nicolas Lemer cioier died, to become his successor in the superintendence of the erection of S. Eustache, his brother-in-law Charles David was selected therefor.

Note 1110. See La Renaissance en France. Vol. 1. Introduction. p. 6. Paris. 1879.

The "reasoning" of Palustre is pretty and has something attractive. The affair could have so occurred. Unfortunately a twofold investigation of S. Maclou prevents my concurrence in this opinion. And I am not the only one in whom the statements of Palustre has aroused a feeling of uncertainty. ¹¹¹¹

Note 1111. In October of 1895, M. Lucien Maigne said to me, that he had a friend, who knew the archives well, that Palustre had consulted in reference to the artists of the Lemer cier family, and who assured him as follows. Since Palustre found a gap in the series of the members of this family, he had simply invented a Lemer cier to fill it. Palustre furthermore himself gives the latter fact as in its way a "hypothesis".

Already in 1883 M. A. de Champeaux expressed another opinion in a letter of Jan. 11 to Palustre, that he placed at my disposal. After stating the reasons that fix on Boccador with certainty as the architect of the Paris Hotel-de-Ville, he asks whether the latter could not also have furnished the plans for this church, by which Lemer cier would have been only the executing architect. ¹¹¹²

Note 1112. "According to what I have said to you, you must think that I should likewise be disposed to accept the deter-

determination of Liberol as the first architect of S. Eustache. But there I have no proof to give - - . but could not you yourself admit, that if Liberol be correct, Dominique would also have contributed to the construction only for the general plan, that is astonishing by its grandeur and its singularity, and that the execution was carried out by Lemer cier?".

Likewise Anthyme Saint-Paul does not seem to be entirely convinced of the correctness of Palustre's conclusions. He writes:-- In S. Eustache at Paris pierre Lemer cier -- if it really be he -- has a work without precedent and without successor. One questions whether the Gothic here challenged the Renaissance or the reverse. ¹¹¹³

Note 1113. See Planat. Vol. 6. p. 378.

Let us first more carefully examine the theories of Palustre. Their entire structure rests on two main points. That Pierre Lemer cier was actually the first architect of S. Maclou in Pontoise: that the relation in style between S. Maclou and S. Eustache was so close, that both "must" necessarily have come from the same architect. We cannot concur in this opinion either.

Palustre supports these main points on conjectures too rashly put forth by him alone, which also appear to him at once confidently as clearly proved. The first runs:-- "And first one is led to believe that the architect in question (Pierre Lemer cier), far from making a test of his powers for the first time (this refers to the dome of the tower of 1552), he had already a few years previously (27 according to Palustre's assumption) had charge of the enlargement of the same edifice". The second runs:-- "What one besides him indeed could have erected the two southern aisles, whose style is again found in the parts belonging to him without dispute (the domes of the towers). On this subject we advise the special examination of the decorations of the doorway opening toward the east". The third runs:-- "And then if it were otherwise, we should seek for the rest of a career, that could not have been limited to works of relatively little importance. For one cannot admit, that in the space of 30 years, the administration of the edifice had changed the architect three times. For the most superficial examination is opposed to such a suggestion,

and if one thing appears certain, it is that Pierre Lemer cier did not prolong his days much beyond 1500".

Against the first hypothesis it is to be remembered, that innumerable examples remain to show that a certain architect or contractor has executed a definite portion of a building, without therefore requiring that the preceding parts must be likewise by the same master.

Against the second hypothesis it is to be most distinctly declared, that in the northern side aisles and on their eastern doorway as well, not a half inch square in style justifies or even invites the decision, that these parts could be by the master of the termination of the tower, Pierre Lemer cier.

Against the third hypothesis, that even "the most superficial examination" forbids the assumption, that the administration could have changed its architects three times within 30 years, if the reply be made, that for these 30 years we found ourselves compelled to fix the five architectural phases A, B, C, D and E, which also after thorough observation indicate five, or at least three different masters, and Pierre Lemer cier, the third of these masters, in no case could have commenced the building.

Since now the southern side aisle shows a different and latter hand, Palustre reverts to the conjecture, that this must be that of a son of Pierre Lemer cier, since then sons often followed the pursuits of their father, and sometimes became their successors. He believes this so much the more, since the famous architect Jacques Lemer cier was born in Pontoise in 1585, and consequently must have been the son of this unknown son of Pierre Lemer cier. Certainly such a condition of things is not impossible. Yet since one more commonly sees architects, who do not have a father as predecessor on a building nor their sons as successors, then this entire theory of Palustre, however ingenious and seductive it may be, must be termed merely an ingenious romance. This is an extremely dangerous and not a too reasonable manner for pursuing studies in the history of architecture.

As a justification of our statements may be said the following on the character of these five manners.

Master A is more refined, his forms and proportions are no-

nobler than all at S. Eustache. His capitals and mouldings prove in the plainest way, that he came from the school of Blois, Bury and Chambord.

There prevails perfect harmony between his forms and his means of execution: the foliage of the early Renaissance is treated with entire certainty. The mouldings are delicate, noble and animated.

Master B was not so refined in feeling as master A. His foliage of the lower order is occasionally overloaded, turgid and coarse in relief, in the rosettes of the capitals and the arch spandrels of the eastern doorway.

The foliage is allied to that on the capitals of 1534 in S. Eustache in Paris. The capitals of the half columns beside the eastern doorway, as well as of the larger pilasters which they adjoin, likewise exhibit that fanciful artistic combination with canopies, that may be seen on the portal of the south transept of S. Eustache in Fig. 29.

The grouping of large and small capitals under the entablature of the colossal order on the left crossing pier is very similar to that on the same place in S. Eustache, as shown by Fig. 30, excepting that the columns are replaced by fluted pilasters.

In the foliage of this capital, on the other hand, Master B shows himself more awkward than below. The form of the leaves is flat, their arrangement is confused: the incisions at the leaf notches are irregular and undecided. The capitals by this master have volute stems at the angles and beneath the rosettes, that become too much enlarged upwards, while in the capitals of master A the angles of the abacus are always supported by varied figures.

This unskilful treatment of the later foliage permits the question to arise, whether we are right in ascribing these upper capitals to the same master B as the lower ones, or are we not to think of a master B'? Perhaps it may be explained, that he gave up the treatment of the early Renaissance leaves usual for him, and that for him and his stonecutters a new form of the classical Corinthian capital was introduced.

Profiles in architecture are one of the most faithful reflections of the nature of a master, of his gifts and mode of

feeling. A profile frequently occurs like the signature of an architect. Therefore just the fact, that master B without any reason varied from animated and well conceived profiles of master A in the pedestal and base of the fifth column, is extremely worth consideration and stamps him as a less artistically gifted personality, to whom it would be impossible to entrust the creation of S. Eustache. Were this master identified with Pierre Lemercier, then his eccentric termination of the tower would merely strengthen this conclusion. Even though with him certain analogies in detail with S. Eustache occur, the only logical explanation therefore is, that the second master of S. Maclou was influenced by the erection of the great Paris church, and not the converse, as Palustre believes.

For master C, neither in the composition of the termination of the tower, in the outlines, in the sparing foliage of the vase crowning the stairway turret, nor does the slightest indication exist to justify the assumption, that master C, i.e., Pierre Lemercier, was the same as master B, and still less identical with master A. Just as little may he be identified with his successor master D.

Master D assumes an entirely independent position, when within classical profiles and ornaments he occasionally employs natural plant forms as scrolls or otherwise conventionalized, and again sometimes inserts a profile, which recalls the grilles in Michelangelo's style, and that we saw sporadically occur in certain severe works of J. Goujon.

This master has nothing in common with S. Eustache and appears rather to follow a course parallel with the works of the masters of Ecouen, of S. Clotilde at Andely and of Gisors.

On the entablature of Master G the somewhat S-shaped recessed form of the pointed leaf notches permit a recognition of a master, to whom the treatment of foliage is so easy, that he already quickly "dashes off" conventionally rather than designed, about as may be seen in the numerous drawings and engravings of Du Cerceau of the time from 1540 to 1560.

Here is then the place to inquire, whether the seven different phases of architectural work and their stylistic peculiarities, that we have mentioned at S. Maclou, really come from

seven different masters or express the steps of the development of a single master? Du Cerceau and Hugues Sambin (see Arts. 162, 127), for example, may be seen to pass through all the steps here mentioned, from the early to the late Renaissance between 1530 and 1585. But in such cases there are always found, as in Du Cerceau, certain characteristic peculiarities, that retain and identify the unified artistic personality. In the different architectural phases of S. Maclou at Pontoise, this is not at all the case -- or in case one places himself in opposition to the theories of Palustre -- must only be taken as a distant possibility and with caution.

Although absolutely nothing compels or particularly requires this, it would be possible in any case to assume, that the phases E, F and G might be later steps in style of master D, even if Palustre himself did not demand this for F and G.

And even if one desired to admit, that master C (Pierre Lemer cier) and master B were but one person, then would nothing be obtained for his theory; for various distinct stylistic things entirely forbade his identification with master A. And without the latter, his entire theory is absolutely untenable.

By the proved impossibility, Pierre Lemer cier (master C) is to be identified neither with master A nor with master D, and the importance of Lemer cier is reduced to a minimum. And even if one attributes to him the participation of master B, then the analogies with S. Eustache could only prove, that he was strongly influenced by that building. The labored and illogical form of his termination of the tower (1552) satisfies neither mind nor eye, and entirely forbids seeing in him an artist, who would be competent to design S. Eustache.

With equal or even greater justice could one decide on account of a certain similarity of the piers, that the master of the Church at Ennery (Fig. 178) might be the designer of S. Eustache. This relationship in the treatment of the pier can be explained simply by the development of the entire style tendency from a common starting point (the Gothic clustered pier) according to the same principle of its translation into the forms of the antique orders.

The assumption of Palustre, that Pierre Lemer cier was the first architect of the churches of S. Maclou in Pontoise and

of S. Eustache in Paris may therefore be regarded as untenable and as set aside.

Likewise the thorough Albert Lenoir, refined in feeling and rich in knowledge, spoke to me several years since, not of S. Maclou as of a church by the same master as S. Eustache, but of a smaller church of the same style tendency.

In any case the first architect of S. Maclou, as well as of S. Eustache, was acquainted with the Bramantesque works in Lombardy by his own observation, and must further be regarded as belonging to the school of Blois and Chambord, within which until 1531, Boccador had his domicile at Blois. Therefore he was well-acquainted with the manner of the latter master.

The two northern side aisles and chapels of master A, by the sharp and elastic profiling with the high scotias of the bases, entirely belong to that offshoot of the Lombard-Bramantesque style, that we find so common on the Loire. Also the capitals with their high and sharply projecting abacus supported by angle figures, that develop from the leaves, having heads with long necks after Caradosso instead of rosettes, entirely belong to the Lombard-Bramantesque school in detail of Chambord, although mostly or entirely carved by Frenchmen. They likewise recall, as Palustre here correctly remarks, the memorial column of Cardinal de Bourbon in the Abbey of S. Denis, for which one asks, whether it came from a Frenchman or a Lombard.

What are then the reasons, that can be produced in favor of Boccador as the creator of S. Eustache?

We admit, that whoever only thinks of the Paris Hotel-de-Ville must at first be astonished to hear, that S. Eustache was also by Boccador. But if one carefully reviews everything, that we have already said on these masters, and shall state in reference to the Hotel-de-Ville, it does not then appear in any manner excluded, that he could have played a similar part at S. Eustache to that at the Chateaus of Blois and of Chambord, or one entirely distinct as at the Hotel-de-Ville of Paris.¹¹¹⁴ Compare Figs. 81 with 84, and one will see, that the relationship existing between the treatment of the piers of S. Eustache and that of those at Chambord and at Blois exists, perhaps not to be referred merely to elements, t

that were the common property of the style, but more probably indicate a manner of treatment, that may well proceed from the characteristics of the style of a single important personality.

Note 1114. See Art. 60, and further Arts. 71, 72.

The circumstance, that Boccador at the end of 1530 and beginning of 1531 had sold his house in Blois to Michel Casson, and had already staid more than 3 months in Paris, before we possess any information relating to the rebuilding of the Hotel-de-Ville there, may also have been occasioned by the projecting of the Church of S. Eustache. We shall further have to emphasize in regard to the Hotel-de-Ville, that the number of architects then in Paris was small, who possessed a mastery of the new style. Jean de la Barre¹¹¹⁵ finally, who laid the corner stone, was a longtime friend of the king in youth, had shared his captivity in Spain, and thereby frequently had opportunity to come into contact with Domenico da Cortona, whom we must frequently recognize as the particular personal architect of the king.

Note 1115. Jean de la Barre, Count d'Etampes, was already in 1513 chamberlain of Francis I before his accession to the throne. He was later lieutenant general au gouvernement de Paris, and then Prevot de Paris. In 1531 he further became librarian of the king at Blois, where as we have seen, Domenico da Cortona had his own house until about this time. (Courteous information from M. A. de Champeaux).

It would be interesting to know under what circumstances Du Cerceau came to make that design for the facade of this church represented in Fig. 136. He cannot have done it before 1533,¹¹¹⁶ since he only returned from Italy in that year. But unfortunately one possesses not the slightest information in this matter.

Note 1116. See Geymüller, H. von. Les Du Cerceau etc. p. 13, 14.

The reasons in favor of Domenico da Cortona are therefore not finally conclusive; on the other hand the stylistic objections to his authorship by no means have the merit, that we were long inclined to assign to them. Some things speak in favor of this authorship. It is in any case far more possible

than that of Pierre Ledercier.

2. Other Churches.

720. S. Pierre at Coutances.

The next example on which we find a further development of the forms of the early Renaissance, forms but a small portion of a Norman church.

According to Palustre, the crossing tower of S. Pierre at Coutances was erected in 1545-1580, and was the work of Richard Vatin, Guillaume Le Rossel and Nicolas Saurel. Fig. 183.
1117

exhibits the interesting structure of the interior, that skilfully combines the two galleries and the window story with the two orders of half column, that with the ribs form the continuous arcading lines connected by the arches. According to Anthyme Saint-Paul, he removed the crossing tower of the Cathedral there.

Note 1117. From Palustre. La Renaissance etc. Vol. 2. Chap. Normandie. On a buttress may be read the name of Jean Lebreton.

If the system of numbering for these piers be compared with those of S. Eustache in Paris, one will recognize, that the development of the forms in the sense of simplification of the high Renaissance has made progress. For a better understanding, we have placed Fig. 184¹¹¹⁸ beside it, that allows a better recognition in S. Eustache, of the harmonizing of the subdivision of the piers of the side aisles with those of the middle aisle, as well as their contrast to the pilaster of the colossal order on the crossing pier, which has the height of the three orders on the piers of the side aisles.

Note 1118. From Galliet etc. See Note 1100.

The following portions of churches are yet worthy of mention.

721. Other Examples.

The treatment of the Church at Chaumont in Champagne and that of the Cathedral at Evreux (both in the style of Louis XII), and a part of the transverse aisle of Notre Dame at Beune (Francis I). The Chateau chapel at Villers-Cotterets¹¹¹⁹ is a rectangular room with horizontal ceiling, half columns with peculiar additions like consoles and twin windows with oval arches and tracery between, all in advanced early Renaissance forms.

Note 1118. Illustrated in Palustre. Vol. 1. p. 133.

In the Cathedral at Sens is to be mentioned the chapel at the right of the chapel of S. Martin, of about 1540. It has slender pilasters like Corinthian, with lozenge panels of the shafts, and a tunnel vault of ashlar, on which without regard to its joints are formed panels arranged like coffers with alternating circles and rectangles, by slightly projecting mouldings like ribs. The windows and their tracery are allied to those of S. Eustache in Paris. The capitals and sculptures of the entrance arch are much better, and are somewhat in the early style of Jean Goujon.

Further is in the Cathedral at Noyon the chapel of Notre Dame de Bonsecours. Two vaults, altar and canopy, erected by the bishops Charles and Jean Hangest, very rich though somewhat heavy in treatment, somewhat in the character of Holbein's early Renaissance.

In Picardy, the Church of Poix with rich vault and pendant keystones.

The interior of the Church at Cravant near Auxerre contains various interesting parts. Severe and good piers covered by ribs, that must recall something of those of the Cathedral of Pavia, vault coffers etc. In the Free County is the interior of the Chapel at Posmes, ¹¹¹⁹ apparently from the riper period of the style of Francis I, and in Bordeaux, the chapel on the left of the high altar of S. Sauvin also dates from the 16 th century.

Note 1119. Illustrated in Mottet & Taylor. Franche Comte. Vol. 1. Pl. 8.

c. Internal Architecture in the Style of Marguerite de Valois.

From this most charming and so quickly passed phase of the 16 th century, in which the early Renaissance or the style of Francis I attained the most perfect maturity, only one larger example has come to my knowledge, while we are able to mention a number of examples of external architecture. This is the Abbey Church of Valmont, north of Fecamp. It remains a ruin up to the window belt. Plain Doric columns with a circle of leaves on the necking of the column support richly moulded round arches without archivolts. Above a belt cornice b

begins the triforium. In each bay four round arches rest directly on the capitals of the small Ionic columns, that are always coupled in the middle of the bay. A plain separating pier corresponds to the lower columns, before which statues must have stood on the capitals corbelled out above the belt, and whose canopies project from the cornice over the triforium.

By the close spacing of the columns in the apse (five sides of a duodecagon) became necessary a too great stilting of the round arches. In the triforium are but two arches.

In this building has the early Renaissance dispensed with all useless and capricious ornament, but everywhere strove to attain to the harmoniousness and noblest proportions and forms of details, yet to remain fresh. Fig. 33 affords no idea of this peculiarity.¹¹²⁰ One believes himself to see here something of the almost sacred unity of form and harmony of the interior of the Cathedral of Amiens translated into Renaissance forms.

Note 1120. When M. Palustre most courteously permitted the reproduction of studies from nature of the unknown by me.

The interior of the charming Renaissance chapel in S. Jacques at Rheims will be described later.

d. Internal Architecture of the high Renaissance.

722. Introductory.

The fewest persons are in a position to understand the immense loss to architecture as a fact, since we are unable to exhibit a single example of an interior from the splendid time of the high Renaissance. We are compelled to mention smaller works or fragments, but especially refer the conclusions, that must be deduced from their combination, in the following to the Section on the only fragmentarily executed types. See Chapter 25, b.

By the help of these fragments, that supplement each other and sometimes form an analogy to a monument lying outside France, one is sometimes enabled in some degree to fill a lack of the style in our presentation. For example, at the time when the previously described Doric clustered piers of the Church at Le Mesnil-Aubry¹¹²¹ were designed, must correspond to the time when the choir aisle of S. Germain at Argentan originated.¹¹²² Even if it be in reality much later, it cor-

corresponds to some degree in style to that phase of the maturity of the style, in which the magnificent interior of the cathedral of Granada was completed.

Note 1121. Apparently in 1582.

Note 1122. Apparently in 1580-1588.

Yet no example in France is known to me in which, as in Granada, the clustered pier is retained in regular form, at the same time being enclosed within the covering of a beautifully treated, classically pure and yet animated Corinthian order. In the pier of the Church at Ennery described above, one seems to have been in this path, but stopped halfway.

Even with such small proportions and such a modest style, it was already recognized here, how beautiful would be the effect in churches in the high Renaissance, if such were completed, and the architect had a free hand in treating the interior in such manner, as to permit use to be made of the capabilities innate in this style.

1. Style Tendency of the two Renaissance Chapels at Toul.

723. Their Character.

The two Renaissance Chapels (Figs. 185, 186, 190, 191,¹¹²³) added to the Cathedral of Toul, to which we now pass, belong to the most interesting creations of the entire style. By their form treatment they stand nearly isolated in all Europe. On the one hand they differ by certain peculiarities from the average character of French, Italian and German works, and on the other they approach France in their fanciful construction, Italy by the treatment of details, and by an occasional superfluous stumpiness, to German enjoyment of the bold.

Note 1123. M. Paul Boeswillwald had the great courtesy to place at my command tracings from the drawings, that he made for the Commission des Monuments Historiques, that are here reproduced at a smaller scale in Fig. 185, 186, 190 and 191. I express to him my sincere thanks for this.

On these grounds we might assume, that this peculiar and very interesting architect was a native of Lorraine, who had made a thorough study of the monuments of upper Italy, particularly of Como and Bergamo to Venice, and had also worked in France. Or should one perhaps think of a Luxenberger or a Fleming?

This mixed character also makes it difficult to assign to the two chapels an entirely correct sequence in the development of the style. In some respects they should be counted with the early Renaissance, in others with the style of Marguerite de Valois.

Abbe G. Clanche in Nancy has brought to our attention the frequent changes and disputes relating to the naming of these two chapels. ¹¹²⁵ Lübke has also fallen into this error. He illustrates the chapel de la Toussaint (on the right), but names it S. Ursula, and he applies thereto the date and the name of the founder, that belongs to the true Ursula chapel (the left). The chapel with horizontal stone ceiling, at the end of the left side aisle for those entering, is the chapel des Eveques, also chapel d'Honneur, or also of S. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins. It was founded by Hector d'Ailly, who was bishop from 1525 to 1532. He was buried therein, and his arms are placed over the door and on the ceiling.

Note 1125. ^{Between} But Abbe Deblaye, formerly priest at Dammartin-les-Toul and Abbe Guillaume. According to Palusthe, the older chapel was commenced about 1530 by bishop Piere d'Ailly and completed about 1540. Work was still being done in 1549 on the later one with the dome, it was founded by the canon Forget.

Note 1125. See his Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich. p. 375. 1885.

724. Chapel des Eveques or S. Ursula in the Cathedral at Toul.

The architect decided to finish the chapel des Eveques with a horizontal ashlar ceiling. For this were required strong supports and abutments. He increased the latter by two broad side arches or short tunnel vaults at each of the four sides, whose front sides oppose the thrust. He further subdivided the square interior by two cross arches intersecting at the middle, whose outer fourths were constructed as semicircular arches and middle half as a straight arch. Thereby originated four small squares, but these were divided into four cells or cofferes by means of two intersecting straight arches. The cells were closed by stone slabs with rosettes.

Since one does not surmise from below, that the stone borders

around the coffers are so broad in order to reduce the span of the coffer slabs, but are further hollowed out, their wide and bold profiles particularly produce the impression of a strength almost suitable for military architecture. Consoles on the keystones of the side arches and along the two main cross arches permit the transition to the frame of the coffers.

On the plan in Fig. 185, it may be seen, that one main side arch rises from two single columns set opposite each other. The side arch on the other hand rises from a strongly projecting part of the upper entablature, which at the same time receives the tunnel-like end arch forming an abutment.

This projecting entablature is but slightly supported by a console, that springs from the pier between the two wall columns. At the end of the entablature are arranged four free pendants, visible in the plan, which in the section partly conceal the capitals of the rear columns. The rising of the arch from this projecting entablature contributes much to the fanciful impression of this singular work. As Fig. 86 shows, a portion of the framework of the stone ceiling is hollowed out to reduce the weight.

The shafts of the columns, friezes, panels and the backgrounds of the niches are of colored marble.

The rich and varied groups of columns, the pilasters and piers in the two stories, the animated projections and recesses of the walls, its deep arches, the view into the side aisle through the colonnade over the doorway, the niches, mouldings, the beautiful stone and marble surfaces, the everywhere equally careful execution, and finally the rich and wide span stone ceiling, all this combined produces a charming effect of peculiar beauty and imagination.

The forms of the details are almost exclusively those of the high Renaissance and contain early Renaissance reminiscences, that increase the charm and the freshness of the forms.

The outlines of the lower order of the chapel des Eveques are beautiful, firm and animated, with clearly distinct members. One will occasionally recall the style tendency of the choir of the Cathedral of Como and the part played there by enclosing mouldings and panels.

On the exterior of the chapel are piers in the ground story

and a column over each one of these in the second story. The windows have a treatment similar to that in the interior. At the side are also on the second story plain piers with same mouldings.

725. Examples of approximately allied Style Tendency.

The character of the two chapels at Toul is in many respects so singular, that immediately after our first visit to it, we proposed to ourself two questions:-- first, are there any works in France, that might be taken as a model for the character exhibited here? Second, are works by the same master to be found, or those influenced by the chapels of Toul?

In answer to our first question, we have not succeeded in finding examples, whose connection with Toul is absolutely convincing. Yet it appears to us, as far as one may judge from photographs, that a creation in Argenton exhibits an allied tendency and may be slightly older. Also we have been only approximately able to answer the second question by two works.

Whether finally the treatment of the columnar orders in S. Jacques in Rheims betrays any distinct relationship with the chapels in Toul, unfortunately I could not investigate.

Therefore here must be the best opportunity to speak of the architecture of the outer choir aisle of the Church of S. Germain at Argentan, which forms a series of interconnected chapels. Also in this original design has the treatment of the columnar orders something crisp and nobly simple, without being poor. The piers between the two aisles are half octagonal on the outside, before whose five sides are set columns a above each other, the lower being Doric and the upper being especially nobly treated Ionic.

The two entablatures are returned over each column up under the cornice. The latter forms bold slabs with the upper members, that intersect the pier at midheight and at the impost. The view of these numerous and somewhat stumpy shafts, standing near each other, which are also repeated in the upper order between the windows of the side aisles, recalls something of the character of the two Renaissance chapels of the Cathedral of Toul, especially of the pier in Fig. 186. They support ribs with stone ceilings. The view of the numerous simp-

simple, but beautifully detailed clustered columns and the rich ribs with stone ceilings and pendant keystones must belong with the most imaginative and noblest of the French Renaissance.

Each arch of the choir aisle corresponds to three round-arched windows in the external wall, that again form an arcade, and before their piers, externally and internally, is placed a free and beautiful Doric column. Their entablature approximately lies higher than that of the upper order of the pier toward the inner choir aisle, in order to leave the thrust of the heavy stone ceiling partially on the latter instead of on the external wall.

According to Palustre, these parts were built in 1580-1598 by Guillaume Crete and Thomas Olivier, masters of the works.

Among the chapels, that exhibit a distant relation of style to that of Toul, in any case may be named the chapel des Fonts of the Cathedral of Langres. At the entrance twice appears the date of 1549. The similarity consists alone in the somewhat broad and bold treatment of the forms. Likewise here are two orders above each other. Below Ionic and above Corinthian, coupled columns project like internal buttresses and bear the bold transverse arches of the coffered tunnel vault. A monogram is visible, apparently A. D. P. connected, and also an inscription running to "Master John -- of Pius Pope".

By the courtesy of Abbe Clanche in Nancy, another building was brought to my attention, the choir and two adjoining chapels of the former Abbey of Autrey near Rambervilliers, which appear to belong to the architects of the two chapels of Toul. The small drawings sent to me, and that M. Clanche had made for me, appear to justify a former statement thereon. 1127

Note 1127. In the "Saintes Antiquites de la Vosge", p. 409, is the following:-- "Embellishment of the Church of Notre Dame of Autreys. Finally in the year 1537, after all the troubles of the princes were settled, the reverend Abbot of Autrey, Claude Steveney, dared to undertake the erection of this church, for what is the choir, the master altar and the collateral chapels of S. Hubert and of S. Nicolas, and this with such noble workmanship, that does not yield to the best constructed in the country. For as the reverend Abbot Moderne,

Sieur Nicolas Laurent, has shown me by the contracts between the said Abbot and the masons, the work was modeled after the chapel of S. Gerard built in the Cathedral of Toul by the said Hector d'Ailly and after the Church of S. Nicolas". The error in the designation of the name of the chapel is unimportant on account of the actually existing similar elements.

The building of Autrey now serves as seminary of the bishopric of S. Die. Particularly the exterior of the chapel on the left from the choir with its piers, above which stands a column, and further the windows and the bold cornice, are closely allied to the chapel des Eveques at Toul. Above the twin arches of the tracery comes an upper part of radial bars between two concentric arches; like Fig. 186 may be seen in the chapel at Toul. Likewise in the choir windows of the Church and of its side chapels on the right, the windows are with the form of a half wheel.

In the interior the piers with varied bases, entablatures, and panels indicate a study of the works of upper Italy, such as the Cathedrals of Como and of Pavia. Also here between a chapel and side aisle are windows with columns, as in the chapels at Toul. The drawings afforded me no conclusions concerning the interiors of the chapels themselves.

2. Style Tendency of the Altar of J. Goujon at Chantilly.

726. Character and Importance.

We now pass to a further step of development, that may be designated as the "young high Renaissance", and which is represented to us by the altar of Jean Goujon for the Chateau chapel of the Constable Anne de Montmorency at Ecouen. It was transferred by the Duke d'Aumale to that at Chantilly, and we have reproduced it in Fig. 187¹¹²⁸, and have previously spoken of it.¹¹²⁹

Note 1128. From Baltard. Paris et ses monuments. Paris. 1803.

Note 1129. See Arts. 140 and 185.

If we give the illustration of this beautiful art work just in this place, this occurs less on account of its form as an altar, than on account of the particular step in the development of the style, that we observe in it. It is one of the most shining examples of the mature style of the high Renais-

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Renaissance, of that moment of the highest bloom, that lasted but too brief a time, yet found no opportunity to manifest itself in the general composition of any church or even of an entire chapel.

It is therefore of greatest importance to exhibit it as evidence, that the contemporary step of development of French Renaissance architecture, at least in the hands of Jean Goujon, permitted giving to its church compositions a degree of artistic perfection of form never attained afterwards, and even in Italy is to be found only in Bramante's time on a small number of scattered works, often ~~only~~ executed in parts.

In reference to the purity and classical treatment of the forms of the columnar orders and of the perfected carefully acute and still not hard technics and modelling of the ornaments of the great framework, this altar takes a place in the French Renaissance similar to Bramante's enclosure of the Santa Casa at Loreto in Italy, the loggias of Raphael, and the decoration of the choir of S. Maria del Popolo in Rome.

To extend this impression at least slightly -- to complete it would be to say too much -- must one think of some other decorative works, such as the panels of Jean Goujon in the same Chateau chapel at Ecouen, or of some of the portal in Troyes, which originated under the influence of Domenico Fiorentino (del. Barbieri). See Art. 653.

3. Style Tendency of De L'Orme.

Here must be considered two works never executed. In De L'Orme's design for the entire ground plan of the Tuileries (F (Fig. 228) are given two great chapels and a rich portico. They are treated by niches and coupled columns and form pavilions on the city side. On the facade along the Seine and adjoining the angle pavilion are also given two rooms, that seem to be chapels, but still must have had a different purpose. They all exhibit a treatment carried out in the high Renaissance.

Whether anything is true in the statement, that the chapel of the Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye was rebuilt after the drawing of Serlio,¹¹³⁰ I am unable to say.

Note 1130. See *Chronique des Arts*. No. 20. Paris. 1884.

e. Internal Architecture in the time of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

727. Examples.

The partially five-aisled plan of Notre Dame in Havre has already been mentioned. ¹¹³¹ Besides the churches described under domical buildings may be mentioned here the following structures.

Note 1131. See Art. 714.

The rather large second chateau chapel of Fontainebleau, (Chapelle de la Trinite), begun by Henry IV. in 1608 but only completed in 1633, whose decoration almost exhibits rather the character of the age of Louis XIII.

The Church of L'Oratoire in Paris, that was erected in 1621-1630 by Jacques Lemercier; the later facade of 1745 was by Pierre Cague. It is single-aisled with arches as side chapels, above each of which lies a balcony. A colossal order of Corinthian pilasters separates the different bays. The transverse aisle lies at about the middle of the longitudinal axis. ¹¹³²

Note 1132. Guilhaemy, M. P. de. Itineraire. p. 220.

The interior of the Church of S. Marie in Paris, apparently the first work of the famous Francois Mansard, is strikingly better than the exterior. ¹¹³³

Note 1133. See Plg. 62; Arts. 89, 327.

The pier and arch system for S. Peter at Rome is carried around the circular interior of the dome. From arches on the axes open into transverse oval chapels. The dome with its drum is in pleasing proportions to the colossal order of pilasters, which supports it. The light comes through windows above the imposts of the arches, between the piers, and through the lanterns of the dome and of the chapels. The details of the cartouches and the angel heads have the heavy character of Louis XIII, the foliage of the capitals appears as if cut out of flat leather, on the garlands being stiff like tin.

In the interior of the Jesuit Church of S. Paul et S. Louis in Paris, whose facade was fully described (see Art. 693), all parts of the interior are in good proportion to each other. The impression of the chapel is indeed slender but not narrow. In spite of its five bays the nave seems short, since these have only the small width of the square chapels. The vault has a good effect, since cross vaults were chosen

instead of a tunnel vault with intersecting side vaults. Only the ~~transversenarches~~ are in relief, and the cross vaults have angular groins. The treatment of the dome piers is good, and is after the model of the side domes of Bramante in S. P. Peter. The Corinthian pilasters are not fluted.

We mention here already the Church of S. Roch in Paris, although it was only commenced by Jacques Lemercier a few years later than S. Sulpice, i.e., in 1658, because its details are better. The choir and a part of the nave were executed by him.

It is three-aisled and shows good proportions of the interior. Over the crossing rises a dome of moderate height. The choir aisle, the oval chapel of S. Maria with its smaller rear chapel afford some good views. The tunnel vaults of the three aisles over the entablature of the arches, especially in the middle aisle, are as always, unpleasantly interrupted by the lunettes of the round headed windows. The Doric pilaster orders of the arcade still have good details, almost as if they were from the time of the high Renaissance.

f. Internal Architecture from the time of Louis XIV.

728. S. Sulpice in Paris.

As Henri Martin says with justice, the Church of S. Sulpice in Paris is the only important monument of the period. It deserves that we devote more time to it, because it affords an opportunity for calling attention to the varied character of the contemporary style tendency.

S. Sulpice is in reality a cathedral in the style of Louis XIV, as S. Eustache is in that of Francis I.

S. Sulpice ¹¹³⁴ in Paris was erected by private funds, that were gradually gathered by the priests of the congregation by means of collections. Already in 1615 Christophe Gamard proposed plans for an enlargement of the old church. But first on Feb. 20, 1646, the corner stone of the choir of the new church was laid by Anne of Austria according to the preceding design. ¹¹³⁵

Note 1134. Tallandier, A. in Archives de l'Art Francais. Vol. 6. p. 99. 1858-1860.

Note 1135. Bance in his Dictionnaire gives under different Arts. the following somewhat differing statements; Gamard was employed in 1615 to make the plans for S. Sulpice in Paris.--

A new project was required from Leroi in 1636; yet Gamard was recalled and in 1643 laid the foundations of the choir of the new church. (Lance. Vol. 2. p. 66). He was soon replaced by Leveau, so that the latter is likewise mentioned as the first architect of S. Sulpice; he laid the foundations and built the chapel of S. Maria. -- Daniel Gittard continued the work. In another place Lance writes:-- the building was again commenced in 1670 by Gittard. He apparently until 1675 built the choir with its aisle, the left transept and its facade; he seems to have completed the chapel of S. Maria, but its decoration dates only from Servadony. The building then was again left until Oppenordt took it up again in 1718.

Louis Leveau and then in 1660 Daniel Gittard succeeded him. The latter finished the choir and its aisle, together with the greater part of the left transept with its facade.

On account of the lack of funds, the building rested from 1678 to 1718. Gittard's eldest son must have furnished the design for the right transept. Oppenordt and Servadony continued the building later.

According to Lance, Oppenordt built externally the upper order of the northern transept, whose facade must be somewhat better than that of the right one.

At bottom it exhibits the style of Perrault or the palace style of Versailles, that is here applied to a church. The interior increases in its grand impression, if one has the courage to remain for a long time in these cold halls. They present nothing for the heart and the mind.

The church is three-aisled with chapels, that with the side aisles are extended around the choir and have a chapel of S. Maria in the middle. The impression of the middle aisle is broad and spacious, the effect of the actual dimensions is however falsified by the scale of the members.

Likewise the impression of the side aisles is grand and dignified, but at the same time is cold and poor. Although nearly as high as in S. Eustache, they appear lower and wider. The church seems larger, if one enters by the doorway to the choir aisle, and views the interior of the middle aisle of the church between its piers.

Foliage only occurs on the capitals, on the consoles of the

keystones and on the modillions of the cornice. On the vaults of the transverse aisle are more or less the ornaments of the Louis XIV. style, that are presumably employed on ecclesiastical motives. Over the crossing is a pendentive dome, whose decoration is wretched and inert. Above the crown of each of the four arches is a circular medallion frame. Over this a kind of flat dome is isolated by a festooned frame moulding, with four great festoons above the medallions and four smaller ones corresponding to the spandrels. On each of the latter is placed a sort of candelabra motive, and the low dome is covered by stone like a sunflower.

The windows have white glass. In the apse appear yellow borders around grisaille paintings on a yellow ground. The abundant light permits the forms to appear only poorer and colder.

The internal decoration of the chapel de la Vierge, executed later by Servandony, is mentioned as follows.

The tunnel vault of S. Sulpice is elevated by an attic above the entablature of the colossal order. Furthermore the transverse arches are ellipses, whose major axis is vertical, so that the cornice lies at about the midheight of the church. Above each arch a lunette intersects the tunnel vault above an enormous window in the side arch. The entire esthetic character of the unity of a tunnel vault is thereby destroyed as in S. Peter, without imparting to it the character of the cross vault.

Instead of the flying buttresses long ascending walls of a double curvature are arranged externally. They commence as pedestals above the cornice of the chapels and have in depth the form of a concave quadrant, which terminates below on a second pedestal above the walls of the side aisles. Thence they rise over the roofs of the side aisles like a long apophyge of convex curvature and stop beneath the cornice of the middle aisle.

729. Defects in Construction.

The interior has the height of a cathedral church, like S. Eustache, but it appears lower in effect.

The mistake was made in placing motives conceived for great axes on small ones of about 26.3 ft., and in using forms for

small axes too greatly magnified.

The side aisles may be 24.6 ft., and the middle aisle 45.9 ft. in the clear.

There are five arches in the nave, the first of which corresponds to the organ gallery. The choir has two, the apse three arches.

The arches of the nave and the colossal vacant windows in the vaults, that in such poor form are nearly as large as the arches, allow everything to appear small.

The motive of the treatment of the vault would be permissible for a small church. By its use at the great scale of S. Sulpice, its effect is entirely bald and cold. It is not at all animated by the numerous joints of the small stones, as in Gothic compartments, for these are constructed of large ash-lars. The only subdivision in this smooth and desert domain of stereotomy consists of a flat transverse arch rising from a pedestal above a pier. These are connected together by an equally broad band at the crown. Tasteless moulded frames between five moulded circular panels on each transverse arch and in the middle of the bays allow these flat band divisions to appear only poorer.

730. Other Examples.

These church buildings from the time of Louis XIV, which exhibit the most careful treatment, must be the palace chapel at Versailles. It forms a small church, surrounded by a gallery as an upper side aisle. The interior is worthy of the previously described exterior. (See Art. 701).

In this structure begun in 1699 by J. Hardouin Mansard and completed in 1610 by Robert de Cotte, the strength of the square piers of the lower arches very distantly recalls that of the piers of Bramante in S. Lorenz in Banaso in Rome. Above rises a splendid fluted series of columns of the Corinthian order with balustrades of marble and bronze, that are connected at the angles and at the beginning of the apse with beautiful pilaster piers. They support a tunnel vault, which by the side compartments almost becomes a kind of cross vault. To this happy change contributes the rich harmony of colors of the various tones of golden brown in the paintings on the vaults, as well as the high and low reliefs of the good figures.

Through the rich yellow glass of the round-arched windows and the lunettes of the middle aisle, there streams in a golden light, that warms the color of the splendid white limestone.

In Fig. 171, that represents the exterior, the lower windows correspond to the arches of the side aisle and the slender round-arched windows to the colonnade of the galleries. These here form the best story, at the end of which the king sat opposite the apse, if he entered from the splendid hall of the second story before the chapel. The chapel of the Bourbon Palace at Caserta is almost an exact copy of the Chapel at Versailles.

Our Fig. 188 ¹¹³⁶ exhibits the longitudinal section of the Church of the Hotel des Invalides and Fig. 213 its plan. It is simple, but still has something grand by the extent of the hall, treated as a single room. It was begun in 1671 after the plans of Liberal Bruand. ¹¹³⁷ It consists of nine doubled arches between high Corinthian pilasters. Below are round and above are oval arches, that however do not have a too depressed effect. These correspond both above and below to transverse tunnel vaults in the bays of the side aisles. The effect of the wide tunnel vault is here not so strongly influenced by the lunettes as in other churches, for example, S. Sulpice and S. Roch, since here the groins of the high lunettes have nearly the effect of groin vaults.

Note 1136. From Blondel, J. F. *Architecture Francaise*. etc. Vol. 1. Pl. 71).

Note 1137. See Art. 430.

The bold arcitraves of the clearstory windows, the transverse arches and the longitudinal ribs at the crown of the vault form a sufficiently connected framework of members to produce a less unsatisfactory effect than usual in such churches.

For the internal effect of this church, the domed structure erected at its end scarcely comes into consideration at all.

The facade of the Church of Hotel des Invalides externally differs from the other gabled buildings at the middle of the sides of the court only in that there are Ionic columns below with ram's horns instead of volutes, and above are coupled Corinthian columns, forming three bays placed before the piers of the arches and supporting the gable.

g. Internal Architecture in the time of Louis XV.

The intellectual tendency of the age of Louis XV. was anything but suited for expressing a truly religious feeling in the forms of the architecture. Yet there appears in the partly architectural domain somewhat more life or at least movement in the forms, or a somewhat freer conception of the problems prevails. There is something of the effect of the free reaction, that appeared after the death of Louis XIV, and which expressed itself in the material elements of church architecture, of which we have already spoken. (See Arts. 334-340).

731. Cathedrals of Nancy and of Luneville.

The internal effect of the Cathedral of Nancy, erected by Boffrand -- according to ~~some the plans were~~ by J. Hardouin Mansard and Boffrand (Art. 708), is a spacious and corresponds to the grand facade. The three arches of the middle aisle and the great transverse aisle have the effect of beautiful wide halls, grander than the interior of S. Sulpice in Paris, though the aisles are shorter and have but three arches.

Choir and transverse aisle are formed as apses. Over the crossing is merely a dark Bohemian (segmental) vault.

Corinthian pilasters with broken entablatures separate the round arches. The transverse and side arches begin above pedestals, so that in the lunettes are placed large and broad round-arched windows of good height.

Entirely different from the preceding buildings is conceived the interior of the main principal Church of S. Jacques at luneville. It has three aisles of almost equal height. Tall and strongly swelled Corinthian columns receive directly on their capitals the four transverse arches, that support the "sail" vaults. These are square in the side aisles and oblong in the middle aisle. It must have been erected by Boffrand in 1630-1745.

732. Chapels in Paris.

As an example of somewhat freer and unusual arrangement we must mention Fig. 189,¹¹³³ the chapel de la Communion, that from the designs of Francois Blondel II was erected as an addition to the side aisles of the Church S. Jean-en-Greve. The chapel could only be lighted by a skylight. On three sides it is surrounded by raised side aisles like galleries.

Note 1138. From Blondel, J. F. Architecture etc. Vol. 2. Pl. 230.

The chapel of S. Maria (de la Vierge) in S. Sulpice is oval, with the longer axis placed at right angles to the main axis of the church. It has its own apse half built over a trumpet vault. In the choir aisle is a flat dome with coffers.

The walls are subdivided by a quite severe Corinthian order of pilasters with marble parts in the style of the Hall des Gardes de la Reine (Hall of the Queen's guards) at Versailles. Above the entablature a high cove with transverse ribs extends to oval frames, which exhibit the character of Delafosse's tendency; the statue of the Madonna that of the Fountain de Grenelle in Paris. The capitals, entablature and ribs are gilded. The colors of the marble are gray, white and black. In the cove are grisailles with colored compositions in the dome.

The pilaster order has well dignified, but rather cold proportions. Externally the frieze of the corbelled apse is particularly dry in design.

n. Vaults.

783. Introductory.

We commenced the Section on interiors of churches with the treatment of the forms of piers and terminate it with the decoration of vaults. In a certain respect it would be logical to treat these two subjects together and to allow one to immediately follow the other. Yet this would have caused too great a disturbance in our general description, and we assume that each reader of this work is already sufficiently acquainted with the relation of the Gothic clustered pier to the ribbed vault, to not be inconvenienced by this arrangement.

With the great part played by the ribbed vault in the Gothic and the somewhat tyrannical domination exercised by the geometric principle on a great part of Gothic treatment of forms, there evidently originated the need of giving the vaults an artistic appearance, that should not be exclusively a plain and moulded exhibition of their construction. From these feelings and views were deduced the two different results and tendencies.

First, the already described system of stone ceiling on ribs. (See Art. 457).

Second; a grouping of the ribs into star vaults, that permitted a greater development of the imagination, and allowed a richer and more graceful detailing of the ribs and keystones.

1. Vaults of the early Renaissance.

734. Ribs with Stone Ceilings.


As already stated, ¹¹³⁹ the interior of S. pierre at Caen presents one of the richest examples of horizontal slab ceilings supported by ribs. The choir and several bays of the G Gothic nave were covered and decorated in a similar way by H Hector Sohier.

Note 1139. See examples of different methods of construction, Arts. 458, 459.

It as if the richness of the Certosa of Pavia were applied to the decoration of ribs. The influence of upper Italy on the exterior has already been mentioned. (Art. 641). In 1576 men were killed by the falling of the pendant parts (keystones).

The vault of the Chateau chapel at Ecouen exhibits one of the most original arrangements. It may be said to be the combination of an Italian mirror vault and its lunettes with the French system of stone ceilings.

At the walls the ribs of the lunettes rise from console capitals like Corinthian. The angles are replaced by chamfers and are enlarged under the consoles by means of a little arch decorated by a shell like a spandrel at the angle.

At both sides of this chamfer rise parallel ribs, that instead of compartments have a vertical wall behind them and support a horizontal stone ceiling. These four rectangular horizontal surfaces adjoin a fifth middle panel, likewise horizontal in the longitudinal axis of the vault, which has the effect of an Italian mirror vault. At its border the ribs of the side compartments unite in large keystones decorated by arms in free relief. Then the panel of the mirror vault, the lunettes as well as the spandrels, are ornamented by clear motives from the arms and emblems of the Montmorencys, the sword with bands, the eagle, interlaced , cartouches with mottos, etc., painted directly on the vaults without plastering, so that the stonecutting and bonding of the small stones of the vault compartments remain visible. ¹¹⁴⁰ There perhaps exists in this system and in the quantity of this painted or-

ornamentation a very free recalling of the garlands, bands, etc. in the upper portions of the transept of the Certosa of Pavia.

Note 1140. Illustrated in *Planet. Encyclopédie*. Vol. 6. p 382.

735. Star Vaults.

Equally brilliant in effect and almost filled with Moorish imagination are the rich star vaults of the chapel du Saint-Esprit in the Church near Abbeville. The arrangement of the countless ribs forms large motives, that are at once intelligible. Among others are found diagonally placed squares, whose angles start from the crowns of the side and transverse arches. Pendant keystones and stars alternate with each other. The ribs themselves have their sides richly sculptured with egg-and-dart motives, but which are translated into Gothic forms, as in Gaillon. On one of the squares such ornaments cover the spandrels of the vault without injuring the clearness of the drawing.

In S. Eustache in Paris, the ribs of the last chapel on the right before the transept are charmingly detailed with little members. The side aisles have simple square cross vaults with diagonal ribs. ¹¹⁴¹

Note 1141. The middle aisle is 109.78 ft. high. The thickness of the vault beside the keystone is 1.35 ft.

On the vaults of the middle aisle is a horizontal rib at the crown, that extends between the transverse arches like a purlin. At the crossing the ribs form a rich and beautiful star. Here and at the centre of the apse are arranged rich and long pendant keystones, from which rise ribs like a flower, to combine these harmoniously with those of the vault. The crossing of the Church of S. Maclou at Pontoise also shows a very pretty and simple star vault.

A particularly beautiful subdivision and happy addition to a circular rib is exhibited by the chapels of the Assumption and of St. Denis in the Cathedral at Senlis. The ribs not only support pendant keystones, from which rise new arches, but they are also in parts accompanied by foliage, from which they appear to spring. The vaults of the middle aisle of the Church at Villiers-le-Bel have a good effect, since the ribs

are combined into clearly understood groups. Each diagonal rib has two side ribs. The intersections of the latter form squares with the pendant keystones around a larger one at the centre. Also in the Abbey Church at Saint-Riquier the subdivision of the vaults by richly sculptured bold ribs is happy. Arms and rosettes at the intersections and pendant keystones in the side aisles complete the impression.

A beautiful vault with pendant keystones, that receive ribs, was formerly in the fountain hall of the cloister of Valmagne (Languedoc), now a ruin with the vault compartments wanting. There may be further mentioned the vaults of a chapel in the Church at Bitry near Compiègne (Francis I) and at Clermont in Picardy.

A beautiful variation from this system, combined with the internal effect of the so-called Bohemian vault, is exhibited by the Church at Auxi-le-Château in Burgundy. A very beautiful vault is spread like a sail vault, beneath which in a happy arrangement, the ribs extend outward from the keystone as a star, all treated as ropes and forming rich knots at certain places. ¹¹⁴²

Note 1142. Illustrated in *Modier & Taylor. Picardie. Vol. 3. Pl. 2.* Pierre Donnet must have superintended the erection in 1532.

2. Vaults of the high Renaissance and of the 17th Century.

736. Their Character and Examples.

Besides the examples already mentioned together with the buildings, there are very few vaults of the high Renaissance, that deserve particular mention. Yet it is advisable to give the following examples, since they afford further information concerning the tendency in taste of the style.

The subdivision of the coffer decorations of certain transverse arches in the side aisles of S. Aignan at Chartres (1543) is taken from those of Bramante's arches under the dome of S. Peter in Rome.

In the Cathedral of Albi the ribs of the cross vaults have sections and treatment, that assimilate them to pilasters with borders, in the panels of which candelabra support the rosette that forms the decoration of the keystone. The spandrels

of the vault are decorated by scroll work, that is combined with angels. The Italian polychromy of these vaults will be mentioned later. (See the Interior Decoration of Churches. p. 645).

Also to be mentioned are two coffered tunnel vaults in the Church at Gisors, over the internal hall of the new tower and externally between the tower and the buttress of the facade. They rest on a cornice and architrave, that are corbelled out inside on masked heads, externally on consoles.

In the 18 th century are found only tunnel vaults with intersecting side vaults. Lemer cier's Church in the city of Richelieu has a tunnel vault with rosettes, also indeed in coffers. The tunnel vault of Notre Dame at Versailles by J. Hardouin Mansard in 1684-1686 with its lunettes is heavily built of ash lars, as we saw in that of St. Sulpice in Paris, and as is the case for most similar ones.

787. Wooden Vaults.

The choir of the Church at Pierrefonds has a paneled wooden vault with visible tie beams and vertical posts. Only at the middle point of the apse is placed a vertical king post, on the tie beams of which is the date 1625.

Chapter 16. Dome Construction.

788. Introductory.

The greatest undertakings of church architecture in Italy are connected with dome construction. Likewise it is generally assumed, that the introduction of this form into France forms the most important occurrence in the church architecture of this country after the discontinuance of Gothic.¹¹⁴³ It therefore appears to us as indicated, to describe domical buildings together in a separate Section.

Note 1143. Leon Vaudoyer, one of the most important French architects of the 19 th century, the builder of the new Cathedral at Marseilles, writes as follows in his magnificent Study of French Architecture:-- "This was a conquest by which the architects of the 17 th century enriched French architecture, and by which they should receive honor, for the form of a dome is certainly that most appropriate for worthily characterizing the power and the grandeur of the Catholic religion; hence we do not fear to say, that the churches of the 17 th century, although designed under the influence of a taste already corrupt and on principles, that could only produce a bastard architecture, nevertheless do not fail to present in their entirety a noble and grand appearance, as effective in exalting religious feelings as the finest Gothic churches of the preceding centuries." See *Patria, La France ancienne et moderne*. Vol. 2. p. 2178.

It is perfectly correct to say, that the building of actual domed churches in France first commenced under Louis XIII. All in Paris were begun between 1613 and 1680. Yet we find already in the 16 th century a number of domed structures -- although rather chapels of medium size -- that in regard to originality and by the peculiarities in design developed in them by the architects, perhaps deserve greater attention than the two famous examples of the following century, the Churches of Val-de-Grace and the Cathedral of the Invalides.

Since domical architecture in its entire appearance in France was an entirely Italian architectural style, and indeed first appeared with the high Renaissance, at first influenced by the projected, and later by the executed dome of S. Peter in Rome, the French phases of the style affected it less, and

it suffices to divide these buildings between the periods from 1495 to 1610, and that from 1610 to 1745.

a. Domical Architecture during the first Period of the Renaissance.

739. First Example.

The earliest statement relating to a domed structure in France must be the following, that I take from the splendid work of Dom. Tremblaye en Solesmes. Simon Hayeneufre, who was at the same time priest, architect, painter and sculptor, born in Chateau-Goutier, built about 1510 in Le Mans the destroyed chapel of the bishop's Palace. It had a dome and entirely exhibited the Italian character and not that of the transition period; Hayeneufre had studied in Italy. ¹¹⁴⁴

Note 1144. See Tremblaye, R. P. Dom. Solesmes; Les Sculptures de l'Eglise abbatiale. Solesmes. 1892. p. 122. Dom Tremblaye refers to the following works:-- Chardon. Simon Hayneufre et la Chapelle de l'Ancien eveche du Mans. Nouvelliste de la Sarthe. 1890. Feb. 7 and 8. Qerau-Lamerle. Note sur S Simon Hayeneufre in Bulletin de la Commission historique et archæologique de la Mayenne. 2nd Series. Vol. 2. 1890. p. 314.

1. The Chapel de la Toussaint in the Cathedral at Toul.

740. Description and History.

The Chapel de la Toussaint in the Cathedral of Toul was previously mentioned at the same time as the chapel des Eveques there and cannot be considered separately from that. We therefore refer to what has already been stated on page 538 concerning Figs. 185 and 186, and add thereto the following. ¹¹⁴⁵

Note 1145. See Arts. 723, 724.

The octagonal chapel with a dome, at the end of the side aisle on the right of the entrance and in the vicinity of the doorway to the cloister, is the chapel de la Toussaint represented in Figs. 190, 191, ¹¹⁴⁶ also that of the Rois Mages et de la Nativite. It was founded by Jean Forget, commendatory abbot of the abbey of canons regular of S. Leon of Toul, chanter and canon of the Cathedral, appellations that he used in his will of Sept. 30, 1549, in which he arranged to be buried in the chapel, that he had built. ¹¹⁴⁷

Note 1146. See Note 1123. M. Boeswillwald designates this southern chapel the same for the Commission des Monuments Historiques.

Note 1147. Archives Départementales de Nancy. (Case G.1336).

"Then the place of burial of my body, when it shall please God to call me from among the living, in the Church of Toul, in the middle of the place where is to be the triumphal arch of the chapel, that I have bargained to be built there. And if the chapel be constructed at that time, I wish to be buried in the crypt of that chapel." Courteous communication of M. A. Abbe G. Glanche at Nancy.

One ascends to the chapel by eight steps, in order to obtain space for the chapel des Morts under it, which must have received the tomb of the founder.¹¹⁴⁸ The interior must have been partly created at the cost of the adjoining buttress system. Externally the wall partly rests on a segmental arch turned between them (see Fig. 191), and it is further strengthened by two stone relieving buttresses.

Note 1148. Arthur Benoit errs in his description de quelques Monuments Funeraires d'Eveques de Toul (Toul, 1876), when he gives the arms of the founder Jean Forget as those of the school inspector Jean de Barbes.

This chapel of All Saints (not of Ursula as in Lübke) is on the whole the worthy sister building of the chapel des Eveques or S. Ursula¹ but is constructed with an octagonal dome of ashlar with cut extradors. In the ground story is the form more nearly square with the corners cut off. What Lübke writes of the transition to the octagon is likewise erroneous; he first begins with the entablature of the upper order, whose consoles project from the entablature of the Palladio motive, to receive the arches leading to the octagon over the niches. The shafts of the marble columns are plain, but on the contrary, the pilasters are all beautifully fluted. On account of the peculiar character and style of the Ursula chapel, we refer to the description of Figs. 185, 186. (p. 538).

The exterior is a plain ashlar structure with a sculptured belt of cavetto shape below the upper windows. The so-called Palladio motive of the latter is repeated externally, but without flutes. The octagon first begins above its impost and over the cornice to which succeed two steps, is visible the cut exterior of the low ashlar dome. At the lantern are the imposts of the arcade windows and further the cornice of the

only relief members, that occur here.

When I visited this chapel in 1895 for the second time, it was in a dangerous condition and was shored for a strengthening by H. Paul Boeswillwald, that unfortunately was not commenced.

2. Chateau Chapel at Anet.

741. The Interior.

Philibert De L'Orme himself states, ¹¹⁴⁹ that the chapel of the Chateau at Anet was by him. Even if small, it is one of the most interesting domed Renaissance designs in France. The composition becomes sufficiently intelligible by Figs. 192 and 193. ¹¹⁵⁰ The portico, whose plan is almost identical with that of the Temple, which De L'Orme had erected in the park of Villiers-cotterets (Fig. 195), lay in the same vertical plane as the right wing of the court, that almost entirely concealed the chapel. The small gallery over it formed a portion of the upper passage. ^{1151.}

Note 1149. See his Architecture etc. Book IV, Chap. 11, p. 112.

Note 1150. From Du Cerceau, J. Les plus excellents Batiments etc. Vol. 2.

Note 1151. Since removal of this wing, the chapel has received a new facade by the architect Caristie.

The date of 1547 on a cartouche in the frame of one of the twelve figures of the Apostles, which Leonard Limousin ¹¹⁵² painted in enamels for this chapel, must designate the time of the completion of the decoration.

Note 1152. Now in Museum Carnavalet in Paris.

This circular chapel is extended into a Greek cross by four short arms. By the arrangement of oblique surfaces on the piers of the dome and their treatment with fluted pilasters and niches, it belongs to the group of those freely reduced variations, which were inspired by the design of Bramante for the Church of S. Peter in Rome. One recalls the Church of S. Eligio degli Orefici in Rome built by Raphael, and the chapel of Palace di San Biagio by Bramante.

The height to the springing of the dome appears to equal the diameter of the interior. The proportions are good, without being especially entrancing. Since all four arches of the dome follow the curvature of the form of the plan, their

warped line is less repugnant than in the Pantheon at Rome, where the occur on the apse alone.

The formerly executed rich internal ornamentation remains in its chief architectural parts and is worthy of mention. The spirally arranged coffers of the dome are repeated as a projection in the design of the pavement, executed in white and black marble slabs, with some colored ones at the middle.
1153 On the pilaster capitals occur two rows of those water leaves without volutes, which are frequently found in Anet. The bases are Ionic without the lower torus.

Note 1153. De L'Orme speaks of this arrangement in his Architecture etc. Book IV. Chap. 11. p. 112.

In the frames enclosing the window-like niches, that replace the spandrels, are painted the four evangelists; the cornice above these enclosures is formed by retaining the members below the geison of the impost cornice of the dome.

The angels in relief in the spandrels of the arches were evidently designed by Jean Goujon, and if not all, at least a part of them were likewise executed by him. One also observes here, what is often the case with Jean Goujon, that some of his figures and their costumes are entirely in the character of the later Empire style.

Quite bizarre, capricious and illogical is the treatment of the ends of the arms of the cross. The entablature of the p pilaster order is plainly intersected by the jamb of the round-arched window, and the intrados of the round arch continues this intersection surface of the jamb. The architrave alone is profiled in the jamb. This architrave is supported by the remains of a window jamb and lintel, that must have been left on the pier by the intersection surface of the jamb. The treatment of the window pier by the remains of this frame has a very singular effect, and is strange and unsatisfactory. One must think of a singular poverty of ideas, if he must not assume bizarre caprice.
1154

Note 1154. I have met with only two examples of this remnant of an intersected frame as a member of a pier; on the arch piers of the Madonna del Calcinajo of Francesco di Giorgio near Cortona, and on the piers of the loggia of Villa alle V Volte of Sigismondo Chigi near Siena. (1505) See Architektur

der Renaissance in Toscana. General Chapter. Villas. Pl. 9.
Munich. 1884-1900.

742. The Exterior.

Likewise on the exterior the remains of the window jambs with high ears above and below, with a part of the plain intersected window lintel, form the members of the window mullion. The treatment of the window jamb is still more peculiar. At a third of the thickness of the wall a second window is intersected in the same manner, inserted, and by these remains is narrowed by about the width of the frame, the jamb and what remains above and below of the lintel and sill. Likewise the profile of the two sills recessed above each other recurved like an inverted underside of a geison with an upturned water drip, behind which occurs a groove. The four steps rising externally on the vaulting of the dome to the lantern appear to have the old steps. They have sharp angles without moulding, that Du Cerceau and Pfnor give. The cut extradoses of the voussoirs form the external line of the dome. The execution of the stonecutting is so accurate, that even without a any protecting dome, no injury at all seems to have occurred.

The lantern is striking by its height and width in proportion to the whole. Its gallery of coupled Corinthian columns, that support eight arches, is rather pretty. The balustrade above their entablature scarcely allows its calotte to appear. Their Corinthian capitals frequently recall those of De L'Orme at the Tuileries. The leaf points on the bell appear to be supported by a lower plain leaf, from which rise the notches. They also have some relationship to those on the portal of Anet, now in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

The slender plain stone pyramids of the low towers, that now appear bare, may have been formerly visible only sidewise and from the rear in connection with the roof and chimneys of the wing. Like those in Fig. 206, they must be tokens of the feudal rights of the master of the chateau.

3. Other Domed Buildings.

743. Notre Dame des Ardilliers at Saumur.

An interesting domed structure for which I long possessed no information better than the engraving of the architect Jean Marot, is the Church of Notre Dame- des Ardilliers at

Saumur. (Fig. 194 ¹¹⁵⁵). Were this church in Italy, it would be placed between 1505 and 1520 on account of its severe treatment. That of the square ground story with the gable in the middle, the strong corners crowned by obelisks, directly recalls the ground story of S. Maria di Loreto in the Place Trajana in Rome, that Antonio da Sangallo the younger began in 1506. ¹¹⁵⁶

Note 1155. From Marot, Jean etc. Vol. 1. p. 20.

Note 1156. Joanne, A. *Petite Dictionnaire Geographique de la France*. (Paris, 1880) mentions it with the dates of the 16th and 17th centuries. I first found more exact statements in Besme, L. *Notice sur Notre Dame des Ardillieus*. p. 68, 69, 113. Saumur. 1883.

So far as Marot's engraving permits a decision, it may be placed in the classical period of Louis XIII and of Louis XIV. Only at my visit in the year 1900 could I determine, that it was begun in 1634 and completed in 1695. Instead of passing into an octagon like the church mentioned in Rome, the upper story is here circular. Marot, perhaps the creator of the building, has evidently engraved the original design, which exhibits better proportions. The ground story substantially corresponds to our Fig. and to the time of 1634. The building was then discontinued until Louis XIV completed it in 1695. The attic was omitted, the drum and its windows made more slender and subdivided by eight buttresses of rectangular section with coupled pilasters on the facade. Plan and section of the church are given in Figs. 196, 200.

744. Chapel in the park at Villers-Cotterets.

A handsome original small domed design was the Temple, ¹¹⁵⁷ that De L'Orme, according to his own statement, built in the park of the Chateau of Villers-Cotterets for Henry II, and that now exists no longer. Du Cerceau did not represent it in the *Plus Excellents Batiments de France*, but on the other hand among his original drawings for this work in London, fortunately were found the two careful drawings of it, that we reproduce in Fig. 195. ¹¹⁵⁸ Even in Du Cerceau's time, it was in very bad condition. ¹¹⁵⁹

Note 1157. - - - "at Villers-Cotterets, where I built a Temple in the park, in such esteem, that the men of good judgem-

judgement knew how to judge well - - - ". See the Memoir of De L'Orme in Berty, A. Les grandes Architectes Francais etc.

Note 1158. From the original drawings of Du Cerceau in the British Museum in London. Print Room. Vol. 9". p. 74.

Note 1159. Du Cerceau writes:-- "on the right hand is a c chapel of good design, before which is a portico with columns, with a ceiling going to ruin for lack of care." See Les Plus Excellents Bastiments etc. Vol. 2. p. 4.

If one comes from the Chateau, the chapel of De L'Orme was on the right on the middle alley, arranged just at the first crossway, as may be seen from the original drawing of Du Cerceau in the British Museum.

It is interesting here to see how De L'Orme treated an antique portico, and what proportions he gave to the beautiful gable, for which he carefully prepared by the stepped structure. Its plan is almost identical with that on his Chateau chapel at Anet. (Fig. 192). As for his so-called French order, the shafts have bands as drums, to conceal the joints.¹¹⁶⁰ From the portico one directly entered the circular domed interior, that was extended on three sides by low chapels.

Note 1160. See De L'Orme's Architecture. Book V. Chap. 24. p. 156 v, and Book XII. Chap. 13. p. 218 v.

745. The Interior of Notre Dame des Ardilliers.

Together with Fig. 194, we have described the exterior of the Church of Notre Dame des Ardilliers at Saumur. We now give in Fig. 196¹¹⁶¹ the section of the same. The interior also shows here a strikingly severe subdivision in the sense of the good classical tendency of about 1500 to 1520. We there find reminiscences, which indicate the group of masters, that stood under the influence of the designs for S. Peter. It would be difficult to not also find a certain similarity to Bramante's domed structure for the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis, whose section is shown by Fig. 197, and whose close connection with the design for the Church of S. Peter has already been emphasized.¹¹⁶²

Note 1161. From Marot, J. Vol. 1. p. 20.

Note 1162. See Arts. 50, 51. Also Figs. 21, 106, 203.

In consequence of the omission of the attic, the entablature of the drum vanished. Over a pilaster extend archivolts,

that support a cornice which is concentric with the round-arched windows. Thereby the internal line of the dome became higher. The details are not very fine and exhibit the character of the time of Louis XIV.

746. Bone of S. Clotilde at Andelys.

Over the crossing of the Church of S. Clotilde at Andelys of about 1550 rises a small semicircular dome above pendentives, similar to those of the Church of S. Peter, without any lighting in it, but with finely decorated band-like ribs.

4. The famous Tomb Chapel of the Valois at S. Denis. (Mausoleum des Valois or Notre Dame La Rotonde.

747. The Composition.

We have already had frequent occasion to refer to this domed structure ¹¹⁶³ and a close connection with S. Peter in Rome, particularly with several of the parts begun by Bramante and by Raphael, but now no longer existing, ¹¹⁶⁴ and further to emphasize the authorship of Primaticcio. ¹¹⁶⁵

Note 1163. See Arts. 50, 51.

Note 1164. In the description by Dom. Doublet at the time of Catherine, it is said:-- "conceived on the model of the Roman Pantheon, and truly superb and magnificent, as much for the form of its structure and architecture, as for its material". The circular form and Corinthian order alone recall something of the Pantheon. (See Boisjelle, A. de. La Sepulture des Valois in *Memoires de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris*. Vol. 3. (1877). p. 288).

Note 1165. See Art. 167. p. 162.

It is striking how externally the projections do not correspond to stronger points of support than in the projected choir aisles of S. Peter, but are allowed by the enlarged trefoil capitals. By the form of the interior as a duodecagon, that by the projecting pairs of columns appeared to consist of alternately narrow and broad sides, Primaticcio brought the life of the "rhythmic bay" into his composition. By the rich views into the upper and lower chapels, and the excellent proportions of the orders in these and in the main interior, he lent to his creation a fancy and heightening of the grand effect, that elevated this tomb chapel into an interior of dreamy beauty, beside which neither France nor Italy could place

anything. Primaticcio showed by this, that he was entirely worthy to be placed at least as the equal successor of De L'Orme at the head of the royal buildings in France (the Louvre remained under the charge of Lescot), and to occupy this elevated position until his death.

The only point in this composition, on which I can discover no certainty of the effect, is the question, ~~how~~ the projecting pairs of columns in two stories supported the circular dome. In the engravings are indicated no terminating caps nor rib-like continuations of these ascending lines, and just as little does the dome rise from the front plane of the coupled columns, and the intersecting vaults of the lunettes do not end on them. It may be noted otherwise, that in the engraving of Marot, Fig. 194, and that of Giffart, Fig. 210, the treatment is different between the pairs of columns. That of Giffart appears the better.

Likewise different representations of the building were already given, ¹¹⁶⁶ to which we now add the section in Fig. 197. ¹¹⁶⁷

The general arrangement is therefore sufficiently intelligible and is sufficient to attract the attention to a series of other points.

Note 1166. See the exterior in Fig. 21; the upper plan and the section of the side chapels, Figs. 44, 45; the lower plan, Fig. 106; the interior with the tomb of Henry II is found in Fig. 213.

Note 1167. From Marot, *Œuvre*. Vol. 1. p. 105.

Of all domed buildings in both Italy and north of the Alps, there must have been none, which like this in certain parts was so strongly related to the designs of Bramante and of Raphael for S. Peter in Rome. Particularly in the treatment of the two stories of side chapels and of their connection with the middle interior, which is excellent, and directly recalls the choir aisles of S. Peter and the apses.

Likewise on the exterior has Primaticcio carried out the animated alternation and heightening, contained in the "Rhythmic bay", even in a twofold way; first, when he created an alternation between the narrow projecting and the wider recessed bays, and second, in the latter again by the wider middle intercolumniation with the arched window and the narrower with

niches, he established another form of the rhythmic bay.

748. Error of Palastre.

In the existence of this projecting narrower bay and its subdivision, both in Lescot's court of the Louvre and on the exterior of the Mausoleum des Valois, Palastre believed he recognized a sufficient ground in the agreement of style for making Lescot also the author of the Mausoleum des Valois. The possibility of only here meeting with such an idea is only explained by the fact, that men are still entirely blind in the history of art with regard to the rhythmic bay. One does not conceive either the worth of its esthetic meaning or the vast importance of the architectural system, into which Bramante developed it, or the numerous applications thereof in the school of Bramante in the entire 16th century, and in all Europe from Dresden to Tomar in Portugal, and from England to Venice. For its importance in France we refer to the Chapter devoted especially to the rhythmic bay. ¹¹⁶⁸

Note 1168. See Chapter 9. Arts. 518 to 538.

As evidence that the form of the rhythmic bay believed by Palastre to be characteristic of Pierre Lescot was a common possession of the school of Bramante, may be mentioned two works in Italy preceding the Mausoleum des Valois by only about a year. In the Church at Fratta Umbertide in Umbria (1559-1655), a work of Bino Sozzi and Lapparelli, the treatment of the circular interior recalls that of the Mausoleum in St. Denis, commenced soon afterwards. It has two stories, each subdivided eight times by the rhythmic bay. Likewise in the circular court of the famous Palace Caprarola, begun in the same year, Vignola has employed this bay.

749. Details and Interior Decoration.

According to the description of Felibien ¹¹⁶⁹ in 1621, who therein agrees with the drawings of Jean Marot (Figs. 21, 45), there was externally a Doric and above this an Ionic order, each with 20 columns, without the numerous pilasters. In the interior Corinthian below and Composite columns above. Between the former were niches for lifesize statues. Each chapel had its altar opposite the entrance archway. Consequently the second of the two descriptions given by Boislisle is the correct one. ¹¹⁷⁰

Note 1169. *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis*. p. 565 et seq. in Boislisle, A. de p. 286.

Note 1170. In the description given by Boislisle on p. 269, indeed according to that of March 14, 1582, he says:-- "The exterior of the monument comprises a great number of columns of the Corinthian order; the interior is faced with marble and is of the Composite order."

In reference to the letting of the work at the cheapest agreed price on March 14, 1582, the contract K 102, No. 2²¹ in the Archives Nationales in Paris, as Boislisle writes, gives the smallest details relating to the construction of the monument. 1171

Note 1171. See Boislisle, A. de. p. 268, No. 2.

As an addition to what has already been said concerning the properly architectural effect of the interior, it must be remembered, that the latter was apparently entirely executed in colored marble, the cost of its completion being estimated even in 1582 by superintendent A. Nicolay at 60,000 to 80,000 crowns. This comes from some statements in the inventory of the comptroller Mederic de Denon made in Sept. 1572. Also m marble groups, such as the Ascension of Christ, contributed to the effect.

In this inventory were mentioned:-- 22 columns of black marble of Dinan, 8 ft. less 2 ins. long and 13 ins. diameter (p. 151); one figure of the risen Christ of white marble, 7 ft. 2 ins. high, 3 ft. wide, and two Jews¹¹⁷² of the same height beside it. 12 pieces of red marble, "in the form of half niches (24 ft. high); the evangelist roughed out in gray marble; columns of white or gray marble, with their bases of black m marble,"; 50 pilaster bases of white or gray marble.

Note 1172. Courajod, L. *Deux Epaves de la Chapelle funeraire des Valois*, etc. "Two fragments of the sepulchral Chapel of the Valois at S. Denis, today in the Louvre," in *Memoires de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaires de France*. Vol. 38. (1878). He has shown them to be Roman guards of the Tomb of Christ.

According to the inventory of 1572, there were already set in the erection of the Church; "a base of a great column, 9

bases of great pilasters of gray and mixed stone, 7 pieces of black marble cut with angles to serve in the first cornice of the circumference of the aisle within the work, four pieces of torus of gray marble -- above the 4 first courses, the bases of the altars of the little chapels between the columns; same in each of the six chapels. Already injuries caused by rain and storms had compelled the contractor to remove several pieces of the courses, and to place them in the chapel of the treasury".

The Mausoleum was torn down in 1719 at the order of the Regent. ¹¹⁷³

Note 1173. Of the columns of the former Mausoleum des Valois, a number are still in the Park Monceaux at Paris, placed as artificial ruins of a colonnade at the end of a pool, indeed 33 with entablature, 2 merely with capitals, 7 fragments of shafts with bases, one horizontal shaft with capital, being altogether 43. The capitals are of the Corinthian order, very well designed with olive leaves, and much finer than those of Pierre Lescot in the court of the Louvre, with very freely wrought volute stems. Alexander Lenoir, in *Musee des Monuments Francais*, Vol. 2, p. 31, makes the following statement concerning them:-- "There may be seen at Monceaux a circus built in form of a ruin with corinthian columns, and a circular temple composed of the columns of black marble brought from the Chapel des Valois". (See Boislisle, A. de. p. 290).

750. Historical.

A. de Boislisle ¹¹⁷⁴ was one of the first, who studied the history of the erection of the Tomb of Henry II and of the Tomb Chapel of the Valois. In his opinion the works on Notre Dame La Rotonde were only commenced after the death of Primaticcio, after the appointment of Jean Bullant ¹¹⁷⁵ with 600 livres as annual salary. Thibaud Metzseau, Claude Guerin, Charles Bullant, Jerome Claudebin and Jacques Champion were the contractors.

Note 1174. See *La Sepulture des Valois* in *Memoires de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris*. Vol. 3. p. 242-292. Paris. 1897.

Note 1175. Boislisle (p. 249) queries, whether Bullant had really fallen out of favor in 1560; might he not have retained

the office of comptroller, which he still had in 1572, and have exercised this together with and alternately with Francois Sannat?.

This opinion may be correct, though it rather surprised me at first. It is indeed based on the one hand upon the slow progress of the works, that appears from the inventory of 1572, 1176 but further on the fact, that in the accounts of the first seven or eight years scarcely is mention made excepting of the Tomb. 1177 Constantly was the blame placed on Bullant 1178 for a foundation, that was either insufficient, or frequently required repairs in consequence of the neglected condition of the unfinished building.

Note 1176. See Art. 749.

Note 1177. Boisliste appears inclined to conclude from this, that the domed structure was only decided on in the last period of the life of Primaticcio. He writes on p. 246:-- "To attribute it to Primaticcio appears more satisfactory, although proofs are wanting, but it is very admissible, that the great Italian artist may have received the order to prepare the plans of an entire edifice in the last period of his life, after the nearly finished completion of the cenotaph itself, that is exclusively mentioned in the seven or eight first annual accounts." We shall soon give the reasons why we cannot adopt this view.

Note 1178. Scarcely was the building above the ground, when it was necessary to undertake works on the foundations between 1572 and 1582. See the same, p. 252. The condition of the "excavation under the said aisle of the said mausoleum and under the said chapels destined for placing coffins and biers", was described on Nov. 10, 1580; several vaults have no back-filling. The same, p. 256.

Whether this can be decided with entire certainty, I do not venture to say, since in the designations of the royal accounts, one does not know in all cases, whether a payment was made for the tomb or for the tomb chapel. The designations only rarely differ from each other. Since the tomb was completed in 1570, one should at least believe, that later payments should only be designated as relating to the chapel. And

yet this occurs only once, as evident from the following records.

Baptiste du Gercean was entrusted in 1582 with the "oversight of his buildings and of the tomb of the late king Henry". For the year 1585 we twice find all sorts of work under the title of "Sepulture S. Denis en France".¹¹⁷⁹ Finally in 1587 under the same title stands:-- "Transcript of letters given at Paris, Nov. 12, 1587, by which the king has appointed Jean Nicolai superintendent of the chapel, that the king causes to be built in the Church of S. Denis for the tomb of the late king Henry". By this may be seen, that by the designations "Sepulture du feu roy Henry" and "Sepulture S. Denis" are meant the tomb and the chapel together as a whole.

Note 1179. See Les Comptes des Batiments du Roi. Vol. 1. p. 38, 41 and 42.

From the fact that still in 1587 the domed structure itself was designated as "Tomb of king Henry II", it appears to me, that another important determination results. Men had become accustomed to designate the domed building as the Tomb of Henry II, although the chapel was unfinished and the tomb was not placed therein. Is not then this appellation a sure proof, that the tomb was previously placed in this domed building, and therefore the designation of Tomb of Henry II was applied to the domed structure, and that both were previously inseparable and were designed together?

Also all contemporary French writers thereon appear united, in that the tomb and the chapel were inseparable. In the index of the Comptes des Batiments du Roi, that marquis Leon de Laborde published, this is written "Chapelle des Valois ou Sepulture de Henri II".

The evidence for the authorship of Primaticcio for the domed building itself will be found in Chapter 21 on Tombs.

6. Domical Architecture during the second Period of the Renaissance. (1610-1745).

751. Important Difference from the Domes of Italy.

We now pass to the larger and more famous domed buildings of France. Here must at once reference be made to an important difference between these and the antique Roman and Italian

prototypes. The two latter groups are actually domical vaults, and where there are two, the external shell is also built of brickwork. In France all external shells are constructed of wood and are properly only protecting roofs, that rise much higher than the internal vaulted shell. Aside from the fact, that important wooden structures were always more favored in the North than in the South, it may be that Lemer cier in 1624 exerteda certain influence on the method pursued in France by the roof of his Palilion de l'Horloge at the Louvre, to which he gave the form of a dome shaped like a cloister vault. (See fig. 225). These may be more economical and in external appearance lead to a scarcely perceptible difference, yet the French system in regard to pure monumental effect decidedly stands a degree lower than the Italian.

1. Approximately Central Buildings.

752. Dome of S. Marie in Paris and early Examples.

The earliest work to be mentioned here dates from the transition period between the first and second periods of the Renaissance. This is the octagonal chapel in Nancy with coupled columns at the angles in the Church of the Cordeliers. The original drawing for the chapel is in the Musee Lorraine.

The dome of the Church of the Carmes dechauffees in Rue de Vaugiraud in Paris, built in 1613-1620, must also belong to the earliest. It receives its light through twin windows, that lie diagonally between the roofs of the nave and transverse aisle, and received no treatment in relief.

The class of true central buildings must indeed commence with apparently the earliest work of the famous Francois Mansard. The Church of the Visitation des Filles de Sainte-Marie in Rue S. Antoine -- now a Protestant Church-- was built in 1632-1634, and was consecrated as Notre Dame des Anges. I admit, that the grand appearance produced by it is entirely unintelligible. It appears to me like a structure of poverty, thought and forms without either grace or enjoyment.

The exterior was already given in Fig. 62, and we have before had opportunity to emphasize, how it is an expressive example of certain rationalistic tendencies of the French spirit.¹¹⁸⁰ In the Section on trumpet vaults were described the two examples on this church. (Art. 473). We have already seen

that the interior is much more pleasing. (Art. 727).

Note 1180. See Arts. 89, 325, 326.

753. Dome of the Institute de France.

In the Church of the College des Quatre Nations, now Palace of the Institute, Levan had to erect a chapel of a college in 1661,¹¹⁸¹ which should at the same time form a decoration of the bank of the Seine at that place opposite the Louvre, and likewise be a monument for the founder Mazarin.

Note 1181. See Art. 424.

As Fig. 198¹¹⁸² shows, the drum alone is of masonry and has an elliptical form, that externally approximates a circle. (Fig. 67). In reality it has entirely the same effect as if the drum were round, since the major axis of the ellipse lies parallel to the facade, so that the dome appears more important, than it really is. The drum rests without pendentives directly on the cylinder of the elliptical substructure. Externally the piers of the dome as well as internally are treated as rhythmic bays with a pair of Corinthian pilasters and round-arched windows. The effect is not unpleasing, although the piers are wider than the arches, therefore the latter have no truly elastic movement.

Note 1182. From Blondel, J. F. Architecture etc. Vol. 2.p.157.

In the interior the treatment is notable in that the pilasters support the entablature above the arches of the dome instead of its impost entablature. Four side rooms surround the domed area, among which is the rear chapel with the tomb of the Cardinal Minister.

754. Other Examples.

We name here in passing, on account of its original form, of ground plan, the later and now destroyed Chapel of the Dames Augustins in Rue de Navarre. The four dome piers form a square within a circular aisle. The arches of the dome also followed in plan the circular form. Our Fig. 199¹¹⁸³ exhibits the elevation of this design indeed dating from the 18th century.

Note 1183. From Daly, C. Revue Generale d'Architecture. Vol. 41. Pl. 1.

As Fig. 200¹¹⁸⁴ shows, also in Notre Dame des Artilliers

at Saumur, the drum of the dome rests directly on a square substructure of the same width. The exterior and the section of this church were previously given and described in Figs. 194, 195.

Note 1184. From Marot, J. Vol. 1. p. 20.

Likewise the famous cathedral of the Invalids in Paris, as Fig. 201 shows, ¹¹⁸⁵ substantially consists of a circular dome on a not much wider square substructure, in which are arranged very short arms with small side chapels in the angles. In reference to Figs. 203 and 205, this creation will be mentioned in the same connection.

Note 1185. From a drawing by Delamonce, engraved in Paris in 1710.

The Church of the Assumption in Paris was erected according to the plans, that Charles Errard, the former Director of the Academie de France in Rome, sent from there in 1670, and it belonged to a convent of Augustine nuns. The dome has something of the appearance of a balloon too much inflated, that rests on an insufficiently projecting drum, and whose square substructure is likewise too small. Finally the Corinthian portico with gable, that forms the chief motive of the facade, is also too small in proportion to the entire building, for it lacks life and gradation.

755. Church of the Sorbonne.

In the year 1635, Richelieu had the building of the Sorbonne commenced by his architect Lemercier. ¹¹⁸⁶ Fig. 257 shows its location in the midst of the entire structure; in Figs. 202 and 203, ¹¹⁸⁷ we give the section of the church, and for better comparison, the longitudinal section of the cathedral of the Invalids. We have already had frequent opportunity to mention the building. ¹¹⁸⁸ The dome rises in the middle of the nave and over the short transverse aisle, which is visible in Fig. 202. Its diameter is scarcely greater than the clear width of the longitudinal aisle.

Note 1186. See Art. 416.

Note 1187. From Blondel. Architecture etc. Vol. 2. p. 205.

Note 1188. See p. 241, 303, 310, 318.

The treatment of the interior avoids the defects, that we

find in the Cathedral of the Invalids, but leaves it somewhat cold. Perhaps the effect was otherwise, when its apparently rich decoration was preserved.

Externally, as may be seen in part from Fig. 257, the clear and simple certainty of the forms deserves praise. The unbroken horizontal lines of the lower entablature, the single quiet gable over the upper order has a clear and firm effect. If one stands on the axis, then the elevation of the two orders, seen from Boulevard S. Michel, and the dome also are treated in very happy proportion to each other. The complete half dome above the small base completes the composition happily, and the four little shrines on the square substructure of the dome connects this well with the facade.

8. Church of Val-de-Grace and the former Church of the Minimes in Paris.

756. The Architect and his Successors.

The Church and the royal Abbey of Val-de-Grace were founded by Anne of Austria in gratitude for the birth of Louis XIV, and the latter at the age of seven years laid the corner stone in 1645. Fig. 215 exhibits the ground plan of the general design and Fig. 204¹¹⁸⁹ is the facade of the church.

Note 1189. From Blondel, J. Fr. Architecture Francaise. V Vol. 2, Pl. 195; Vol. 1, Pl. 7.

The church was begun in 1645 and was carried to the height of 26.3 ft. by Fr. Mansard, and to the cornice by Lemercier.¹¹⁹⁰

P. Lemuet completed the building with the aid of Gabriel Leduc and Duval.

Note 1190. Guilhaemy, M. F. de. (Itineraire Archaeologique de Paris. p. 237) says to the "main cornice", and besides the succeeding statement; "Fr. Mansard gave the plan of all the buildings and commenced the works of the church", without determining more clearly.

Mansard seems to have had charge of the building for scarcely more than a year.¹¹⁹¹

Note 1191. See the employment of Lemercier in Lance, p. 52, on Oct. 19, 1646. Lemercier appears to have held it until his death. (See the employment of Lemuet on the same on March 5, 1685 and not 1645, as in Lance, p. 55, Note 2.

When Val-de-Grace is mentioned in Paris, merely the Church

is meant, as if it were the work of Francois Mansard ¹¹⁹² - as if the withdrawal of this master in consequence of his refusal to make the design simpler, and the continuance under other masters could have had no results. Since no one, so far as I know, has entered further into this question, the statements concerning the participation of the different masters do not entirely agree, ¹¹⁹³ I am not in a position to bring light into this important question.

Note 1192. Choisy (*Histoire de l'Architecture*. Paris. 1899) does so likewise.

Note 1193. Henry Martin, for example, in his *Histoire de France*, Vol. 12, p. 144, wrote in 1858:-- "The dome of the S. Sorbonne is the work of Lemercier; that of the Val-de-Grace is by Gabriel Leduc.

On the one hand Gosset believes, that all the masters followed the plan of Mansard "with a perfect devotion", and yet on the other he speaks of changes by Lemercier. ¹¹⁹⁴

Note 1194. "Lemercier modified the plan of Mansard, added thereto the chapel of S. Sacrement, and erected the walls of the edifice as far as the cornice of the nave in 1651, when they were interrupted by the troubles of the Fronde - - . Gabriel Le Duc, who finished the church, constructed the portal and built the dome with its turrets, and the buildings surrounding the court of honor. See Gosset, Alph. *Les Coupoles d'Orient et d'Occident*. p. 204. Paris. 1889.

Finally another statement must be mentioned:-- in the *Architettura Civile* of Guarino Guarini is represented the Val-de-Grace with the statement, that he finished the drawings for it. ¹¹⁹⁵

Note 1195. See *Archives de l'Art Francois*. 2nd Series. Vol. 2. p. 288.

This must relate to another church in Paris, that Guarini had erected, but which no longer exists (the Church of the Theatines ?), See Art. 702), or to a sketch for simplifying the building, when Mansard was recalled.

Guarini died in 1683 at the age of 59 years, and therefore in 1645, when Val-de-Grace was commenced, he was about 21 years old. This age and the form of the Church of S. Anna the Royal of Paris, which was given in the works of Guarini after

his death (Turin, 1737) appear to me as hardly to be reconciled with the assumption of a design arranged by Guarini.

But since the monument has its definite peculiarities and characteristics, but further on the whole is taken as the noblest French domed building, then may one assume, that these peculiarities are to be referred to Mansard's design. But wherein was it simplified? We can give no answer to this; and so much the less, since according to the statement of Gosset, on the contrary, Lemercier added a chapel. ¹¹⁹⁶

Note 1196. We obtained a knowledge of the work of Ruprich Robert:-- *L'Eglise et le Monastere du Val-de-Grace* (1645-1665), Paris, 1875; too late to study it. Lemonnier, H. (p. 227) states, that according to the opinion of Ruprich Robert, the building chiefly shows the characteristics of Mansard and of Le Duc.

Everywhere do we meet with an intelligent and at the same time free study of the best Italian works and masters of this tendency.

757. The Exterior.

The facade must in its way be the noblest in Paris. (Fig. 204 ¹¹⁹⁷). To its effect contributes the earnest, militarily firm and yet noble architecture of the forecourt. The shaping of the two angle supports as half columns in both orders, and their projecting entablature makes a high and bold continuous line; at the angles, from whose inner half column below, the free portico projects well, while above it the entablature lying on the wall behind rests only on flat pilasters. Pilasters and a niche likewise subdivide the recessed side wing below; above it is connected with the upper part of the middle aisle by not too heavy consoles. The crowning main pediment cornice is unbroken.

~~Note 1197~~ Reproduced from Blondel. Vol. 2. Pl. 195.

The proportions of the two orders harmonize well with those of the drum of the dome and form a happily unified composition.

On this facade first executed by Leduc, as it appears, the relief of the columns, their swelling and proportions, the bold and simple entablature, the carved frieze, the modillions of the cornice in their character recall something of the style of Palladio. The execution of the stonecutting is excel-

excellent. The joints of the horizontal arches in the architrave and frieze are only visible near at hand.

The Corinthian capitals below and the very beautiful Composite order above are perhaps the best in Paris. Its not overloaded and sidewise curved bolsters are not heavy. The ribs of the leaves with their narrow leaflets are uncommonly well treated. The stems of the volutes are slender and yet strong.

The angels in the upper part of the tympanum recall the time of Guido Reni, and even have something of an amiable expression, but are also as noble as the most beautiful bronze figures of the time of Louis XIV, but are animated by a more refined feeling.

In the relief treatment of the facade with the freely projecting columnar portico and gable lies something like a recollection of the facade intended for S. Peter by Michelangelo, as it may be known from the engraving of Du Perac ¹¹⁹⁸ of 1569 among others, since also the treatment of the drum adheres to that there given by Du Perac and apparently by Michelangelo, and not to the one executed on S. Peter's.

Note 1198. See Art. 374.

In comparison with the more nearly Gothic elevations of domes with higher outlines, like those of the Cathedral at Florence, those existing on S. Peter and the Dome of the Invalids in Paris, that of Val-de-Grace has still something more of a lighter repose, of the quiet rounded covering, that is peculiar to the dome with semicircular outline, such as one may see on some earlier domes in Rome and also on that of the Escurial.

Very happy is the effect on the high square substructure of the dome of the recession of the four angles by the width of the four side domes. Thereby are they connected with the latter, the distance of the angles from the drum becomes less and the transition to the same is better managed. The cornice, that terminates the square substructure of the dome and the four side turrets, has an excellent effect. With a stiff echinus and high plain abacus, it has almost the profile of the Grecian Doric capitals of the Parthenon.

On the drum of the dome the regularly distributed buttresses form a circle of Corinthian piers, that are connected with the

the drum by a plain strip of wall. They indeed possess a firmer and even heavier character, than those furnished with three-quarter columns of S. Peter in Rome, and of the Dome of the Invalids in Paris, but their effect is better than on the latter dome, since on that the unequal intervals of the buttresses have an unfavorable effect in consequence of a lack of the necessary rhythm. From a distance they appear like a circle of half columns. They must indeed have a rather too bold effect for the moderate diameter of the dome. The rather flat ribs of the dome do not entirely correspond to the bold treatment of the buttresses, and there occurs thereby in the outline of the dome something like a lack of aspiring movement. The circle of balusters at the base of the lantern conceals its beginning and allows it to appear rather indistinct. It is said, that the military engineers made unfortunate changes here during a restoration under Napoleon III. Yet they appear to already exist on the old engraving in Fig. 204.

The statues of the angels, which stand before the connecting consoles of the attic, which crown the piers of the drum, and also the atlantes bearing on their heads vessels with flames, are uncommonly noble in pose and character.

The unfinished transition from the drum to the dome on S. Peter and the treatment of the attic by means of statues, consoles and candelabras are here executed entirely according to the wooden model of Michelangelo in S. Peter. Even the window of the facade is wholly imitated from those of S. Peter.

These numerous recollections of S. Peter's Church are however transformed in such a manner, that the architect cannot receive blame but praise.

It is not well, that the candelabras above the connecting consoles of the attic have no space to stand free, but press into the dome behind.

The terminations like acroterias, the flames on the window gables of the drum and on the candelabras, the crowning statues and the two rows of small dormer windows impart a character of completeness to the dome.

758. Rear View.

Particularly beautiful is the effect of Val-de-Grace from the rear gardens and courts, ¹¹⁹⁹ since there and not as on

the facade, the gable covers the lower portion of the drum, and the rhythm of the drum does not act together with that of the facade.¹²⁰⁰ Finally the dome rises, accompanied by the four shrines, magnificently from the quiet square substructure. Here the position of the nave is only indicated by massive projections, each with a round-arched window of the width of the aisle and a gable over it.

Note 1199. Permit for admission is given only from 8 - 10 A. M. by the physician-in-chief.

Note 1200. Illustrated in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie des Beaux Arts*, Art. Église, and in Gosset, A. *Les Coupoles* etc. p. 205.

759. The Interior.

At the entrance into the Church, as seen from the doorway, the impression of the tunnel vault and dome, that is visible to above the cap of the drum, somewhat recalls that of the Church of S. Peter. By the beautiful subdivision of the three panels of the tunnel vault the disturbing intersection of the lunettes is lessened. The execution of the stonecutting on this vault is indeed splendid, without leaving it cold.

This and the entire decoration of the church by figure reliefs must be credited to the sculptor Michel Anguier.

In the ground plan the three cross arms like apses are apparently less in depth than a semicircle. These have the effect of an oval arch, whose direction at the impost almost forms the continuation of the inclined lines of the dome piers, as in S. Lorenzo at Milan. From the rear arm of the cross one passes into the round chapel. Between the four piers of the dome and the angles of the square substructure lies in each case an oval chapel, only accessible by arches in the oblique sides of the dome piers. The square chapels of the nave lie three steps higher than the side arms and are connected together by doorways.

The internal order of coupled and fluted Corinthian pilasters is splendidly treated, more allied to the good of Bramante in S. Peter's than to the bad of Michelangelo there. Everywhere the reliefs of noble female figures in the spandrels of the arches are good in scale and not as heavy as those latter placed in S. Peter.

As may be seen from windows of the drum, strongly inclined inward toward the ceiling, the order of the interior drum lies much deeper than that of the exterior, just as may be seen on the dome of the Sorbonne, Fig. 202. The drum is subdivided by coupled Corinthian fluted pilasters. The sixteen intercolumniations form the windows without any enclosure, as must be the case for the intercolumniations of the eight windows of Bramante's dome for S. Peter. The light is abundant; the lantern is not visible internally; on the dome itself is no treatment in relief at all. A single painting with scenes of the sky covers the surface.

The diameter of the dome, measured from the balustrade, that extends on the cornice over the four arches of the dome, ¹²⁰¹ is 62.34 ft., and the height is the same, as now in the Pantheon. The dome is semicircular, and its centre lies about in the lower surface of the impost cornice. The attic is of ashlar to above the crown of the extrados of the dome; on it rests the semicircular external protecting dome, constructed of wood.

Note 1201. This dimension is according to the section in Gosset, A. Les Coupôles etc. Pl. 20.

760. The Church of the Minimes.

Of another domed building of Francois Mansard, the Church of the Minimes in Paris, unfortunately nothing more is preserved. To judge from the illustration (Fig. 250), the effect must have been very imposing. Very happy appears the treatment of the facade and its grouping with the main dome and the two smaller ones, which terminated the projecting side wings of the facade.

3. The Dome of the Invalids in Paris.

The Dome of the Invalids was erected as the last of the series of those domed churches in 1670-1692 and as the second Church of the Hotel des Invalides. ¹²⁰²

Note 1202. See Art. 306; p. 243, 429, 317. We give the following dates, from which it results with certainty, that in 1680 the model was ready, and that in 1692 the external decoration was entirely completed.

Invalides.

1680, Dec. 16; "To Carel, joiner, for having repaired and

changed the model of the said church, including the sculpture - - - 190 livres". (*Comptes des Batiments du Roi* in the reign of Louis XIV. Vol. 1. p. 1268. Paris. 1881.

1692, June 1; for parts of the scaffolds of the gilders of the dome, Jacques Chevalier, joiner, received 126 livres.

1692, March 18; "Du Verger, joiner, received 300 livres for kings modeled in woodwork for the two great vaults of the dome, a gallery, and one of the chapels of the said church". This refers to the ornaments of the vault.

1692, April 20; to the same for various models of various parts of the altar and of the lantern;" a profile and "fercen" of the calotte of the said dome, 35 livres. (Same, Vol. 3, p. 699).

1692, June 29; Jacques Lucas, plumber, received 618 livres 8 sous as the final payment of 13,618 livres 8 sous, who had cost the lead ornaments of the dome, the lantern and the sanctuary of the church.

1692, Aug. 24 to Jan. 11, 1693; Guillaume des Ostiers, gilder, received 9,409 livres, 10 sous, 6 deniers, as the remainder of 39,609 livres, 10 sous, 6 deniers, which was the amount of the gilding for the dome, lantern, pyramids and ornaments of the said church. (The Same, p. 700).

761. Judgment of the French.

Since by the French, even by the very refined, this dome is often regarded as the most beautiful in Europe, it is our duty to investigate, what peculiarities may cause this opinion and how far it may be justified. We therefore commence our examination, not with the substructure, but with the dome itself.

a. The exterior of the Dome itself.

762. Prescribed Conditions.

The circumstance, that a larger church already existed on the main axis of the plan, and that the latter consisted of high and widely extended wings, rendered more difficult the problem of J. H. Mansard. He must place his new church at the rear of the Hotel and behind the first Church, with the principal facade turned toward the rear. All this must influence the new composition. The architect however understood how to make his work prominent as the central point dominating

all others.

763. Dominating Impression.

It must therefore without dispute be regarded as a merit, that one would not be left in doubt regarding what was to be seen here. The impression of the lofty drum with the slender dome is decidedly dominating, strongly attracts the eye, and forms in the view of the city of Paris one of the most monumental centres. The drum and its dome appear as the upper half of a church set without transition upon a square lower half. It has here again been fully demonstrated, that of all architectural forms the dome is the one, that by its characteristic as a central figure and by its mass is most suitable to form a central point, and as such to produce an architectural effect. J. H. Mansard extended it as high as possible by means of a third wooden shell.

764. Elegant Character.

If one begins with the recollection of the dimensions of the other domed buildings in Paris -- the Pantheon excepted -- and the feeling of their average scale to the Dome of the Invalids, this is then striking by its magnitude, its height, and the slender and animated rise of its curve. It is as if an appearance of "elegance" were spread over this dome, of which one does not think for the others. It makes a lofty and majestic impression. But if one recollects the effect of St. Peter in Rome or of St. Paul in London, then is for these the impression of the majestic and monumental more mighty, in contrast to the elegance mentioned, more suitable to the salon. Before the Dome of the Invalids one thinks of elegance and of ornamentation, which does not occur in Rome nor on the exterior of St. Paul. One has before him indeed a very beautiful, but not a sufficiently entrancing work.

765. The Lines of the Dome.

As shown by Fig. 205, ¹²⁰³ the entirely isolated shell, without any accompaniment of subordinate domes and towers, beginning high in the air, J. H. Mansard has permitted to grow magnificently with the attic out of the vertical treatment of the drum, apparently without the necessary side supports.

In spite of the entire gilding of the dome, one is always inclined to count the attic as belonging to the curve of the

shell. Thereby the latter obtains in great part its slender elliptical effect. On the contrary for myself, the long trophy ornaments between the ribs have a somewhat peculiar character for this dome, indeed in the sense of the secular and elegant, not earnest and monumental.

766. The Lantern.

Perhaps in comparison to the compact and closed mass of the dome the lantern appears rather open, and its apex shaped as a slender obelisk must be an element not entirely homogeneous with the curvature of the dome. Yet it has something characteristic, light and elegant, piquant and coquettish.

For more than forty years has the incurved cavetto at its base been unsatisfactory to me, and the corbelled and visible enlargement of the lantern is disturbed by the console gallery above this "scotia". If this cavetto be concealed by a pencil, the view at once becomes more monumental.

J. H. Mansard probably thought of the dome of Giacomo del Duca on S. Maria di Loreto in Place Trajana, or on that of C Carlo Rainaldi on S. Maria in Monti on the Place del Popolo in Rome, where consoles also support the corbelled candelabra.

It is not impossible, that perhaps this connection at the crown of the line of the dome produces something of that impression of animated elegance, which is peculiar to this dome. Instead of a covering and supporting vault, it acquires something of an inflated and easily rising balloon. Also in five or six of these interesting dome compositions in the previously mentioned studies for a treatise on architecture, Rubens has drawn a strongly incurved cavetto beneath the lantern.¹²⁰⁴

Note 1204. See Art. 300; also Burckhardt, J. *Erinnerungen aus Rubens*. p. 35-37. Basle. 1898.

767. Irregular Elevation of the Drum.

By a closer study of the drum and the attic, it surprises us to discover, that for this circular form not all piers of the circle of windows are alike. The two lying in the four diagonals have strongly projecting buttresses, each with two coupled three-quarter columns in front, like those of S. Peter in Rome, the four intermediate piers having merely half columns on the curvature itself. (Fig. 205). It is then seen, that these lighter piers lie instead of openings in the four

principal axes above the crowns of the dome arches, in order to relieve the latter in this manner. On the other hand, J. H. Mansard desired to give the dome four main points of support above its four main piers. Therefore Fig. 203 shows an intersected pier in the drum and a strikingly slight thickness of the mass of the wall.

Such an arrangement may from the practical and structural standpoint be regarded and termed clever and ingenious. But since the construction on monuments does not occur for itself, but in the service of monumentality, of intellectual thought and of the feeling for beauty innate in mankind, then can the eye never be satisfied with the results of this arrangement.

The visible external emphasizing of the four stronger and weaker points in this elevated place, where on a dome the "rounding" should dominate, lies in opposition to the ground principle of its esthetic character and nature; of the effect as a round continuity and unified whole.¹²⁰⁵

Note 1205. Here the differently formed points of support are defective, for example, that by the fixed principle of a alternation, they are not connected into a continuous unity, even if rhythmically animated, as for example this is the case on the domes of the Escorial, of S. Maria di Carignano in Genoa, and of the Institute of France.

768. Unsymmetrical Outlines.

In consequence of this treatment of the drum and of the attic, the diagonal elevation of the dome projects much more than that on the main axes. As a further result, there occurs from four standpoints between them a singular elevation of the outline. For example, at the left the outline of the attic is formed by the ogee curve of the projecting console-but-tress, while on the right the attic merely falls vertically, and thus appears as if denuded and weakened, as if lost and cut off.

769. Segmental arched Windows.

One queries why in the most important portion of the drum all windows have only segmental arches, when it was possible on the subordinated attic to have the more monumental form of round arched windows. The feeling at once is impressed;—here the architect had to put up with it, the means did not suffice,

or he did not understand how to embody them in a unified purpose.

b. The Substructure of the Dome.

770. Its Cubical Appearance.

We now pass to the square substructure of almost cubical effect, that forms the lower half of the church; it terminates as a square terrace surrounded by a balustrade.

What is expressed on the smooth stone surfaces of three visible sides of this die by subdivision and columnar architecture cannot correspond to the interior, that by means of the composition becomes manifest and perceptible by the eye.

This treatment further does not correspond to the cubical form, that consists in strengthening and accenting the angles.

The gabled facades placed on the axes of the die are too evidently in contrast to what is possible in the interior. They are more or less richly developed facades for basilican buildings. One at once understands, that these exist nowhere behind, since the external line of the drum rises so nearly above them.

Further since these facade forms project too little in the axes to extend clearly from the cube, this loses the artistic effect of firm, even and decided stability, peculiar to its nature. The middle of the sides project as if swelled outward, the angles are plain, weak and without strengthened corners, and are not clearly expressed as on Val-de-Grace. Already in the ground plan, Fig. 201, is perceptible this defective treatment of the square.

On the side facades of the substructure, the segmental arches of the great, wide, nearly square windows in the upper story of the central motive are disturbing, and those of the side windows in base ashlar surfaces. These are pretty forms, but not those for a royal monument of the "sun king".

771. The Principal Facade.

Much worse treated is this defect in the main facade. Here is not only more emphasized the false elevation of a non-existent three-aisled nave by the relief of column and pilaster architecture, but it is even increased, in that it rises above the great square terrace of the substructure of the dome, and interferes with what might be the grand effect of it.

Then is this facade with columns and pilasters, at least considered by itself, a satisfactory architectural work? Not entirely! No Much of it is not bad, indeed might be good, but other things have an unpleasing effect.

In a three-quarter view the effect as facade of any church with nave would be very beautiful, excepting that the upper Corinthian columns have the same height as the lower Doric, the former appearing too high and producing an unpleasing effect. According to the point of view, the effect of the pair of columns on the middle pier of the drum just at the apex of the gable is not happy. It is not tasteful for the highest point of the openings in the middle axis is lower than those in the side axes. The effect of the segmental arch of the principal window with its weak crown directly beneath the impost of the middle niche (Fig. 205) is indeed wretched, as soon as it is noticed.

772. The intended Porticos.

It is but easy to say, that the defects here mentioned in the subdivision of the masses would in part disappear, if the intended enclosing effect of the square before it had been carried out. The domed pavilions would have grouped themselves well with the principal dome, would have taken from it the feeling of isolation without affecting its dominating effect. The rear porticos at the sides would have had a good effect in connection with the side facades.

c. The Interior.

773. The General Effect.

On entering, the impression from the doorway is indeed that of a great interior with a beautiful drum. The entire room has a light effect and although little contrast of light and dark parts animate and subdivide the masses of the interior, the effect of the lighting is not bad. With the very imposing effect of the height of the dome externally, one is somewhat surprised that the internal effect of height of the dome is much lower, ¹²⁰⁶ as evident from Fig. 203.

Note 1206. According to Gosset, the clear diameter of the drum is 82.02 ft., that of the lower dome is 88.83 ft.; the total height from the external pavement to the top of the cross is 337.93 ft.; the external part of the square substructure is 187.21 ft.

774. Defect in the Dome Piers.

But on entering, a number of defects at once affect us in a disturbing manner. The magnitude of the dome pier is greater than that of the openings of the arms of the cross. Therefore the arches of the dome do not rise elastically in forming the opening. The free columns are immediately disturbing, that project in pairs from each pier of the dome. They stand in the way, since they appear entirely useless, and they only bear their own entablatures, that support nothing. The wide projection of the latter acts in opposition to the elsewhere necessary and especially heavy pilaster architecture. This narrows the interior, cuts into the zone of the imposts and spandrels in the same, and disturbs the unified upward extension. Neither as a series nor as a rhythmic group do these form a circle of columns, at least beautiful in itself, as the half columns do in the side domes, and they stand too manifestly in no sort of connection with the movement of the architectural forms.

They contribute neither to the structural elevation nor to the form of the interior, and merely stand in the way. "They are only encumbrances".

It is further disturbing, that this entablature is in front curved in plan, but the wall behind is composed of three straight lines, as in S. Peter. Very unpleasing and thoughtless is the form of the spandrel panels with the round swelling below. Not churchly at all nor even monumental is the effect of the boudoir or salon motive of the lozenge-shaped net with lilies and medallions on the continuous pedestal of the drum.

The high recesses in form of flat niches on the dome piers beneath the spandrels, that contain the small arches toward the side domes, are treated rather weakly and are not entirely satisfactory.

775. The Pilaster Order.

Very beautiful is the effect of the same Corinthian order on all other sides in the form of fluted pilasters. Its beautiful proportions and capitals recall the noble treatment on the buttresses of the Palace chapel at Versailles. Beautifully composed are the coffer panels of the dome and their arches.

776. The other Parts.

At the windows over the entablature at the ends of the arms of the cross, one feels in their form, that they are not designed in harmonious agreement with the internal form of the entire interior. It is as if they cut off the apses otherwise merely indicated. On the inner side of the facade, the same form of window is less disturbing, since it is placed in a plane wall. This is the window, whose external effect is so disturbing on the contrary.

The effect of the round side domes is rather good. The half columns there actually form a circular series. Hard and abrupt is the effect, that the domes alone are decorated by color, everything below only exhibiting the cold color of the stone.

Chapter 17. Various Parts of the Exteriors of Churches.

Since the number of entire churches or of the larger connected parts of the same is altogether too small, and from these alone would one obtain not only an imperfect, but an entirely false idea of the style and its capabilities, we abandon a systematic representation of all forms of development of its characteristics, and limit ourselves to the following.

a. Squares, Forecourts and Porticos.

777. Squares before Churches.

Before the facade of the Church at S. Calais (Fig. 152), there extends in its entire width a square enclosed by balustrades like a terrace, to which about nine steps lead up at the middle. Before that at Pencren in Brittany ¹²⁰⁷ is a flight of steps, bordered by sculptured walls in the middle and at both sides, that receive the steps by means of console forms alternating with vertical parts. Originally treated piers crown them.

Note 1207. Illustrated in Hodder & Taylor. Bretagne. Vol. 2. p. 1.

Before the Chapel of S. Catherine at Maignelay near Clermont in Picardy is a square surrounded by a parapet wall. At both sides of the entrance to this rise slender piers like candelabras. ¹²⁰⁸

Note 1208. The same. Picardie. Vol. 3. p. 1.

Du Cerceau adopted in his project of a facade for S. Eustache in Paris (Fig. 156) a **forecourt** with side porticos, about like that of S. Maria presso S. Celso in Milan.

A forecourt or atrium existed before the Church of Nogent-sur-Seine. Alexandre Lenoir held it to be a work of Philibert De L'Orme. The fragments, formerly in the Musée des Augustins, were used in building Mont-Valerien. ¹²⁰⁹

Note 1209. M. Albert Lenoir showed me a drawing of this charming work. I think I remember, that he said to me, that a portion of the same was yet in place.

The facade of Val-de-Grace still lies at the middle of the larger side of a tolerably large forecourt in the ground story, treated with severe pilasters and niches.

Before the Chateau chapel at Anet was formerly a portico of

three bays arranged with coupled columns, that formed an extension of the loggia, that in that wing occupied the ground story next the court. (Fig. 192).

There must also be recalled the very important portico before De L'Orme's chapel in the park of the Chateau at Villers-gotterets. (Fig. 195). For a chapel for the Louvre, illustrated in Fig. 42, from the time of Henry IV. was projected a portico.

At the cathedral of Auch was built an actual portico below both towers, and between them before the entire facade. (Art. 672).

The portal on the side facade of the Chateau at Vetheuil, formed by a high oval arch, first leads into an open internal and vaulted portico, that may have about the depth of the chapels, at the rear of which lies the doorway. The forms appear to belong to the simplified style of Gaillon.

At the Church of Livilliers such a side portico projects like a chapel.

Before the doorway of the sacristy of Notre Dame at Rodez is a portico with coffered tunnel vault, opening in front as a wide round arch with rectangular enclosure, and crowned by an arcade of niches with pilasters and three battlements.

The portico of Notre Dame-du-Puy at the side next the bishop's Palace is formed as a concentric double arch. (Art. 530). The inner archivolt is supported by columns, is turned as an entirely free arch, and is connected with the external archivolt by three small pilasters set radially. ¹²¹⁰

Note 1210. Illustrated in Moller & Taylor. *Auvergne*. Vol. 2. p. 156.

The three portals of S. Michel at Dijon are so deep, that they almost form porticos; they were described with that facade. In the Church at Gisors is created by the organ gallery an internal portico of three arches having the width of the middle aisle. In the engraving with Du Cerceau's remodeling of the facade of the Certosa of Pavia, ¹²¹¹ he endeavored to develop a grand portal motive instead of the recessed portals of the French Gothic cathedrals as a front arch or small porch.

b. The Towers.

Besides the designs of towers already described in connect-

connection with a facade, there is a series of towers, that deserve mention. Even for new towers the idea of the composition long remained Gothic, but it was expressed in the new form.

1. The Form of the upper Termination.

The most important question, that here met the architect, was indeed the form in which the tower should be ended at top, whether by a spire, a dome or a terrace.

730. Different Opinions.

In the opinions relating to the question of the upper ending of the towers, we find an interesting view of the time, when the Renaissance began to penetrate into Rouen. In the year 1504 during a conference with Pierre Valence, he was asked whether the new tower of the Cathedral should terminate with a spire or a terrace.¹²¹² In a second conference on Sept. 14, 1506, with Nicolas Biard, it was again asked, whether it should end in a spire or with a crown according to the modern taste.¹²¹³ By the last is doubtless meant the domed form of a shrine.

Note 1212. "To know whether the new tower of the said church should be diminished or composed with a spire or terrace". Lance, A. Dictionnaire. Vol. 2. p. 302.

Note 1213. The same. Vol. 1. p. 70.

731. The Domical Form and the Spire.

Some examples follow in which the domical form is assumed.

Pierre Lemercier (Arts. 718, 719) in 1552 crowned the square Gothic towers of S. Maclou at Pontoise with an octagonal domical structure. The cornice of the drum on the four main sides form segmental gables. At the diagonal sides of the drum are set on its cornice octagonal pedestals, on which succeed shrines with domes and surrounded by columns and pilasters. The lantern of the main dome is composed of a similar but somewhat larger dome, and from the domes of the four lower ones perforated flying buttresses rise above the dome to the piers of the lantern. It is a composition, that pleases the mind as little as its outlines do the eye.

The square tower of the Cathedral of Blois was crowned in 1546 by an octagonal story with dome, and above by a lantern shaped like a dome. From four diagonally set outtresses rise

flying buttresses to the entablature of the octagon and aid the transition. The tower of the Church of the Trinite in Angers is likewise terminated as a circular structure with dome and lantern. The Gothic principal tower of S. pierre at Coutances receives quite directly a similar octagonal shrine like that of the crossing tower.

The tower of Roscoff is in the lower part tall, slender and square with a semicircular projection for the steps, has a somewhat narrower square upper story, and is terminated by a square domed structure with slender lantern accompanied by 4 dome-shaped finials on the corners. The tower of Thegonnec (Finisterre) is crowned by a domical structure with lantern, surrounded by four smaller domes as finials. The square tower of S. Malo at Valognes has a spire, that is pointed in a gently curved ogee line with crockets on the angles, animated below by the gable of the window and above by four dormers.

Of peculiar treatment in the character of the time of Louis XII is a square middle tower in Plonevez Paigay with a slender pyramid, being connected below by two bridge arches with a circular and an octagonal small tower.

The square church tower of Landerneau is terminated by a dome with lantern in the form of a dome, accompanied by four turrets.

That of the tower of S. Laurent in Nogent-sur-Seine is square with a shrine-like addition, treated as the lantern of the dome of S. Peter in Rome.

The destroyed spire of the southwest tower of S. Andre in Rouen, built in 1541-1546 by Robert Frenelles passes for one of the wonders of Normandy.

2. The Towers of the early Renaissance.

782. Renaissance Compositions of Gothic Towers.

We first refer to some cases, that concern the composition of towers, commenced in the Gothic style, and where it occurred to continue them in the new form.

At the Cathedral of Troyes the completion of the upper half of the free portion of the left tower was in the advanced early Renaissance style, and it exhibits interesting forms of entablatures with modillions on the architrave. The two upper stories of the tower of the Madeleine there have columns

of one Ionic and of two Corinthian orders. They stand before the middle of the front of the buttress. In Toul, on S. Gen-goult, the unfinished passes into the Renaissance above. On the small and short tower of the Chapel of the Lycee at Vend-ome, the octagon terminating the square tower is accompanied by four finials, that are merely treated as short and stumpy early Renaissance columns.

783. Examples of Renaissance Towers.

We now pass to such examples, which were already commenced as Renaissance towers or have that effect in their general appearance.

The tower of Notre Dame at Mortaigne (in the Orne) was commenced about 1530 in the Renaissance style, and until its restoration about 1888 consisted of two stories and an attic. The buttresses are after the Gothic arrangement, and are subdivided by very slender flat coupled pilasters with arabesque panels. On the capitals rest shrines with statues and canopies. On the entablature are arranged angular gables for the entire width of the space between the buttresses; the buttresses of the second story on the contrary are plain with a high base, and they have wide and low Ionic capitals. Below these are statues placed on corbels, which stand before flat niches and have four-story canopies. The frieze of the entablature has scroll-work, and above the cornice are placed ogee gables between the buttresses and on both sides of candelabras with a balustrade, that connects the buttresses before the attic. The attic has very short Ionic pilasters and two arches on fluted pilasters between the buttresses. 1214

Note 1214. Illustrated in Hodier & Taylor. Normandie. Vol. 3. Here described from the drawing of M. Reboul, No. 5249, exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1889.

The Church of S. Antoine at Loches has a beautiful tower (built in 1519-1530, according to Palustre) with four square stories. The fifth is in the form of a little temple with dome and lantern. At the angles are not very large buttresses set diagonally, from which a small arch extends to the oblique side of the octagon. The fourth story is opened as a belfry with Corinthian pilasters and two high round arches, while the third story is closed and has a kind of modillion

frieze. In the middle of it is a half column, and at both sides are four panels, that are formed like a window cross with low half-round moulding.

In the vicinity of Creil is a square church tower with two tolerably projecting buttresses at each angle and crowned by a semicircular dome; beneath are coupled and round-arched windows.

To the beautiful Church tower at Bressuire (Fig. 312), according to Palustre completed in 1538 by Jean Gendre and Jean Ordonne, we shall return later in connection with secular towers. Likewise the pretty tower of S. Patrice at Bayeux in Fig. 313.

Other church towers appear to offer interest, though only known to me by illustrations. They are a tower at Landirisi-are and another at Ploudiry, both in Brittany.

In Anjou the three church towers, of La Trinite at Angers, (Art. 781), at Beaufort-en-Vallee, and at Les Rosiers, all which Palustre names as works of Jean de Lespine. In Orleans is the church tower of S. Paterne built of brick with ashlar quoins.

784. Stair Turrets. Examples.

We mention some stair turrets, that have received a special development on the larger facades.

On the facade of the Cathedral at Sens, a charming octagonal turret of the early Renaissance on the southern tower is treated in two octagonal stories, each with an order at the angle with pedestals, entablature and balustrade. An intermediate story skilfully forms the transition from the Gothic portions by the aid of an arch.

In the Church at Gisors, the winding staircase of the new tower is of about 1550, internally appearing in circular form. Above the ground story begin three orders of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian pilasters, between them being windows with the middle column like a candelabra. All horizontal lines have become inclined, excepting two courses of bosses under each of the inclined window sills.

Palustre further mentions a round stairway turret in the interior of S. Etienne at Beauvais.

785. Crossing Towers. Examples in Caen and in Coutances.

We now pass to some examples of crossing towers. This al-

also sometimes concerns the composition of works commenced as Gothic.

The crossing tower of S. Jean at Caen was begun in very beautiful later Gothic forms, and was continued square without buttresses up to the cornice below the octagon. From this the details belong to the early Renaissance. The octagonal sides first have a substructure and then slender windows, that like the unfinished tower only extend to their impost cap. At the angles is always a pilaster with two side pilasters, adjoining which is 1 1/2 pilasters stepped as a window pier. The diagonal sides of the octagon are accompanied by bold and rich finial turrets, square below and then terminating as diagonally placed piers with a round shrine. From each spring two small flying buttresses over to the angle of the octagon of the tower. The form of treatment of the finials although simpler, is closely allied to that of the buttress on the choir of S. Pierre at Caen. Both there and here the knowledge of the works of upper Italy is perceptible.

The crossing tower of S. Pierre at Coutances extends square above the roofs and above a bold cornice of this substructure, at which by narrow recesses preparation is made for the octagon, it passes into that form and is divided in two stories with vertical bands in the middle, at the sides and the angles. Below are two round-arched windows and in the second story are similar windows, though more slender. A balustrade terminates this part. Behind it commences a low attic as the base of the octagonal pyramid. Scales cover the sides, whose angles bear crockets. A lute window animates the lower parts of the four main sides of the pyramid. At the diagonal sides of the octagon rise angle towers, that almost restore the square form. They end in the shape of finials with open lanterns.

786. Examples in Rouen and in Carentan.

According to old illustrations, ¹²¹⁵ the upper two-thirds of the crossing tower, burned in 1322, must have formed a happy continuation of the three lower stories of stone. It was at first square with entirely projecting angles containing stairways. Five stories with arcades subdivided this two thirds. The upper third was composed of a slender spire, whose

square base with gables was merely half as wide as the middle third, and it was connected with the latter by diagonal buttresses. Its composition appears to date from the 16th century.

Note 1215. See Lance, A. *Dictionnaire*. Vol. 1. p. 555; Vol. 2. p. 68.

The crossing tower of the Cathedral, destroyed by lightning in 1514, was restored by Rouland Leroux, master of the cathedral and of the tomb of Georges d'Amboise.¹²¹⁶ He made in 1521 a project for a new one of stone; but this was executed in wood by R. Becquet in 1544, architect and carpenter of the cathedral.

Note 1216. Such are found in Hodier & Taylor. *Normandie*. Vol. 2. Pls. 123-126. Our description is made from an engraving in 1823 by E. H. Longlois (of the bridge of the arch).

The crossing tower of S. Maria-du-Mart at Carentan is square with flying buttresses as a transition to the octagon, above which a dome on a low circular drum forms the termination. It dates from the time of the early Renaissance.

3. Towers of the high Renaissance.

737. Their Rarity.

Unfortunately the number of towers in this phase of the style is very small; also in this period the use of the buttress is mostly retained, as in the Gothic period.

In the Church at Epiais (Art. 711) (about 1550), there rises between the transverse aisle and the nave a square tower of the good, and not yet cold classical period. Above the roof cornice are two towers, below with two round-arched blind windows, above with two open arches. At the angles two bold pilasters form buttresses placed at right angles, below Doric and above like Corinthian. The entablatures are returned above them, the upper one has Bramante's modillions in the frieze. An octagonal stone dome without drum is accompanied by four finials and crowned by a fifth instead of a lantern, forming a rather dry termination with dormers on the four principal sides.

738. The new Tower of the Church at Gisors.

We now pass to the perhaps most perfect but unfortunately tower of the high Renaissance, the right tower of the Church

at Gisors, only 2 1/2 stories high. (Art. 671). Here two buttresses lie at each angle, before which stand two wide-spaced coupled columns connected by niches. The greatest projection of their pedestals equals the width of the buttresses. Thus the entablature at the angle is twice returned. A narrower buttress with the same projection but merely with one three-quarter column rises in the middle of the side. Each wall space in each story is animated by a niche with gable or treated like a tabernacle. On the contrary on the side facade are each two windows and no central buttress, in the second story being a great round window.

Before this tower one feels as before that of the Cathedral at Malaga, which is allied with this in many ways, that both were under certain influences of the model for S. Peter in Rome.

789. Tower at Pierrefonds.

The three upper stories of the tower of the Church at Pierrefonds, commenced in Gothic, were built in 1552 in good high Renaissance. The two lower stories are square, and have flat Tuscan and Doric pilasters instead of buttresses. Two are placed at right angles to each other at each angle. The Doric entablature is only returned below the cornice. The last story is treated as a round Ionic shrine with conical roof in the midst of four round shrines at the angles as a transition to the circular form. Eight Ionic pilasters lie on the main axes and are separated by twin round-arched windows. Similar windows are found between the Doric pilasters. At half the height of these is placed on the shaft a small tabernacle with niche and gables.

790. Other Examples.

The square tower of S. Nicolas in Retzel has three pilaster orders of the time of Henry II.

Notable church towers are further at Conches and on S. Marie-du-Mont, at Garentan, both in Normandy; on S. Pierre at Dreux of about 1570, and in Joinville.

In conclusion may be mentioned a tower of the Cathedral at Chalons-sur-Marne, terminated by a dome, whose lantern is treated as a slender roof turret (1668-1680), a form indeed influenced by the older burned one of 1520, and the northern

tower of the Cathedral at Evreux (Louis XII).

c. Forms of Buttresses.

791. The Endeavors of the Architects.

The buttresses form in the appearance of the exteriors of churches an element almost as important as the arcade piers in the interior of the middle aisle. In certain cases shall we see on those of the early Renaissance their entire imagination lavished. Since their fundamental purpose was to oppose thrusts or oblique forces, therefore their treatment by means of antique forms, that chiefly have a vertical direction, become extremely difficult.

With the execution of the examples in which occur console forms or oblique steps, the Renaissance architects, and perhaps rightly, do not seem to have taken the trouble to express this function of a sidewise effect by special forms. The existing mass and its direction appear sufficient to explain the nature of the strengthening part of the buttress.

1. The Buttresses of the early Renaissance.

The bold buttresses at the octagonal stairway in the court of the Chateau at Blois (Fig. 32) are conceived as high continuous supports. At about two-thirds the height they are surrounded by a member like an entablature, so that the upper portion to the capital receives the proportions of a pilaster. The lower two-thirds receives a rich decoration and a freer treatment by means of pedestals, bases, arabesque panels, niches with figures and canopies, which adjoin the rich ornamentation of the balustrades extending between them, better than an actual order.

792. Examples at Gisors and Usse.

On the old left tower of the Church at Gisors (Art. 671), the buttresses in the story beneath the roof and the bellry have the form of piers of square section with capitals like Corinthian. The edges have very slender candelabra shafts.

At the midheight of the pier is placed a medallion on relief with an antique head and an angular gable above it. Above the capital follows a very slender and somewhat recessed gable with finials at the sides as a connection with the next story.

The buttresses at the angles of the facade of the Chateau

chapel at Usse (about 1520) are likewise remarkable. They are plain in the ground story. Above stand two coupled columns, though cut free for their entire exterior, but connected by moulded ribs and also with these on the outer diagonals.

The shafts are decorated by great ornamental letters, alternately L and C, and by an inscription tablet enclosed by a garland, bearing on their capitals the statues, whose niches form the third, and their canopies the fourth stories of the buttresses up to the main cornice. Between the niches the moulded angles take the form of pilasters, with those of candelabras between the canopies. Finials crown the piers and are treated after the model of candelabra stems.

On the choir of the same chapel the buttresses of the same master exhibit other forms. Up to the window sill is their substructure plain; then follow very wide Ionic pilasters in the second story; above they pass into an irregular octagon by means of smaller pilasters, half columns and candelabra forms. Finials, whose spirelets are shaped as smooth cones, but surrounded by four or five moulded rings, terminate them.

793. Examples from Caen and Falaise.

To the most beautiful forms of this kind belong the finials above the angles of the choir chapels and the piers between flying buttresses on S. Pierre at Caen. By means of piers, pilasters, capitals, vases and candelabras, they are treated in the richest manner.

On the latter piers the lower half is bold and simple, as if formed of two square piers set beside each other. Only the angles are moulded with a band and round, like the buttresses of the Cathedral of Como; at their middle is a medallion moulding; a frieze and cornice terminate them. Above this begins the animated portion. At the middle and set diagonally is a square pilaster, whose angles are candelabras, and above its capital stands a rich candelabra. The transition from the rectangle to the square is formed by another candelabra like a finial. The substructure of this pier has a cap and on the outside a corbel, from which a very short flying buttress extends to the medallion on the front of the main pier. All this is expressed in forms, although somewhat bolder, but which have their prototypes in the candelabras of the

windows on the Certosa of Pavia and on the finials at the sides of that monument, but especially those of the Cathedral of Como. Hector Souier must have erected it between 1521 and 1545.

On the Church of the Trinite at Falaise, besides the portal represented in Fig. 171, there is placed at each side of the apse an interesting buttress and arch of 1539.

The piers there are treated about the same as the sides of a little tower, with smaller buttresses at both ends, two round-arched enclosures between them, separated by a half column. In the middle of each enclosure is a niche, enclosed like a window. A ridge with richly perforated cresting terminates the pier at the middle. Rich canopies, somewhat in the style of those of S. Pierre at Caen, subdivide the sides of the buttresses and others crown them.

794. Other Forms.

There is found in similar cases, where buttress consoles occur, an attempt to limit these to a size, in which they no longer appear monstrous, out of all connection with the other parts of the rather weak members. In the Church of Ay may be seen a steep console of C shape, after a double offset on the upper part of a buttress, not unskilfully forming the transition to the cornice and to a finial set thereon. ¹²¹⁷

Note 1217. See Moller & Taylor. Champagne. Vol. 1.

An interesting attempt to transform the buttresses into the antique is shown by the ruins of the small cloister of S. Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons.

On pedestals stand slender Doric columns. Above their capitals extend backward ogee consoles, that are crowned by small gables, to the recessed face of the upper third of the buttress. Above its astragal and a smaller moulding a similar though flatter console covers the pier and connects its termination with the window balustrade.

Among the Gothic buttresses of the Cathedral at Bordeaux is placed only a single Renaissance buttress, with three Composite orders and medallions, carefully restored in 1530-1533 by archbishop de Grammont and named after him.

On the Church of S. Pierre at Tonnerre, that already belongs to the classical and noble early Renaissance, the buttres-

buttresses of the side aisles are replaced by detached fluted Corinthian columns of very beautiful form, only connected to the wall by pedestals and entablature.

The buttresses of the Church of the Madeleine at Montargis between the chapels are only marked by pilasters. Only above these do flying buttresses spring. At their ends stand pilasters sidewise, and on the front is a beautiful free column, as in Tonnerre.

2. Buttresses of the high Renaissance and of the 17th Century.

The forms of buttresses at the time of the high Renaissance are in part merely maturer developments of the early Renaissance.

794. Endings with Gable Forms.

On S. Alpin at Châlons-sur-Marne (about 1530) some buttresses were terminated by segmental gables at the height of the top of the window, then extending as vertical bands to the cornice. We see this idea developed further on the following three examples.

On the piers of the buttresses of the Church at S. Florentin the crowning termination is formed as a charming and noble antique temple, without all detail like the entablature and the antique pediment. On S. Eusebe at Auxerre the buttresses are extended as plain masonry up to their arches, where they end in fan shape with a Doric entablature with gable roof before and behind with vases as acroterias.

On the Church at Goussainville are buttresses, on which these temples are treated with coupled pilasters on the front and single pilasters at the sides. Further below and above the sills of the windows of the side aisles were arranged tabernacles above flat niches, that have at the angles Ionic pilasters, above whose capitals, consoles support a projecting entablature with angular gable. They are moulded at the sides, and an inverted console over the gable extends back to the surface of the buttress. At the height of the cornice of the side aisle a belt with fret is carried around the buttress, that connects it with the cornice.

One likewise finds these treated as piers with a capital.

796. Forms of Piers or Pilasters.

The pretty buttresses of the northern side aisle of S. Clotilde in Grand Amely (about 1550) are treated as square Ionic fluted pilasters or piers, above which the entablature is returned. To the perforated balustrade then correspond pedestals decorated by cartouches, that are crowned by urns. with flames rising from them. (Art. 370).

On the adjoining transept facade, pairs of grouped columns are connected by niches and compose the system, that replaces the buttresses. These pairs of columns are each connected in the upper story by a crowning gable between them.

The system of buttresses allied to the last arrangement on the new tower of the Church in Gisors was described with that building.

On the Church at Villiers-le-Bel the piers of some flying buttresses above the roofs of the side aisles are treated as rich Composite piers, whose depth is 2 to 3 times larger than the front side. ¹²¹⁸ The latter is fluted; the capital has the entire depth of the pier and the entablature has richly sculptured members and frieze. Above this follows an ending like a finial. From the shaft projects a gargoyle as a spout supported by cupids. Other piers are treated as Doric piers and more simply.

Note 1218. A. de Montaiglon holds these two buttresses of the Church at Villiers-le-Bel near Ecouen to be a work of Jean Bullant.-- perhaps also the unfinished tower of the Church of Ecouen. -- Archives de l'Art Français. Documents. Vol. 6. p. 317 n. 1. (1858-1860).

Men frequently try to give to these piers with capitals the proportions of the classical orders of columns. This is the case on the side aisles or the side rooms of S. Laurent in Nogent-sur-Seine (Art. 364), where the buttresses are treated as more or less strongly projecting Composite pilasters. On one it becomes a fluted column.

In order to give the cornice above them a smaller return than the projection of the buttress, it projects from the latter less than in the intercolumniation, where the greater projection is made possible by supporting modillions in the frieze. The pedestals of the balustrade above the cornice end in finials like obelisks. In the Church at Berville (about

1550) the outtrusses have coupled Doric pilasters with pedestals above their entablature, from which inclined ogee consoles extend backward to the roof cornice. In Rugles the external architecture of the chapels exhibits buttresses treated as the Corinthian order on high pedestals. ¹²¹⁹

Note 1219. Illustrated in Hodier & Taylor. Normandie. Vol. 3.

797. Examples with the Forms of Columns.

On the two upper stories of the tower of the Cathedral of Blois (about 1540 ?), closely coupled and slender three-quarter columns form the fronts of the buttresses, which are treated as pilasters, on which the returned entablature is like a bold belt around the vertical members.

On each side of the latter project three such buttresses, so that at each angle two meet at right angles. The repetition of the same order on two stories of equal height imparts to the entire treatment something of repose, that is well suited to the plain Romanesque buttresses on the lower third of the tower.

Interesting and rather different is the buttress system on the choir of S. Germain at Argentan.

On the fronts are placed three orders of coupled columns graduated above each other. The outer and inner piers of the external choir aisle are carried to equal heights and are connected together in different ways; by a sort of lattice of two large rows of columns over each other, above which comes sometimes a round arch with gable, or by three smaller flying buttresses. These upper parts, that have received a rusticated appearance by the accenting of the bed joints, must date from a later time. From these double piers then spring the main flying buttresses over the inner aisle.

798. Examples from the 17 th Century.

From the 17 th century onward the buttresses become more rare. There, when are to be mentioned such outtruss consoles, as on S. Sulpice or the Dome of the Invalids in Paris, this has already been done for these monuments. (Arts. 728, 767, 768).

At Val-de-Grace in Paris the fronts and the adjacent sides of the buttresses of the drum are covered by Corinthian pilasters, whose shafts do not meet at acute angles, but are separated by a small projecting corner, whose sides correspond to

the projection of the pilaster. Thereby the buttresses look like a firm circle of square corinthian piers, whose rear portion extends as a plane surface and connects them with the drum.

d. Portals or Doorways.

Church doorways or portals often form the chief ornamental part of a facade. Until the beginning of the high Renaissance, and sometimes during this, the general composition continues to be that of the Gothic cathedrals. In its translation into the new forms occur a great variety of ideas, a great fancifulness of the arrangement and frequently charming taste in the ornamentation.

1. Portals of the Transition Period.

799. Cathedral at Rouen.

Probably by Roulland Leroux and after 1510 ¹²²⁰ dates the decoration of the middle portal of the facade of the Cathedral of Rouen. It has already been indicated, that here one stands before a wonder of virtuosity. It is as if here the French master had gathered into one dazzling masterpiece the entire inconceivable ability, the acute certainty in technics, and the taste in the development of forms, peculiar to the late Gothic French masters. It is as if he carried out this in the elevation of native mastership, as if challenging the Italians, the school of Gaillon, indeed all the charm of the arabesques of the Renaissance, by showing of what the native art was capable.

Note 1220. See Arts. 108, 114.

On the splayed jambs at each side are arranged four large hollows of semicircular form between rich mouldings, before which is placed the first row of leaves, as if forming the front side of a round, wrought more delicately than in lace and bronze, through whose beautiful perforations may be seen the deep semicircular concave cavetto.

300. Other Doorways.

Likewise from the time of Louis XII may be mentioned the entrance archway, richly ornamented by canopies, of the Chapel of the Holy Spirit and the portal of the Tresorie at Rue in Picardy.

On the portal of the facade of the Chateau chapel at Usse,

instead of the usual archivolts of little figures of saints under canopies for the entire height of the jambs and arch of a high niche, that combines the doorway and window into a whole, is found a beautiful ascending band, on which at equal distances the busts of saints in high relief look forth from medallions, that alternate with flat and delicately recessed motives like coffers.

To be mentioned are still the portal of S. Basile at Etampes (style of Louis XII), that of the Church at Berulles and of the Chateau chapel at Fleurigny (1532), both in Champagne and more in the style of Francis I.

2. Portals of the early Renaissance.

801. Various Examples.

On the principal doorway of the facade of the Church at S. Calais (Fig. 152) are combined three different heights of columns or pilasters without disturbance, since the foundation of each is clearly visible, justifiable, and it is treated in accordance therewith.

The portal of the right transept of S. Eustache in Paris (Fig. 29) exhibits a Gothic enclosure with its canopy arch in the hollows, all translated into the richest early Renaissance forms of about 1535.

About contemporary, in S. Maclou at Pontoise, the rear doorway at the end of the left side aisle is simpler in design, but has rich and delicate arabesques.

On the Church at Auxon twin doorways, instead of an oval arch, are enclosed by two semicircular arches connected by a horizontal arch. A small arcade of eleven arches with busts in them and a rich crown of finials connected by consoles terminates this rich doorway, decorated by rich arabesques. ¹²²¹

Note 1221. Illustrated in Palustre. L'Architecture etc. p. 269. Its date would be 1535-1540.

Likewise S. Malo at Valoques has an interesting high portal with a slender middle column.

In S. Aignan at Chartres is a good round-arched doorway of 1541. Two columns before pilasters at each side enclose it; an Ionic order extends to the impost cornice with a Corinthian above it. This pair of columns is crowned by a finial like a shrine, while above the arch a triple tabernacle motive, a

higher at the middle, forms the termination.

802. Portals with Acute-angled Archivolts.

We now pass to a group of portals, that have a certain family resemblance, in that their archivolts, or a portion of them, exhibit a square section in definite alternations, that by its sharp angle in even the midst of the most beautiful ornamentation imparts to them a clear and effective stability.

Particularly beautiful is the portal of the Church of S. Pierre at Loudon, indeed erected between 1530 and 1540. Below is a single doorway with oval arch; above it is a round-arched window of equal height with a bold middle pier, that extends to the keystone, and from which springs to each side as tracery a round arch with two horizontal bars above it, between which consoles and lozenge forms complete the tracery.

At the base of the middle pier is a niche, above which rises a canopy $2\frac{1}{2}$ times higher as a magnificent early Renaissance spire of six stories to the keystone. The portal proper has three round-arched vaults, that have a particularly bold effect, in that they have a square section, and whose jambs are recessed with rich coffers, while the front side is decorated by the richest flat arabesques. On the other hand, the ornament before the external archivolt is wrought so free, that it almost appears like stretched Venetian lace-work, consisting of graceful consoles, foliage motives with little intermediate columns, all alternating in the most beautiful order. On the piers beneath each archivolt is placed a canopy for the now absent statue.

The beautiful portal of S. Symphorien at Tours (1531, according to Palustre), on which one of the statues bears the date of 1567, perhaps added later, is manifestly in very close connection in style with the portal at Loudon, perhaps by the same master and somewhat earlier. It has but two stepped archivolts, and below at each side of the middle pier is a doorway with oval arch. The outer archivolt is supported by a single pilaster-pier with fine arabesques. On the contrary, the tracery of the window is still late Gothic.

Also on the beautiful and noble portal of the Church at L'Isle Adam, the richly stepped archivolt is treated with two rectangular and two ornamented by seated figures under rich

canopies in such manner, that the unbroken form of the archivolt is retained and is uniformly animated. Below the impost cornice the former is supported by Corinthian columns, one spirally and the other vertically fluted. Finer mouldings and surface ornaments permit the transition.

On the portal of the Church at Sarcelles are likewise two archivolts with a similar angular and square section, each supported by a fluted Corinthian column with its entablature, but all is already executed in fresh high Renaissance forms.

303. Examples from Toulouse and Fontevrault.

In Toulouse is found a beautiful and finely treated doorway, that stands detached before the side portal of S. Sernin like a triumphal arch. It dates from the time of the matured early Renaissance (1530-1540). Slender half columns with arabesque shafts are attached to broad pilasters, accompanying a round-arched doorway and bear above the entablature a semicircular gable with rich arabesques.

The portal of the Church of La Dalbade in Toulouse is rich, interesting and beautiful. At the side a group of pilasters with a half column supports a broad round arch above its entablature, and two round-arched niches over each other. The entablature of the uppermost extends above the round arch, a tabernacle at the middle and other volute motives terminating the structure. The entablature of the pilaster is extended as the impost of the round arch and forms the lintel of the two doorways, whose middle and side piers are each decorated by a statue before niches with pilasters.

The doorway of the chapter hall in the cloister of the Church at Fontevrault, 1543, with piers very low in proportion to the round arch, shows on the latter chamfers and hollows alternating with ribs. The latter are set diagonally like groins of square section, and are treated as little pilasters with capital and entablature. Three on each side of the middle portion with plain shafts adjoining each other are curved to the arch. Little figures with canopies fill the hollows, arabesques, masks, garlands of fruits and symbols of the Passion ornament the splays of the arch. The impost entablature is supported by three small Ionic columns, does not sufficiently follow the section of the arch, and intersects it too a

abruptly, since the latter in part extends down on the pier between the columns.

304. Comparison with Italy.

For these portals we might refer to an Italian work, that exhibits in its arrangement an ~~entirely~~ similar mode of composition, that we see in the French portals. It is that of the Cathedral of Mongiovino on Lake Thrasymentis, on which we find a Lombard or Gothic arrangement translated into the finest Renaissance forms, that nearly correspond to the phase, that is found on the two Bramante-Sansovino tombs in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome.

A round arch forms a lunette over the entablature of the doorway; an upper and a lower order of free columns with the finest ornamentation on the shafts enclose the doorway at both sides.

3. Portals of the high and the late Renaissance.

305. Portals of the high Renaissance.

On the north portal of the Church at Chaumont-en-Vexin the hollows and archivolts as well as the entire facade are Gothic. Only the insertion of the two doorways, the bold modillion cornice over this, the tabernacle and the medallions of tympanum have chiefly high Renaissance forms.

Imposing, very beautiful and interesting is the middle doorway of the Church of Gisors. It was by two masters. The deep splayed jambs with two pilaster orders over each other and coffered conical vault still have elements of the high Renaissance, the upper half of the rear wall is in the richest high Renaissance, inserted by the master of the new tower.

The two towers occupy only half the height; above the lintel are two tabernacles and niches formed of splendid fluted Ionic columns, above being an attic with two rich panels up to the crowning cornice, over which is the lunette with the relief of Jacob's dream of the heavenly ladder, strongly influenced by Jean Goujon. The foliage is frequently charming, in part consisting of parsley leaves, better and more animated than in Lescoq's court of the Louvre.

The arch by which the chapel de la Toussaint opens into the side aisle of the cathedral of Toul is a true portal. It exhibits three stepped and enlarged arches. The innermost res-

rests on a fluted pilaster, the middle on two columns, and the outer one on a pier and a column. The latter archivolt is profiled as an entablature with cornice and triglyph frieze with a low architrave.

Likewise the Church at Cergy has a portal of this time.

306. Examples of the late Renaissance.

In the dreary times of Henry III, it is enjoyable to be able to mention an example such as the portal on the south side facade of S. Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris, dated 1581. It is like one of the bays of the interior of S. Peter in Rome crowned by an angular gable.

Two fluted composite pilasters are connected by a niche and have the effect of a colossal order on both sides of a round-arched doorway supporting an entablature and an unbroken angular gable. At both sides of the keystone and of the round window in the tympanum are beautiful angels in moderately high relief. A very rich and good scroll frieze, medallions and garlands between the capitals, inscription tablets over the niches and the keystone, sculptured ornaments on the members of the entablature, produce a very complete composition, that almost equals in goodness the high Renaissance.

Further on the facade of S. Maclou at Pontoise the round-arched doorway of the right aisle, indeed of about 1570-1580. At both sides of the archivolt stand two fluted corinthian columns set before the pilasters, connected by a flat niche with canopy and having a sculptured cornice.

Sometimes appear, and not always with advantage, foreign and non-Italian influences.

With the increase of Roman types of facades, the portals lost a prominent emphasis and mostly became gabled doorways within an arch. Sometimes the middle bay of the lower order receives a gable in order to accent it somewhat more.

E. Forms of Windows.

1. Windows of the early Renaissance.

A special difficulty for Renaissance architects lay in the treatment of the tracery of the windows. Its elevation, instead of the "upward growth" in the Gothic, rendered difficult frequently a harmonious combination of the filling forms and their happy forming of the intrados of the window arch. By

insufficient separation of the parts, there frequently originated opposing and weak forms, as here and there in S. Eustache in Paris.

Likewise in the form of the enclosure the combination of the old and new forms presented its difficulties and sometimes led to quite peculiar solutions.

On the facade of the Church at S. Galais (Fig. 152), an antique entablature with gable is placed over a window with tracery and is very slightly connected with its arched form.

307. Window at Bar-sur-Seine.

One of the best treated examples of a good enclosure and tracery is shown by a window in the side aisle of the Church of Bar-sur-Seine near Troyes.

Below the impost, three slender round arches, accompanied by very fine three-quarter columns and by broad pilasters on the side piers, support the entablature, that intersects the window at the height of the impost and corresponds to the stiltling of the arch. It is indeed rather high; but the frieze and the spandrels of the arch are both perforated, the former by leaving the metopes open. Above the cornice rise the two piers to the arch. The three spaces arising thus are terminated at top by round arches with cusps, that are attached on the inside of the window arch, while in the lower part of the space a kind of "perforated gable form springs from the cornice of the entablature. It is derived from the form of the oval arch, begins semicircular, continues as two little vertical mullions and ends in convex curved points. Some crockets, cusps and suspended lily-like middle flowers form a pleasing and animated addition to the firmly drawn and sharply profiled lines, that have nothing of the flat character of intersecting oval arches.

The round-arched archivolt of the window is well profiled and is accompanied at the sides by pilasters, similar to those of Bramante. Their entablature is crowned by an ogée curved gable, whose central motive is treated as a tabernacle with two small figures. candelabras, canopy and other ornamental forms animate the whole in harmony with the rich effect of the open treatment of the tracery.

308. Other Windows.

On S. Nicolas at Troyes the wide round-arched window of the middle aisle is pretty satisfactorily subdivided by four mullions and four round arches, that support the extended impost band. Over this are continued the mullions, terminating in three round arches against the intrados of the arch, leaving open arch triangles at both sides. In La Ferte-Bernard the window mullions of Notre Dame are composed of various architectural motives, whose forms adhere to the style of those of S. Pierre at Caen, according to Palustre.

In S. Eustache in Paris, there occurs a different motive on the window over the transept doorway (about 1535). The mullions form a pretty arcade, above which extends a cellular network.

809. Windows with Rose Forms.

Not only rose windows are found, but also frequently the attempt to treat the tracery above the impost of the arch as a half rose.

On the window of the facade of the chapel in the Chateau at Usse have been taken the radiating ribs of a shell as the tracery of the round-arched windows, between which the space is open. Over the portal of S. Andre-les-Troyes on the round-arched window is inserted in the jamb below an enclosure, whose lintel extends at the height of the impost and is supported at the middle by a little Ionic pier on a pedestal. In the semicircle above it rests a half wheel window.

There prevails here thus no endeavor to attain a kind of development of the motive upwards, but merely an elevation in pleasing form.

On the facade of the Cathedral of Blois originated indeed about 1540 a window with peculiar treatment. A broad round-arched form is enclosed by a wide frieze, two consoles and a gable.

Within the round arch the tracery forms a half wheel window or rose, whose lowest subdivision is repeated in a sort of broken entablature. Below this four round arches connect the mullions, whose extension forms one of the concentric divisions of the half rose.

One also meets with rose windows, in which the radiating divisions naturally remain determinative. The drawing of the

tracery of the rose window on the facade of the Church at Bréville-Comte-Robert has something of a doubled pearl.

On the southern transept facade of S. Eustache in Paris in both rose windows, the vertical and horizontal diameters are treated as a bold Greek cross. To the half radius corresponds an inner circular oar, on which rest the mullions of the sixteen radiating arches, which subdivide the outer circle. In the lower great rose, the inner circle is only subdivided by the diagonal mullions. In the upper one the cross is the only division of the inner circle.

2. Windows in the Style of Marguerite de Valois.

810. Examples.

From this charming phase several examples are fortunately preserved, that may be counted therewith, with some justification.

The twin windows of the chapter hall of the Monastery at Fontevault of 1541 have an Ionic central mullion with a projecting slab like an entablature, that receives the round archivolts and also the five ribs of the vault of the cloister.

In the transept of S. Pierre at Tonnerre is a good triply divided window tracery, whose middle space terminates with a segmental arch between perforated side consoles.

We have seen Troyes and its vicinity rich in portals of this period; likewise are beautiful windows found there.

Good subdivisions of windows occur in S. Nizier at Troyes, triply divided with three arches of equal height below, above them at the height of the impost being a round arch at each side and a third higher one in the middle beneath the crown of the pointed arch. A different division is shown by S. Baptiste in Troyes. The upper and higher middle arch ends at the pointed arch by means of an angular gable, and instead of the three lower equal arches is a horizontal connection of the mullions. In a wide round-arched window over the doorway of the Church at Pont-Ast-Marie near Troyes (about 1550) at the height of the impost a small entablature extends above the two twin windows; a middle pier with blind niche for a statue is arranged below, while the canopy alone as a middle pier divides the semicircle above the impost.

3. Windows of the high Renaissance and of the 17th Century.

Also during the high Renaissance, tracery was frequently retained in the windows, indeed as a slight division in contrast to the boldly treated window enclosure.

311. Examples.

One of the happiest arrangements of tracery as a subdivision of windows of the high Renaissance is shown by three windows of a chapel in S. Laurent at Nogent-sur-Seine. The windows are treated as bold round-arched arcades. Two narrow and slender mullions, treated at the sides like fine pilasters, bear the upper half of the impost cornice, that extends across the window. The mullions continue above this and are connected by a round arch in the middle space, from whose impost smaller arches pass into the curvature of the intrados of the window. The whole has a quiet, clear and intelligible effect, without weak curves, that so frequently occur in such cases. This probably falls in the time from 1550-1560.

Similar is the effect of the simple tracery of S. Eusebe in Auxerre, since within a wide archivolt two narrow mullions divide the window into one wide and two narrow side spaces. At the height of the impost a horizontal bar extends across, above which three round arches adjoining the archivolt and the bar subdivide the space.

In the same church is found a beautiful enclosure of a window. A coupled Ionic order flanks the window to the height of the impost, and then a fluted Corinthian is beside the arch, extending above it. The interval above it is skilfully filled by enclosed panels.

In other cases the tracery is more boldly treated as an elevation with a smaller order of columns or pilasters.

On the side aisle of S. Clotilde in Grand Andely, the windows of the chapels are divided in five parts. The mullions are treated as bold Ionic pilasters, whose entablature covers the two outer spaces, while it serves as the impost cornice for the round arches over the three middle spaces. This entablature projects only externally and internally; at the sides only the architrave is moulded. The cornice alone being cut off plain. A part of this window is visible in Fig. 163.

In the northern transept of the same Church (about 1550), the window adjoining on the right that of Fig. 131 exhibits a

happier arrangement of the tracery. Above the four columns of the form like a triforium rise four slender round arches to the impost, whose uppermost member extends through above them. Over it begins the tracery of the interior of the arch with four oval arches, corresponding to the lower ones. Above their crowns begins a second series of similar arches; then a third to the termination at the archivolt. This oval shape composes a shape, that has a less unpleasant and weak effect, than if it consisted of circles or ovals, as may be seen in many windows of S. Eustache in Paris.

4. The Segmental Arch in Monumental Architecture.

312. Segmental Arched Window.

Indeed offensive is the effect of segmental arched windows on a church building with any monumental expression. They show plainly, that neither means existed for providing good lintels nor sufficient space for turning a round arch. They have a particularly injurious effect in connection with the antique orders, as on the Dome of the Invalids in Paris. (Fig. 205).

Jacques Lemercier perhaps first employed them on the facade of the Church of the Sorbonne (about 1629). (Fig. 257). The same after 1652 or Methozeau on the Oratoire in Paris after 1621. The windows on Lemercier's Oratoire in 1621-1630 have segmental arches and a cap of similar form, that rests on the ears of the window architrave. Below the architrave is suspended drapery with floating bands. The rather happy equilibrium in the distribution of these forms may be recognized, but their spirit expresses nothing.

f. Arcades, Caps and Balustrades.

313. Arcades.

Over the main portal of the Church at Caudebec-en-Caux figures like caryatids form a kind of open arcade, which connects the little turrets above the buttresses. They appear to date from the time of the advanced early Renaissance.

As an arcade or a series of statues before niches is to be mentioned that of the Cathedral at Angers, of about 1540, with 8 bays, and that over the portal of the Church at Montresor. (Fig. 153).

314. Caps and Balustrades of the early Renaissance.

On the very rich late Gothic facade of the Church at Cludebec-en-Caux, some of the upper parts pass into very open early Renaissance caps of the style of Francis I; thus on the three tower-like buttresses at both sides of the middle aisle.

On the northern side of the Church at Gisors, under the window on the right of the transverse aisle is arranged a very pretty balustrade motive, apparently as a mere decoration. The lower portion consists of medallions with heads, the upper being small candelabras supporting oval arches.

In the balustrades of the Church of Notre-Dame-des-Marais in La Ferté-bernard occur figures, which according to Palustre represent the seven days of the week, the king of France, his peers, as well as the "temperaments in medicine".

315. Examples of the high Renaissance.

On the high chapel in S. Laurent at Nogent-sur-seine, the crowning balustrade is formed of slabs, perforated in lattice patterns. Each slab has three panels. Over the middle one is a rich addition and bold pedestals with obelisks separate the bays.

On the Church of S. Clotilde in Grand Andely, the water-spouts of about 1550 are treated as rich vases. On the lower cornice they project from the wall and are supported by two heads not represented in Fig. 163, on the upper resting on a console.

On the Church of Le Mesnil-Aupry extends externally a Doric cornice and frieze with metopes, as a termination of the middle aisle.

Chapter 18. Various Parts of Interiors of Churches.

The character of the equipment is commonly of high importance for a knowledge of the style, and therefore we include the following.

a. Altars.

316. Transition Style and early Renaissance.

To be mentioned at first is an altar in the cathedral of P. Perpignan with Renaissance paintings of 1504. Also the high altar from the later Renaissance period, treated in about the style of a church facade.

Palustre mentions the altar of the Cathedral of Auch as belonging to the style of Louis XII.

The Church of S. Pierre at Avignon has an early Renaissance altar with three niches between pilasters, over whose entablature a pediment terminates the elevation. The pedestal extends unbroken, and on it is represented the Last Supper in relief. The treatment however is not as fine as in the region of the Loire. Further and likewise in the south is the altar of S. Bertrand-de-Comminges in Languedoc, of 1535 and covered with Saracolin marble.

Further in the north:-- in S. Alpin at Chalons-sur-Marne, the first altar on the right (about 1535-1540) exhibits a rich and handsome arrangement. The round-arched niches, of which the middle one is crowned by a pediment and commences with its arch above the entablature of the dividing pilasters, form the wall decoration of a chapel-like recess with coffered oval arch above it, and that is again enclosed by pilasters, entablature and pediment. In the spandrels of the arches are vestiges of paintings.

In the Church at Pierrefonds the left side aisle has a beautiful triple wall altar in two stories (about 1530-1550). Below are coupled Doric columns, above being their projecting tabernacles with niches. Those at the sides are covered by segmental caps, the middle one being somewhat higher and ending with a motive like a former window. An altar in the Holbein style is in the Abbey Church at S. Claude in Franche Comte.

Palustre ¹²²² also mentions the following examples:-- in the region of Troyes are altars in S. Andre-les-Troyes, Geradot, l'Isle-Aumart and La Chapelle-S.-Luc. Examples in Lor-

Lorraine, as worthy by their architecture as by their sculpture, are in Saint-Mihiel, Hattonchatel, Genicourt and Verdun. In Burgundy:-- in Notre Dame at Beaune, Septfonds near Joigny, and Etigny near Sens. Further in other parts of France. In the Cathedral of Rodez and in the Churches of Poligny (Jura), S. Didier in Avignon, Oiron (Deux Sevres), De la Bourgonniere (Maine-et-Loire).

Note 1222. See *Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 280.

317. Style of Marguerite de Valois.

On the very beautiful altar of the Church of Souilly near Troyes (about 1550), that must stand as being under a certain influence of Domenico del Barbieri (called Fiorentino; see Art. 658), the slab rests on a base extending like a console, and is accompanied at the sides at a little distance by two piers with coupled Doric pilasters. Over their entablature and the rear addition to the slab rises the rich and high altar walls, divided by four Corinthian columns, between which are placed window enclosures like those of the cancellaria in Rome. The cornices of those at the sides extend to the impostes of the middle one. Garlands and cartouches accompany them. Sunk within this enclosure are rich sculptured reliefs from the story of the Passion. Statues above the entablature terminate this refined and excellent composition.

The altar of S. Urbain at Troyes, once famous by the collaboration of Domenico Fiorentino and his son-in-law, has unfortunately disappeared. Perhaps this is based on an error. According to R. Koechlin and J. J. Marquet de Vaulx (p. 221), this altar was a work of Jacques Juliot, begun and completed in 1560.

318. Altars of the high Renaissance.

What has already been said of the altar of Jean Goujon for the Chateau chapel at Ecouen, now in that at Chantilly (Art. 210), suffices with Fig. 137 to describe the type of this beautiful work.

In the Church at Gisors were erected at the end of the nave by the master of the new tower (Art. 733) two peculiar altar structures before the arcade pier and against the wall of the transverse aisle.

On the left the altar table stands on a tabernacle formed

of very beautiful columns. Above their entablature rises as a second story a still more slender tabernacle enclosure, beneath whose arch is represented in high relief the Ascension of Christ. At the right altar the upper tabernacle is yet higher, and its entablature even conceals the arch impost. Here is represented the Crucifixion in a group of detached statues. The architect belongs to the school of Jean Goujon, and the columns belong with the best of the high Renaissance.

We now mention further:-- in the Cathedral at Langres the altar of the chapel after the chapel des Fonts. Corinthian pilasters form a narrow middle building with the niche and two wider, each having two reliefs above each other enclosed by frets. They stand on a high base and support the terminating entablature. The high altar of the Cathedral at Rheims has the form of a three-aisled church facade with a two-story central building crowned by a gable, and a coupled Corinthian order on the buttresses. S. Pantaleon at Troyes also possesses an altar in the character of the time of Henry II.

319. Altars of the 17 th Century.

In the 17 th century, among other things, we see the use of marble become more common.

The detailed estimate of cost of the still preserved altar of marble and bronze in the chapel de la Trinite in the Chateau at Fontainebleau has been published. ¹²²³

Note 1223. See Archives de l'Art Francois. 2 nd Series. V Vol. 2. p. 349 et seq.

An interesting structural altar, apparently from the time of Louis XIII, may be seen in S. Etienne at Toulouse.

On the altar of the Church of the city of Richelieu were two marble columns, whose bases and Corinthian capitals were of wood and came from a different monument.

In this time also the influence of certain works executed in Italy became much greater. Nothing shows this better than two passages in letters, that have remained to us. They permit the statement to not appear impossible, that in the Church of the Carmelites at Lyons the tabernacle of an altar was of precious marble and bronze, even made according to a drawing of Bernini in Rome. ¹²²⁴

Note 1224. The brother of the Superintendent Fouquet writes

him from Rome in 1655:-- "I have carefully sought in Rome for all engravings of architecture, fountains and places; I have sent them to you by Saint-Melo, and I have described a treatise, that I send you. There will yet be found some for the ornaments appropriate for houses - - -" And further:-- "If you wish to send you the plans of your houses and of your gardens to have them criticized a little here by experts, perhaps this would not be useless". Archives de l'Art Francois. S Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 290, 291. (1862-1866).

The tabernacle of Hardouin Mansard in Val-de-Grace, in spite of its six, instead of four, spirally twisted columns, is for a change similar to that of S. Peter, and is nowise worse than that of Bernini.

One also meets with entirely differing forms:-- the high altar of the Church at Gaussainville from the second half of the 17th century consists of a very bold frame with simple sculptured quadrants. It encloses three arches in low relief with representations of the Passion. On each side of the frame is a niche between two fluted Corinthian columns, whose lower third is surrounded by scroll work, with a broken segmental gable above its returned entablature.

b. Choir and Chapel Enclosures.

Under this class of works are found not only charming examples of decorative art, but also sometimes architectural motives, which may be regarded as reductions of arrangements, for which no opportunity appeared for execution at a larger scale.

320. Examples from the Transition period and the early Renaissance.

We meet with two examples of enclosures in wood; that of the Chapel of S. Germain in Ribemont, with panels below and open tracery above, apparently from the time of Louis XII, and the chapel enclosures in the Cathedral at Evreux, likewise of wood. 1225

Note 1225. On the beautiful enclosures at Nevers and Amiens I unfortunately neglected to take detailed notes.

A beautiful example of masonry or wall decoration is shown by the closed choir enclosure of the Cathedral at Chartres with the frequently occurring dates of 1521 and 1523.

They appear designed for the interior, and therefore in part to be a finer and further development of the Italo-French school of Gaillon. The wall panels, like doors or windows, are above with rounded angles, enclosed by several rounds with Gothic bases, and they are recessed between richly moulded and splayed jambs, that are separated by wide vertical bands with pilaster panels. On these broad panels as well as on certain narrower moulded members are the ornaments formed according to pure Italian prototypes of the Veronese-Venetian school, while on the coves and members lying between them occur foliage more like Gothic, as well as motives consisting of mixtures of the old fancies and the new forms in different proportions, such as interlaced or spiral ascending bands, shells, medallions etc. ¹²²⁶

Note 1226. Jean Le Texier, called Jean de Beauce -- not to be confounded with one before known, likewise Jehon de Texier, mason in La Ferté-Bernard -- who built the north tower of the Cathedral from 1507-1512, according to Lonce commenced the choir enclosure in 1514, which was not finished in 1529. It was carried on by François Morchond, sculptor in Orleans, in the years 1532 and 1542. Polustre also gives for the parts described by us the dates of 1521-1529.

The enclosures from the Chapel of Pagny (Côte d'Or) in the collection of M. Edmond Foulé ¹²²⁷ in Paris are dated from 1537-1538 and are of particular beauty.

Note 1227. Reproduced in Polustre, L. Architecture etc. Fig. 93.

At each end they form an altar with a rear wall crowned by a gable, whose entablature is continuous. At the middle is a round-arched doorway between half columns, over which rises a third gable, from which extends a high crucifix, accompanied by a statue over the half columns. Between these and the altars is the perforated portion of the enclosure, with three intercolumniations in each. At the height of the altar slab, it consists of an arcade of small round arches between small fluted pilasters with slender candelabra columns above them, which support the entablature with a high and richly sculptured frieze. We here see the style of Francis I in nearly the noble development, that corresponds to Bramante's portions

of S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan. The composition is just as rich in naturally harmonized contrasts as charming by the animated, spirited and yet very refined details. The happy alternation of stone and marble completes the impression of an art work of rare worth and grace.

To be mentioned are also the choir enclosures in the Church at Notre Dame-de-l'Epine in the Haute-marne, of about 1535-1540. ¹²²⁸

Note 1228. Described from a photograph in Trocadero Museum in Paris.

In a side chapel of Notre Dame at Rodez, the enclosure consists of a beautiful arcade and pilaster architecture, entirely in the character of upper Italy of about 1510. Within the open arch instead of tracery or lattice work is a free and open composition of ornaments, candelabras, scrolls etc. In the same church the choir enclosures were commenced in 1531 and are of very beautiful work.

They exhibit arcades, in which as open work (about like the choir balustrades of the sacristy of S. Lorenzo in Florence) a candelabra stands in the middle, accompanied by rich scroll work with cornucopias and little angels, all in bold drawing, while fine arabesques cover the railings, arch piers, archivolt and pilasters.

The enclosures in the Church of Fecamp are French interpretations of similar Italian works, for example of those in S. Petronio in Bologna. In the middle a doorway flanked by half candelabra columns, over whose lintel follows a semicircular gable with a shell, with two angels supporting an emblem. A steep tracery gable with crockets terminates this lunette. The enclosure itself with two panels at each side, shows on one an open colonnade on a railing ornamented by shields, garlands and medallions. Above the entablature thereof is a kind of attic with open panels, which supports the upper cornice. ¹²²⁹

Note 1229. Illustrated by Anthyme Saint-paul in Planat. V Vol. 6. p. 378.

1821. Examples of the high Renaissance.

There are also some examples from the time of that interesting severer tendency of the high Renaissance, of which we

of S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan. The composition is just as rich in naturally harmonized contrasts as charming by the animated, spirited and yet very refined details. The happy alternation of stone and marble completes the impression of an art work of rare worth and grace.

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Note 1229. Illustrated by Anthyme Saint-paul in Planot. V Vol. 6. p. 378.

321. Examples of the high Renaissance.

There are also some examples from the time of that interesting severer tendency of the high Renaissance, of which we

spoke in Art. 182.

The charming enclosure of the baptismal chapel in the Cathedral at Troyes belongs here, and was already illustrated in Fig. 41. Particularly beautiful chapel enclosures in this tendency of the style are found in the cathedral of Laon, one of 1555.

In the Church at S. Florentin there stands at the right behind the rood screen a choir enclosure, consisting of a charming series of fluted Corinthian pilasters, whose entablature has such a high frieze, that it can be subdivided in a pleasing arcade in relief, so that this composition recalls the still remaining Roman monument of Tutelles at Bordeaux.

If my notes do not err, this was of the time of the rood screen, i.e., about 1600, although the character of that is the best high Renaissance.

A very richly carved but already somewhat Barocco chapel enclosure I saw preserved in the Museum at Langres.

c. Rood Screens.

Among these designs so commonly devoted to destruction are still some, that have a high art value, even if just the most beautiful examples of the best period have as good as disappeared.

On the famous late Gothic rood screen of the Church of S. Madeleine at Troyes, there are panels on the four piers, whose designs as well as the shells in the corbellings already belong to the Renaissance; the foliage, on the contrary, still has incisions like the thistle.

822. Rood Screens of the early Renaissance.

The rood screen of the Cathedral at Limoges bears the date of 1533. It is one of the most charming compositions of the perfectly mature early Renaissance, and recalls by the goldsmith-like fineness and the richness of its details the facade of the Certosa of Pavia. ¹²³⁰ in the delicate figures, such as cupids, small angels, chimeras, griffins and satyrs, is likewise evident an Italian and in part a Venetian influence or even hard.

Note 1230. Before the most delicate chiseling of these ornaments, one recalls the most beautiful of similar works in Italy, such as the reliefs on the steps and walls of the Gio-

Giants' Stairway in the court of Poloce Doge in Venice, the condelabros in the windows of the Certosa near Pavia, and similar works in Como.

It has three passages with simicircular arches, the side ones being stilted. Unfortunately it is now attached to the inside of the facade.

323. Other Examples.

The rood screen in the Church at Branges from the time of Francis I is somewhat more advanced than those of Limoges, and deserves to be mentioned. Further:-- in the Church at Notre Dame-de-l'Epine ¹²³¹ near Châlons-sur-Marne the rood screen and enclosure, indeed of about 1540. The beautiful rood screen of S. Croix at Quimperlé, for which the date of 1536-1541 is given. The remains of the Renaissance rood screen of the Cathedral at Langres, preserved in the Museum there. Further two works in wood:-- a rich wooden rood screen with the character of the style of Francis I with projecting upper passage apparently supported by suspended arches and circular stairways in the Church of Villenaure in Champagne. And in the Church of Villiers-le-Bel a wooden organ screen supported by four Doric columns, indeed between 1540-1550. On the railing are arranged reliefs with perspectives in round-arched panels.

Note 1231. Four 3/8 miles from Châlons-sur-Marne.

324. Examples of the high Renaissance.

Among the rood screens of the high Renaissance must be mentioned in the first place that already noted in the Church at Gisors. It was begun in 1569 and indeed by Jean Grapin, who was yet under the influence of Jean Goujon. (Art. 671).

A slender round-arched arcade stands at each side of a middle one about twice as wide and somewhat higher. Two three-quarter columns on high pedestals stand before the two piers. They have a row of leaves above the base and at one-third their height and are fluted spirally, the lower third differently from the upper two-thirds. In order to not otherwise increase the length of the slender shaft, there is inserted between the Composite capital and the entablature a sort of square acacus, treated with angels' heads and a beaded astragal. The keystone is shaped as a high console; the middle

one directly supports the architrave; those at the sides by the medium of capitals on which medallions stand, that hold angels standing on the arch.

In the spandrels of the middle arch lie angels holding garlands to the keystone. Above the columns the entablature is returned. In the rich frieze are winged figures, that end in scrolls and hold tablets with inscriptions, vases and garlands. In the figures the treatment of the legs has entirely the characteristics of those by Goujon in his figures of Diana and the nymphs; his art likewise prevails in the frieze.

325. Destroyed Rood Screens.

Famous and unfortunately destroyed rood screens from the time of the high Renaissance were in S. Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris, by Pierre Lescot and Jean Goujon. (1541-1544). In S. Pere at Chartres, by Jehan Bernardeau and Francis Marchand (1540-1543); that of the Cathedral at Langres (1550-5). That already mentioned of Domenico Fiorentino in S. Etienne at Troyes, which passes for his masterpiece, and was executed in 1549 in company with his son-in-law Gabriel le Taverneau. Probably the former rood screen of the Cathedral of Toul must have been in the same style as the two chapels des Eveques and de la Toussaint. (Art. 723).

326. Rood Screens from the time of Henry IV.

From the time of Henry IV are to be mentioned two, that were contemporary, but very different in form and character.

The rood screen in the Church at S. Florentin (Yonne) passes for a work of Jean Boullon. Three round arches, separated by fluted Corinthian pilasters support above the entablature a balcony, whose balustrade consists of open panels, in which lilies and band-like cartouches alternate. The flat stone ceiling on stone beams must be of 1600.

The rood screen of Pierre Biard in S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris, the sole one remaining there, was begun in 1600 and exhibits no Flemish influence whatever. It forms a kind of bridge with a single oval arch between the rear crossing piers, about which winding stairs lead upward. The side aisles are entirely closed with a doorway placed at the middle of each. The ornamentation is rich and is decorative as a whole, but affords not the slightest enjoyment taken in detail. The

fronts of the ornaments lie in a surface without relief. They appear as if cut out of a board with a saw, as in the Louvre on the second story of the gallery next the river. The consoles of the doorways are made in prismatic form, like long triglyphs. The balustrade panels exhibit various perforated interlaced bands executed in stone. The angels in the arch spandrels recall something of those on the guichet de Lesdiguières of the Louvre; the figures over the two doorways in the closed sides recall the two figures of the Medici by Michelangelo in the new sacristy of S. Lorenzo in Florence and the draperies of his Moses.

The rood screen in S. Etienne at Toulouse, from the time of Louis XIII, was reproduced in Fig. 51.

In conclusion may be mentioned the small organ screen in S. Paul et S. Louis in Paris, which is skillfully arranged.

d. Wooden Door Leaves and other Works in Wood.

Among wooden leaves of doors are some art works of high worth. They not alone excite interest as door leaves, but rather since they yet afford valuable starting points for comprehending the decoration in certain phases of art. We must therefore linger somewhat longer with such examples.

1. Doors of the early Renaissance.

827. Doors of the Cathedral at Beauvais.

With these and to the most beautiful door leaves of the early Renaissance of Francis I belong those of the Cathedral of Beauvais (indeed about 1535). An arcade of three arches arranged in two stories above each other produces a both rich and clear subdivision, which at the same time forms the frame and tracery for closing the opening of the doorway.

In the lower half is only employed this architectural treatment and arabesque work. The former consists of slender arches, that rise from the entablature of a primary order of short pilasters and are separated by longer pilasters, from whose shafts rise rich half candelabras. An entablature with a high frieze separates the lower half from the upper. In the latter the arcade forms a kind of framework, between which and in relief are reproduced scenes from Biblical history. They are crowned and protected by the richest canopy architecture, that extends between the pilasters. In this manner

appears more in the lower half the peculiar character of the enclosing screen; on the contrary in the reliefs of the upper are afforded glimpses of the events spoken of in the interior of the House of God.

For ordinary passage serves a door with single leaf, that occupies the space from the stone middle mullion for the two next arches to this pilaster, and extends in height to below their impost cap. Thereby is but one pilaster with its half candelabra is cut at a place, where an opening seems unnatural.

For the general impression is particularly effective the contrast between the quiet lower and the richer upper half. But no less beneficial is the fine artistic tact, with which is everywhere emphasized the contrast between the supporting and enclosing arches, the panels and the reliefs. At the same time by the four different depths of the divisions between the half candelabras and the panels are as skilfully observed, as the connection of the moulding of the upper arcade with that of the late Gothic oval arch of the portal directly over it.

No less excellent is the technical treatment of the ornamental and figure reliefs.

The finest grotesque work, which surrounds the salamander of Francis I, is as if breathed on the surface. It corresponds in character to that of Du Cerceau in his so-called *Estampes au Trait* (line engravings) from the year 1533 and 1534, when he returned from Italy, and as in his *Orfèvrieri d'Eglise* (church goldsmith's work), he stood under the direct charm of the Milanese-Bramante style. (Art. 162). Before the precious elevation and the charming outlining of these half candelabras no documents are required to tell the history of the master of this door, for there is but one place in the world, where one may learn this noble treatment of the candelabra; Bramante's apses of S. Maria della Grazie in Milan. Like many another Frenchman of that time, he had lived therein, and likewise in the arabesque work are Milanese-Venetian echos easily perceptible. He knew exactly the best works in Milan, Como and Pavia, and must have been in the school of Busti, when he prepared the designs for the tomb of Gaston de Foix, or at least have learned from his style, as may be recognized

from the quiet treatment of the figures, especially on the left leaf. The combination of the architectural background with the architecture of the door is also very skilful.

The manner in which this master has so charmingly produced from such varied and rich elements a thoroughly unified work of refined art and grace, indicates a domination over the architectural, the decorative and the figure, that is only to be found in a Du Cerceau and a Jean Goujon among contemporary masters. We here stand before one of the most perfect examples of the happy combination of the mastery of late French Gothic art in organic treatment with the irresistible charm and the imagination of the Milanese style of Bramante.¹²³²

Note 1232. In the following Chapter on the Columnar Orders will be mentioned the details of this door.

828. Other Examples.

It is self-evident that there are also many simpler examples. Notre Dame at Pontoise has good doors.

In S. Maclou there, the door at the end of the left side aisle (about 1535) has an entirely plain frame and but a single panel with four plain boards of equal width and regularly arranged round nail heads. On the contrary the stop is treated as a narrow pilaster with charming arabesque panels. A sculptured frieze as a continuation of the impost forms the lintel. But in the round-arched lunettes are likewise representations in relief; two figures seated under tabernacles, with at the middle one standing under a canopy. On S. Symphorien at Tours the leaves of the oval-arched doors (about 1531) in the upper third, which is alone preserved, have a figure representation in simply treated relief, with merely one or two figures at a tolerably large scale.

We mention further:-- in S. Genoul at Toul a door of 1513 conceived in the Renaissance style with Gothic ornament. In Gisors the leaves of the door of the right transept of the Church, of about 1515, with four rows of panels, each 4 ft. high and separated by narrow mouldings. Medallions, arabesques, figures in niches with canopies, are executed in low relief. In S. Alpin at Chalons-sur-Marne are two doors from the time of Francis I. The old door leaves of S. Eustache in Paris are extremely simple.

2. Doors of the high Renaissance.

329. Doors of S. Maclou in Rouen.

Mention has already been made of various details of the doors of S. Maclou in Rouen, that one is compelled to regard as works of Jean Goujon. ¹²³³ they also afford sure evidence, that this master must himself have been in Florence.

Note 1233. Arts. 134, 139, 140, 141, 142.

The middle door, whose representations are devoted to the Baptism of Christ, has two leaves. Each is surrounded for its entire height by a band, in which figures in niches alternate with cartouches and tablets for inscriptions, ending below in garlands of fruits, above in a host of angels' heads between clouds. At the midheight there separates from the frieze a modillion cornice above the little leaf of the door, which is intended for ordinary use. A torus band encloses it entirely with a smooth moulded band around the single panel, that is decorated by four cartouche motives. In the upper half of the large leaf stand four figures in high relief and support a square frame around the round medallion, in which is represented on one side the Baptism of Christ and on the other the Temple in relief.

Not only by clarity in the general composition and the alternation of motives, but also by the noble excellence of the figures and of the ornaments, as well as by the well-weighed gradation from the finest low relief in bands to high relief with almost the effect of free figures, these doors belong to the most beautiful and noble wooden doors existing anywhere.

The door before the left side aisle is composed in the same manner, except that it has but one leaf, and the enclosing architrave is somewhat wider, one is surprised how Jean Goujon has introduced diversities in details.

The panel of the little leaf is divided in two halves by a rich cross-bar with wonderful bronze masks, each part being decorated in relief by a rich cartouche border with medallions, figures, birds, fruits and satyrs, in the style of the stucco frames of the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau. Between the figures in high relief, that support the upper frame, there is here represented in relief a second series of recessed figures with charming effect.

Likewise the third door on the side facade of the church with folding leaves is composed in the same way. But it has a middle column in the lower half, that supports a detached figure beneath a canopy in the upper half.

The composition of this door also seems to me to be by Jean Goujon. Yet it must be somewhat later than the two former. The female figure recalls rather his somewhat more animated Paris style, and he must have been less occupied with its execution, than with the two older ones.

330. Other Examples.

On the middle door of the facade of the Church at Gisors (about 1550-1560), above a plinth of leaves has three orders of fluted pilasters above each other, which in each series have three flat niches with figures in low relief.

The wooden doors of S. Clotilde at Andely (about 1550) are enclosed by round arches, are illustrated in Fig. 163, and exhibit a slender arcade connected with Gothic pilasters, above this being a frieze with hermes and cartouches with a tabernacle motive in the tympanum.

In S. Alpin at Chalons-sur-Marne the leaves of the door on the side facade have below a flat Ionic arcade, above this being hermes and cartouches, a tabernacle with semicircular termination and the monogram H.

From the time of Henry IV and Louis XIII are three good doors on the facade of S. Pierre at Auxerre. Likewise those on Ss. Paul et Louis in Paris. (Fig. 53).

3. Various other Works in Wood.

In addition to the doors, we refer still to some other works in wood, that we have noted, without in any way desiring to give thereby a special description of this class of works.

We mention first the paneling of a chapel in S. Vincent in Rouen (about 1515). In spite of the mere arrangement of high and narrow panels in two rows over each other, crowned by a rich scroll band, monotony is skilfully avoided by the contrast in proportions and in the subdivision of the rich arabesque panels and of the candelabras between the panels of the upper series, and a repose is produced, that is vainly sought on the tomb of George d'Amboise. 1233 a

Note 1233 c. Illustrated in Rouyer, Fr. Art Architectural en France. Vol. 1.

The masterly paneling by Jean Goujon for the Chateau chapel of Ecouen, now in that at Chantilly, was previously described (Art. 140). Further must be mentioned the wooden paneling in S. Etienne at Beauvais and the choir stalls of the Cathedral at Bayeux. (Style of Henry II).

The choir stalls of S. Pierre in Toulouse (style of Louis XIII). Earlier are the very rich ones in S. Saturnin in the same city. On the no less rich late Gothic choir stalls flanked by slender tower-like finials of the Cathedral of Amiens, only the arabesques of the panels belong to the early Renaissance.

Chapter 19. View of the Intensity of architectural Activity in the different Provinces.

In gathering together the monuments and fragments described by us, we have primarily not allowed ourselves to be influenced by their geographical locations, nor by their archaeological affiliations. We have chosen a sequence and grouping, that appeared to best represent the architectural development and the "advance in style" of the average current of the style, regarded as a whole.

On the contrary, Palustre has chiefly followed the grouping by provinces, which was most proper for his purpose. However it will be useful here to say a word on the distribution of the monuments according to the provinces. The results given by Palustre ¹²³⁴ appear chiefly to accord in proportion to the number of monuments, that we mention as grouped otherwise.

Note 1234. Palustre, L. L'Architecture etc. p. 257-270.

331. Touraine.

According to Palustre, the churches of Touraine in the first half of the 16th century present the characteristic motive of a great arch, which encloses the two doorways and the window over them.

The first application of this system would be found in the Chapel of Thouars (deux Sevres) in 1503-1515 by Jean Chalumeau, and later in the same Department that of Marc-la-Lande, as well as the Collegiate Church of Oiron. In Touraine itself:-- the Chapel of Les Roches-Tranchelin (1527), the chapel of the Chateau of Usse (1522-1533), the Collegiate Church of Montresor (1520-1532), the Church of S. Symphorien in Tours (1531). The Church of S. Pierre in Loudun (Vienne) on its south side offers the most beautiful example of this solution. (Art. 802).

332. Isle-de-France.

Palustre mentions in Isle-de-France the group of churches under the influence of the Chateau of Ecouen, at Luzarches, L'Isle-Adam, Maffliers, Belloy, Villiers-le-Bel, Le Mesnil-Aubry, Sarcelles, Groslay, Goussainville and Belloy.

Further the Churches of Vetheuil, Magny, S. Gervais, Montjavoult, in L'Isle-de-France, that he places in the series of works of the family of Grappin in Gisors. Their endeavors a

are to enclose the exterior in antique forms as much as possible.

333. Normandy.

In Normandy Palustre mentions the works at the two ends of the province grouped around the names of Hector Sohier in Caen and the family of Grappin in Gisors. Palustre cites on the lower Seine the Churches of Valmont, Notre Dame de la Toussaint, Le Bourg-Dun, Offranville, Longueville and Aussay, in which the new style exclusively occurs. We have had opportunity for mentioning works in Rouen and the chapel in Gailion.

334. Brittany.

We have already spoken of the group in Brittany (Art. 673) and extend this by the following statements of Palustre.

A peculiar interpretation of the forms of Francis I is found in Cotes-du-Nord; at Kersons, Brulat and Guingamp. In Morbihan:-- at Ploemel, S. Ange and S. Nicodeme. In the region between Landerneau and Morlaix must the buildings date from the time of Henry II to that of Louis XIII.

335. Western and Middle Provinces.

Palustre says that the province of Maine never had an individual tendency and was under the influence of Anjou or of Normandy.

In Berry:-- the so-called Chapel d'Anjou at Mezieres-en-Breune.

In Perigord:-- the Chateau chapel of Biron.

In Auvergne:-- the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte.

In Nivernais:-- the portal of Maison-Dieu, the choir of Beaune (1546-1549), and the bell tower of Sully-la-Tour (1545).

336. Southern Provinces.

The remark of Palustre, that in Toulouse, the great chief city of southern France, at the time of the early Renaissance the school of Toulouse was not yet born, appears to be correct, since the Portal de la Dalbade and the outside gateway of S. Sernin exhibit no local character in their delicate ornament.

The provinces of Angoumois and Limousin produced nothing worthy of mention. Gascony and the provinces along the Pyrenees are particularly poor. On both banks of the Rhone below

Lyons, in Provence, in Languedoc, in Franche Comte and in Dauphigny, there is scarcely anything to be found. Likewise in the south of Burgundy. (Ain and Saone-et-Loire).

In Bordeaux Palustre mentions at the Cathedral the so-called Contrefort de Grammont and a chapel in S. Michel.

In Auch the south portal of the cathedral, another in Bagueres-de-Bigorre and some columns in Laxat.(Ariege).

837. Champagne.

In respect to the determination with which the Renaissance was employed for rebuilding churches, and new ideas found acceptance, Palustre places in the foreground the south of Champagne (Aube), as well as the adjacent portion of Burgundy. The north and east of this province, he writes, are just as poor as its centre, and the south is rich.

In Troyes itself are six churches.

S. Nicolas, begun in 1513 by Gerard Faulchot and carried on after 1535 by his son Jean; S. Pantaleon, on which both Faulchots built for a long time. S. Nizier, 1535, La Madeleine, tower (1531-1559). S. Remy, portal, 1535. S. Martin-es-Vignes, rebuilt 1590-1600.

In the vicinity of Troyes:--

The beautiful destroyed Abbey Church of Montier-la-Celle, begun in 1517 by Gerard Faulchot. In S. Andre-lez-Troyes the beautiful double portal, built (1549) by Francis Gentil (Note 1005) and Domenico del Barbieri (Domenico Fiorentino). In Pont-Saint-Marie in 1553, the three western doorways. In Auxon, the portal.(1535-1540). Various items in S. Phal (1530), Ervy (1537-1540), villemain (1540-1547), Greney (1557), Lanbressel(1560).

According to Palustre, no region of France exhibits such a diversity of types in such a limited space as the vicinity of Troyes.

In the Department of Yonne Palustre finds the church buildings less original, less free from traditional solutions, than those of Troyes and its vicinity. Therefore they possessed an extensive richness of ornamentation.

He mentions the following villages and buildings:--

In Fleurigny, the beautiful Chateau chapel.(1532). Tonnerre, the facade of Notre Dame.(1533). Neuvy-Sautour, the choir(1540).

Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, facade by Jean Cheriau.(1575). Joigny, vaults of Church of S. Jean by the same architect.(1576). F Further Briançon-l'Archeveque, choir and chapels.(1535). Molsmes, the Church (1539). Cravant, choir and tower (1550). Seignelay, the Church.(1660). Tonnerre, S. Pierre.(1562 and 1590). S. Florentin, choir and transpet facades. (1611-1622). Auxerre, S. Pere, completed 1623, in part only in 1653. The unfortunately unfinished facade of Vouziers.(1535-1540). In Rheims, the choir of S. Jaques.(1543). In Epernay, a portal. (1540).

In Langres, the great rich chapel des Fontes or of S. Troix in the Cathedral,(1541-1545), on which we twice saw the date of 1549, and believed that perhaps some relationship might be recognized with the two chapels of the Cathedral of Toul.

In Lorraine Palustre mentions only the two last chapels.

838. Burgundy.

Burgundy, that passed through such splendid years in the 15 th century, early took its part in everything prominent. Before all the Cote-d'-Or with S. Michel in Dijon, and further the beautiful portal of S. Jean-de-Losne, the rich chapel built on the south side of Notre Dame in Beaune (1529-1532), the equally rich chapel in the midst of the ruins of the Chateau of Pagny.

The north of Burgundy is under the influence of Champagne.

In Franche Comte palustre mentions only the choir of Montenoit built for Ferry Carondelet.(1520-1526).

Chapter 20. The Buildings of the Huguenots.

839. Introductory, and the Huguenot Style.

We have already had frequent opportunity -- as a counterpoise to the influence of the Jesuits in Art -- to refer to that which the Huguenots exerted, or could have exerted on art. 1235

Note 1235. We saw the Huguenots as one of the three elements of a severe reaction in the time of Henry IV (Art. 233), and further a connection of their intellectual tendency with an increase of Flemish-Dutch influences in the same period, (Art. 251), as well as a connection of the tasteless tendency toward brickwork of the great Huguenot minister Sully (Art. 290). We emphasized Huguenot earnestness as one of the elements of the great style of Solomon de Brosse (Art. 230), and beheld the Huguenots among the representatives of the spirit of freedom and of free individuality in the time of Henry IV. (Arts. 246, 247). Finally, we ~~believed~~ it necessary to refer to something in the writings of Bernard de Polissy, that may be designated as the elements of a Huguenot esthetics. (Art. 179).

The circumstance that the name of "Huguenot style" was given in modern times to a style tendency, that in the Protestant provinces of Germany and in Holland opposed the Barocco, justifies the question whether in the buildings of the Huguenots, even in their native land a similar tendency existed. Their important influence in Holland and from thence in England and Prussia, that was also directly affected, and finally in French Switzerland, and the character of their intellectual tendency raises the question, whether they would not have been able to exert a beneficial influence on the art of their native country, in case they had been permitted to give expression there to their mode of design under normal conditions.

It suffices to recall the words in which the perhaps most farsighted historical writer in France, Henri Martin, has spoken of the spirit of the French language, to be able to enter into this question more fully. ¹²³⁶ Nothing is better adapted for this than a glance at the buildings, which they erected for the purpose of their worship.

Note 1236. Henri Martin says, that by Robelots and Colvin

French prose was made more advanced and more mature than poetry. He states at another time, that Calvin created the French language as an instrument of philosophy.

1. The "Temples" of the Huguenots.

840. The Temples.

Buildings for the Reformed worship were termed "temples" in France. The buildings erected for this purpose must indeed have originated only in the brief period between the Edict of Nantes in 1598 and its revocation in 1685. -- Since this worship was forbidden in the cities of bishops and of archbishops, as well as for 5 miles from the capital, the temples were mostly erected in small villages, like Charenton near Paris, Quevilly near Rouen etc.

We possess very few representations of buildings of this class. Therefore three illustrations are given here; two of these belong to those regarded as the most important; among them is the famous Temple at Charenton.

841. Temple at Conches.

The first example is the Temple at Conches, a very small village in Saone-et-Loire, brought to my notice by M. Destailleur, and which I have illustrated in Fig. 206. ¹²³⁷

Note 1237. From an original drawing by Jolimont made between 1818 and 1834, formerly in the collection Destailleur in Paris. He permitted me to also transmit the same to the publisher of the work, "Der Kirchenbau des Protestantismus", where it is represented in Fig. 825.

The Edict of Nantes permitted the nobles with capital jurisdiction to have places for the Reformed worship. Judging from the two low towers, that are here probably to be taken as marks of feudal rights, the Temple of Conches, erected in 1610, must have belonged to such a nobleman. Nothing concerning its internal arrangement is known to me. It is to be assumed, that the hall either had a gallery to which men ascended by the tower and the loggia, while the end doorways led into the main hall, or that the hall was placed at the level of the 1 loggia. It is finally possible, since this concerns a kind of Chateau chapel, that the gallery above was the part intended for the nobility.

842. Temple of Quevilly.

The second example is the destroyed Temple of Quevilly near Rouen, represented in Fig. 207.¹²³⁸ It had the form of a 12-sided central building of half timber construction with outer aisle, two galleries and three stairways. (Figs. 207, 208). It appears to have had no art forms, and the essential matters are evident from the figures without further description.

Note 1238. After the representation in Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Protestantisme Français. Paris. 1874.

The following is known concerning its erection.

On Nov. 2, 1599, by patent from S. Germain-en-Laye, the king permitted the building of the Temple of Grand-Quevilly after drawings of Sieur Nicolas Genevois by the master carpenter Gigonday. Begun and completed in 1600, it was destroyed by the Jesuits in 1685.¹²⁴⁰ According to Farin, it could contain 10,000; according to Legendre, 7000 - 8000 men. It had diameter of 90 ft. according to Farin,¹²⁴¹ and a height of 60 ft., including the lantern, around it being a gallery of three stories (including the lower one), 60 windows and 3 doorways. The statement, that it had no piers, can refer only to the middle space, according to the drawings.

Note 1239. Farin. Histoire de Rouen. 1868. Vol. 2. p. 406. further, Legendre, Histoire de la dernière persécution faite à l'Église de Rouen. Rotterdam. 1704. In Poumier, L. D. Eloge historique de Samuel Bochart. p. 6, 26. Rouen. 1840.

Note 1240. According to the given scale of 4 toises = 24 French ft. of 0.324 m. each, the middle space had between the galleries in the clear 9 1/2 toises = 18.46 m. = 51.57 Am. ft. The total clear width of 14 t. 4 p. = 28.51 m = 93.54 Am. ft.

Note 1241. After Jean Morot. Oeuvre. Vol. 1. p. 149-150.

843. Temple at Charenton and Date of its Erection.

We finally give in Figs. 209, 210 the plan and section of the Temple at Charenton near Paris, famous throughout the entire Reformed world.

It has already been mentioned under what circumstances Henry IV permitted the Huguenots to erect in S. Maurice near Charenton the famous Temple, as a compensation for the return of the Jesuits in 1603, and which became the centre of Protestantism in France. (Art. 219).

The old or "first" Temple of Charenton was burned by the p

populace of Paris in 1621, raging about the death of the Duke de Mayenne, who fell at the siege of Montauban. In place of the ruined Temple was a new one erected, in which the Protestants could hold their national synod in 1623. This was the famous structure erected by Salomon de Brosse. Read believes that de Brosse was perhaps already the architect of the first Temple of Charenton, begun in 1606 or 1607, an opinion wherein nothing improbable appears to me. Perhaps men had thought to turn to Jacques Du Cerceau II, as one of the royal architects. The national synods of 1631 and 1644 were also held in the same building. After an attempt to burn it had already been made in 1671, its destruction was begun on Tuesday, Oct. 23, 1686, and completed in five days.

According to Vaudoyer, its length was 106.5 ft. and its breadth 70.3 ft. ¹²⁴² There might be seen in this something like an imitation of the Basilica of Fano described by Vitruvius. ¹²⁴³

Note 1242. Leon Vaudoyer in his *Etudes d'Architecture en France*, in the *Magazin Pittoresque* of 1845, p. 79, holds the first and second Temples to be one and the same building, and therefore speaks of it as one of the first works of de Brosse.

Note 1243. Henri Martin also writes, that Salomon de Brosse had recourse to entirely different forms more nearly approximating to the Roman basilicas, in the once famous Temple of the Protestants in Charenton.

844. Description of the Building.

The Temple of Charenton has long been regarded as a kind of wonderful structure, that apparently could contain 14,000 men, a statement that cannot be tested on account of its destruction. ¹²⁴⁴ On the basis of the dimensions of the original ground plan signed by the contractors, this number must be reduced to about 3500 persons, unless the men were not seated, but stood as compactly as possible, an assumption scarcely possible for ordinary conditions, in spite of religious zeal.

Note 1244. Read writes hereon:-- "To credit the almost unanimous statements of writers, "it could contain 14,000 persons." That is what Abbot Le Beuf says, who adds; "in the portions only furnished with woodwork". This sum is exaggerated, as one might believe". See *Bulletin de la Societe de l'Hist-*

Histoire du protestantisme Français. 1857. p. 172. M. Charles Read desired to test this statement by calculation. After deducting the stairways, he obtained a total area of 11,754 sq. ft. By an error in computation, he assumed this to equal 3918 m q, which gives 11,754 persons, allowing 3 per m q.

As stated in Kirchenbau des Protestantismus, p. 476, n. 6, there are nearly 1100 m, q, that gave space for 3300 hearers, by the impossible placing of 3 persons per m q. It is there further stated, that the number of 14,000 persons may refer to the total number of visitors on a festival day. Perhaps they were divided among several divine services in one day.

For ourselves, we have tested this computation on the basis of the dimensions of the original ground plan, that are somewhat greater than those employed by Read. We obtained 1181 m q, which would seat 3543 persons. We have not included the space between the columns, but have made no deduction for pulpit, altar and passages, so that this number already forms a maximum.

The central area between the columns is 2722 sq. ft.

Total area of 4 galleries in each story of 3157 sq. ft. makes for 3 stories, 9471 sq. ft.

Deduct from this for stairs from ground floor 270 sq. ft., in second story 450 sq. ft., in third story 270 sq. ft., a total of 990 sq. ft., leaving net, 11,253 sq. ft.

1 ft. = 0.324 m, hence 1181 m q = 11,253 sq. ft.

The sole authentic data possessed by us today are obtained from three engravings of the architect Jean Marot, whose plan and section we give, ¹²⁴⁵ and to which as good as nothing can be added. ¹²⁴⁶

Note 1245. The third engraving, the exterior, is reproduced in Der Kirchenbau des Protestantismus von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart, published by the Society of Berlin Architects. p. 475. Berlin. 1893.

Note 1246. An engraving from the 18th century by Leclerc, entitled Demolition du Temple de Charenton, shows the interior with two orders of columns, instead of one colossal order. But it possesses no value whatever in comparison with the statements of the contemporary Marot, since it was drawn and engraved nearly a hundred years after the destruction. Illust-

Illustration of the same on p. 474.

According to an old statement, the Temple appears to have been enclosed in a sort of forecourt or atrium, indeed on account of the greater security.¹²⁴⁷

Note 1247. Beyond the bridge of Charenton is the village of Charentonneau, a great court, in the middle of which stands the Temple, where the Reformed in Paris and vicinity go for sermons. See "Supplement des Antiquités de Paris avec tout ce que s'est passé de plus remarquable depuis l'année 1610 jusque à présent par D. H. I. (Advocate of the Parlement) in 4 to. p. 63. Paris. 1639. (From which Charles Read has courteously contributed notes).

On the tasteless exterior a belt corresponded to the first gallery and extended above the lower windows. Above this the windows of the two upper galleries were combined together in single tall ones, which intersected the second belt and the main cornice, and rose above with semicircular archivolts from the roof in an ugly way. The latter was a hip roof and at one end was added a low domical roof turret.

Judging from Figs. 209 and 210, the outer aisle in the ground story appears to be about two steps higher than the middle area. In the original ground plan published by us,¹²⁴⁸ one may assume three steps, since the front and rear sides of the plinths of the columns are extended and a third line is drawn between them. This ink-shaded and carefully drawn plan is inserted as a leaf pasted in a treatise with drawings of the year 1662,¹²⁴⁹ formerly in the Collection of M. Destailleur at Paris. He held it to be an original drawing of Salomon de Brosse, and according to the statement on it, this is correct, or at least it was proposed in the office of his under architect. On the back of the ground plan is in clear and firm letters:-- "Signed, June 16, 1623, by the "pute" Marbault, Hureau and Nantz, contractor."

Note 1248. See Geymüller, H. von. The Prospectus of the Photographische Thesaurus of Architecture and its subsidiary Arts. Pl. 3. Basle. 1893.

Note 1249. On the title page drawn as a tabernacle is:-- "Rules of the five Orders of Architecture, made by Gilles Solue, 1662.

Since the last word is single, it is to be assumed that Nantz was the contractor, and that the word "pute" ending with the sign of contraction, denoted the character of the other two men as superintendents, deputies of the congregation.

The ground plan of Jean Marot in Fig. 210 entirely agrees with the original prepared for the contractor; only at the three doorways the steps do not lie directly before them, but are separated from them by landings; at the door on the right and that on the long side are four steps, but only three are given at the left, and further the pulpit and the space in front of it are not drawn. Therefore but lightly in pencil is indicated one such in the intercolumniation as half a projecting octagon, that lies next the door on the longer side. For the plan is drawn a scale of 6 toises, one of which is divided into 6 ft. ¹²⁵⁰

Note 1250. Measured by this scale the following dimensions are obtained, here given in toises and feet.

Length between columns 13 toises 1 1/2 ft.

Length out to out of columns 13 t 4 1/2 ft.

Two galleries at 1 t 5 ft. 3 t 4 ft.

~~Total~~ length inside 17 t 2 1/2 ft.

Total length outside 18 t 3 1/2 ft.

Width between columns 6 t 0 ft.

Width out to out of columns 6 t 3 ft.

Columns were 1 1/2 ft. in diameter.

Thickness of wall was 3 1/2 ft.

The circumstance that the columns were only 1 1/2 ft. in diameter compels the assumption, that they must have been of wood.

845. Other Examples.

The Temple at Caen, built in 1611-1612 and named "the Pie" on account of its form, was a rectangle, polygonal at each end like an apse (half decagon). ¹²⁵¹ The elevation was not beneath a single roof as in Charenton, but was in separate planes. The steep shed roof of the side aisle (gallery) extending around it leaned against the higher walls of the middle building, which were opened by twin round-arched windows, and supported a high roof with a small roof turret at the middle. Round-arched windows were separated by pilasters and

subdivided the outer aisle. In the middle was the portal with segmental arch. Beside it was a second doorway with a small window above it.

Note 1251. See the illustration with others in *Der Kirchenbau des Protestantismus*. p. 472.

Of the 2000 temples, that apparently existed in 1562, most were very simple arrangements in existing localities. Perhaps the Temple at Lyons named "Paradise" was already a very simple structure erected for that purpose.¹²⁵² Within a rectangle was a semicircular enclosed middle space, above which a somewhat projecting gallery on consoles extended around, and which had round windows. Wooden piers were arranged without reference to the circular form and supported the visible framework of the roof.

Note 1252. Reproduced there on page 472. One may see in the illustration how simple were the benches; they had no backs and instead of boards for seats, they had long timbers 0.66 to 0.82 ft. wide, at each end resting on a cross beam supported on blocks. Similar ones may still be seen in abandoned churches in Switzerland.

2. The Huguenot Style and its Influence.

846. Peculiarities of the Temples.

The most important peculiarity, that appears common to these buildings, is the freedom of conception with which the problem is treated. It is free from all tendency toward the preceding common forms of churches.

The treatment of the central area of the Temple at Charenton must indeed be regarded as something new in the French Renaissance, an apparent research for means, that existed in the Early Christian and antique basilicas, and are believed to have occurred likewise in ancient temple architecture. In many respects was the solution the simplest and thus the most effective, and for the case in which the projection of the balustrade of the first gallery did not too strongly affect the unity of the colossal order, then must its effect have been not without a certain grandeur. By its proportions must the effect of the interior of the hall have been good.

One is justified in drawing still further conclusions. If one conceives under what unfavorable and frequently shocking

conditions the Huguenots generally lived, and depended upon private means for the erection of their temples, then from the exterior of the Temple at Conches, as well as from that at Charenton, one must conclude that in spite of their simple earnestness, the Huguenots were not generally disinclined toward a certain architectural treatment of the building.

347. Conclusions relating to the Huguenot Style.

If the temples alone be considered, so far as this is yet possible now, then can one not accurately speak of a complete and formal Huguenot style, but rather of a very definite, independent and earnest intellectual tendency. But this entirely sufficed to produce the Huguenot style under different conditions in Holland, Germany, and in French Switzerland.

But if one goes somewhat farther in France and considers the character of two works of the Huguenot master Salomon de Brosse, such as the facades of the Catholic Church of S. Gervais and of the hall of Pas Perdue of the Palace of Justice, both in Paris, then will he find in them all the characteristics of the Huguenot style, but no others. All is severe, entirely earnest, nothing superfluous, grand, but without charming grace. Salomon de Brosse was perhaps the father, but also the grand master of the Huguenot style.

We say "perhaps" the father, since this style is identical with the style of the severe reaction, at whose climax stood Henry IV and the Huguenot minister Sully, which was mentioned in Arts. 233 and 234, and also other masters, such as the Du Cerceaus, were busied therewith. The western half of the grand gallery of the Louvre with its colossal order may just as well pass for the Huguenot style as the Mauritshuis at the Hague, built in 1640. To the same likewise belongs the brick architecture of Place Royale and of Place Dauphine in Paris, 1253 in connection with which we have recognized Sully as the father of the Huguenot style in the domain of secular architecture. (Art. 324).

Note 1253. See Art. 229 and Fig. 53.

The Huguenot style thus existed in France under Henry IV and Louis XIII. But aside from the original tendency in the treatment of the temples, we can just as little speak of an actual Huguenot style, as we have seen that we could of an

actual Jesuit style. We have also seen, that the style of the Jesuit architect Martellange was allied in severity to that of the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse. Both employed in the main treatment of forms the contemporary phase of the development of the Renaissance.

On the contrary, just as of a Jesuit decoration, a Huguenot "tendency" of ornamentation should be mentioned. By the spirit of simplicity, by earnestness and serenity, this always strove for the opposite of that attained by the Jesuits with their decoration, which frequently became a curse to the grand course of the Barocco. It is frequently the Jesuit ornamentation alone, that distinguishes the latter from the elevated high Renaissance of Julius and of Bramante's style of S. Peter.

343. Neglect of this Question in France.

Since the Huguenots long since vanished as an element of the history of France, of its culture and art, then is the character of the Huguenot style with de Brosse as a phenomenon, that has surprised so many Frenchmen in their judgment of this master, so that as we have seen, ¹²⁵⁴ they did not know what place he occupied in their history, or what is the nature of his art.

Note 1254. See Art. 402.

Therefore so far as I know, no one in France has occupied himself with the history of the question of the Huguenot style. Many circles might gladly cast the Huguenots entirely out of French history. On the other hand, the thought is almost generally extended in France, that Protestantism is not conducive but obstructive to the development of art. The French Protestants are accustomed to meet this reproach by proving, that a series of the most important French artists in the 16th century passed over to the Reformation; Jean Cousin, Jean Goujon, Bernard Palissy, the Du Cerceaus, Salomon de Brosse and others.

However this fact appears to me to decide nothing; for with the exception of the last, all others were brought up as Roman Catholics and became artists. Besides one finds in their works, with the exception of a certain tendency of taste in the writings of Palissy, not the slightest element, that may

pass for the expression of a Protestant idea. The only justifiable conclusion is, that in consequence of their conversion to Protestantism their style does not differ in the slightest from that of their contemporaries.

349. Influence of the Huguenots on the Style.

But even assuming that the influence of Calvin on sculpture and painting, long forbidden to the temples, actually occurred, then it is still probable, that in other ways and at least in the domain of secular art, a normal treatment by Protestants of French art after Henry IV added a very precious and inestimable element, especially by the influence of training on the development of the individual character and of the temperament.

The results of this Protestant training are exactly the same elements, that form the value of Dutch and English art, i. e., the only two that may be designated as Protestant. It is the private individual life, the living personal feeling, the expression of personal convictions and conscience, the earnestness, which arouse the feeling of personal responsibility, the manly independence of character, and thus just those characteristics, that are all wanting to formative art in the grand age of Louis XIV. But now the starting points existed for the happy results of the combination of both peculiarities. A strong Catholic and man of honor, Hippolyte Destailleur, an architect of refined feeling, has referred to this.

350. Tendency of the Style of the Huguenots.

Destailleur emphasizes now in the ornamental engravings of Jean Marot, that they frequently excel all other contemporary works, that the compositions are mostly clear and exact, the ornaments in good taste, always being in a firm and nervous style. He writes, that one feels that he himself was an executing master, and understood how to restrain his imagination, which was not always the case with Jean Lepautre. And later in mentioning his son, Destailleur does not doubt, that Daniel Marot knew how to give to the art of decoration a firmer and more decided tendency, and the beautiful and rich ornamentation, which was created by Lepautre and the Marots produced a development previously lacking to it. ¹²⁵⁵

Note 1255. See Destailleur, H. Notices sur quelques artis-

artistes françois. p. 133, 147. Paris. 1863.

Is it then a mere chance, that Destailleur finds this firmness and definiteness in two Huguenots, Jean and Daniel Marot, such as we saw in the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse? It seems to me permissible to see here a direct result of the energy, of the earnestness and of the cool inspiration of the ungracious rudeness of Sully and other Huguenots, which would gladly have bloomed in more refined ways, had men afforded it justification for living and working on the soil of the native land.

Let one now consider among the artists of the age of Louis XIII and of Louis XIV a few such masters; had they combined these Huguenot peculiarities with those lent them by the Gallo-Roman culture, that we doubtless find in the age of Louis XIV, then this alliance would have had incalculable results.

Instead of having a position of the third rank in the formative arts, the art of the great age would have reached the highest regions and attained equality with the golden age of Julius II. The suppression of the Huguenots thus had to all appearance for France a still greater loss as a result in the domain of art, than in that of trade and industry.

851. Development of "Reason".

Yet reference must also be made to another and indeed less favorable possibility. If it be true that Calvin made the French language an instrument of philosophy, then may one ask, whether Calvin and a part of the reaction produced by him was not one mighty source for the development of the influence of reason. This reason is gladly emphasized by the French as the basal tendency and the characteristic of their art from 1600 to the present time, which preserved it from the errors of the Barocco. It is indeed a service, but perhaps too dearly purchased, for reason never creates, but acts as a restraining friend and adviser, unfortunately as a narrow-hearted egoist restricting the chief sources of art:-- inspiration, love and enthusiasm.

Chapter 21. Tombs.

852. Introductory.

On the tombs, at least on the more important that we here describe, we find an interesting fact; those of the family of the monarch are more Italian in conception and treatment than are the contemporary churches and secular buildings. In this domain of a purely ideal architecture one finds much earlier than in that of an architecture of necessity, a series of compositions, that in the forms of their subdivision and their details exhibit an almost exclusively Italian style, even where works originated, whose idea and general arrangement seldom or even never occur in Egypt, or are never expressed at the same scale. The apparently earliest tomb of the Renaissance, that of Charles d'Anjou erected in 1475, has already been mentioned. In spite of this early date, it exhibits not one of those forms characteristic of the French transition period and of the early Renaissance, but is already antique.
1256

Note 1256. See Art. 90.

This is easily explained. In such problems the desire of the employer and of the artist has a freer and higher horizon, than that of the Christian faith. Men were somewhat less influenced by the diversity of the conceptions of culture, as well as by the customs and mode of life, that result from the conditions of climate, of nature, and of the tendency of the tastes of different peoples and races. Men could yield themselves more completely to the forms of a new art, for which they longed with enthusiasm.

It results from this, that the tombs represent a portion of the "architectural world of ideas" and the desires of the architects, that we shall not find on the secular buildings and churches themselves. Therefore they form a valuable extension of the latter.

Likewise in France the tombs were ordered frequently during the lifetime of the person concerned, and indeed so generally, De Montaignon says, that it is unnecessary to name a single example. 1257 In the Church of Celestins at Paris in Millin's time (about 1790), there was such a multitude of monuments, that as he expresses it, one would believe himself in a sculp-

sculptor's workshop.

Note 1257. Montaiglon, A. D. & G. Milonest. *La Famille des Justes*. p. 41.

Anthyme Saint-Paul ¹²⁵⁸ particularly mentions the Tombs of Louis XII, Francis I and Henry II in S. Denis, those of the two Cardinals d'Amboise in Rouen, that of Francis II of Brittany in Nantes, as a series for which in no period did the French Renaissance possess rivals. In this opinion is a certain truth, but one must at the same time remember, that the same must be said of a still greater number of Italian tombs.

Note 1258. See Planot, p. 380.

A de Montaiglon emphasizes, that in contrast to Italy, most of the tombs in the churches of France are detached.

a. Tombs of the early Renaissance.

1. Type of the detached Tomb. (Tumba).

353. Tomb of the Children of Charles VIII.

To the earliest tombs of the new style belong those of the two children of Charles VIII, ¹²⁵⁹ now placed in the Cathedral of Tours.

Note 1259. The Dauphin Charles Orlend died at Amboise on Dec. 16, 1495, at the age of 3 years and 3 months, and the second Dauphin Charles died Oct. 2, 1496, 25 days old.

To an isolated sarcophagus like a pedestal succeeds a high and receding cavetto, on whose upper surface lie the little princes in royal clothing and with the charming expression of childlike innocence. At their feet are two small kneeling angels holding heraldic shields, while two others support the cushions. The lions' paws with wings and acanthus leaves at the angles of the sarcophagus, the inscription tablet on the front enclosed by a garland, the rope with varied knots, that extends around above the cavetto, are manifestly reminiscences of the sarcophagus of Verrochio in S. Lorenzo at Florence. At the angles of the cavetto, in the garlands around the arms, are arranged the dolphins of the princes. On the arms themselves the treatment of their tails recalls that of the barbeds in that of the Pazzi in Palace Quaratesi. In the scrollwork of the cavetto, whose foliage shows a mixture of Florentine forms of about the time of 1435 with others of 40 years later, are reproduced scenes from the deeds of Hercules in

the animated manner of Pollajuolo.

The tomb was begun about Jan. of 1500 and completed in 1506, and is regarded as the work of Giusti. The conjecture of Montaiglon, that it might only be by Jeronimo da Fiesole, appears to me very improbable, in consideration of the express mention of this purpose of his stay in France in the transactions for the purchase of marble between the agents of the queen and the Opera del Duomo in Florence, ¹²⁶⁰ as well as the words "for preparing and completing".

Note 1260. A. de Montaiglon & G. Milonest. p. 68. "Jeronimo, sculptor, who now remains with the Most Christian King of the French for preparing and completing a certain tomb by the Most Serene Queen, spouse of the present king of the French, for the most illustrious lord, duke of Brittany, father of the said queen, now deceased, and for two of her sons of the Most Christian Charles, King of the French, of the said lord" etc.

When during the earliest period of our study of the Renaissance in France, we saw the monument, and filled with the recollections of the best Italian works, unwillingly compared the tomb with those, we were compelled to ask ourselves, whether we actually had the work of a genuine Italian before us. But if it be compared with the works of masters of the second or third rank in Italy like Buggiano, or with the dancing angels of the mantle in the Palace of Urbino, or with the cupids supporting arms at the sides of the base, or further with the cupids about the "stemma" of the Arte della Seta in Via Lapaccio in Florence etc., the doubt vanishes entirely. One therefore receives the conviction, that most of these Italians in France were likewise only masters of the second and third rank.

Yet perhaps another possibility is to be considered. We stand here before the result of an Italo-French collaboration. The composition of the entire sarcophagus with its decoration might be by an Italian from the school of Verrochio, while the two figures and the angels on the tomb could be from the atelier of Michel colombe. We should have a kind of side piece to what may now be seen on the nearly contemporary Tomb of Duke Francis I of Brittany. The circumstance, that it here

relates to the children of Anne of Brittany, and then to her parents, appears to speak in favor of this solution. Even the small angels on both have something of relationship, and my friend Courajod wrote of those at Tours, that they were "not at all necessarily Italian by their execution."¹²⁶¹ A second visit since these lines were written strengthened the last supposition.

Note 1261. See Courajod, L. Le port de l'italien art dans quelques monuments de sculpture de la premiere Renaissance française. p. 25.

854. Tomb of Duke Francis II.

The tomb of Duke Francis II of Brittany and his wife, Marguerite de Foix, formerly in the Carmelite Church and now in the south transept of the Cathedral at Nantes, was erected by their daughter, Anne of Brittany, who as the wife of Charles VIII and of Louis XII, was twice queen of France. Her heart was placed therein in a golden vessel. The work was executed from 1502-1506.¹²⁶² The two figures lie extended on a sarcophagus with a fine greyhound and a lion supporting a heraldic shield at their feet, the angels at their heads kneeling and holding cushions. At the angles of the tomb and rising above it about one-fourth their height, there stand on a projecting step four life-size statues of the cardinal virtues.

Note 1262. See Chorvet, L. Jehan Perreal etc. p. 71 et seq.

Everything in this, composition, pose, expression and costume, was designed by Frenchmen. They indeed have not the entire charm and poetry of beautiful ideal figures, but they neither possess the realism almost carried to vulgarity, disagreeable in spite of almost Leonardo's mastery, of the short figures by Sluyter on the Well of Moses at Dijon. As Courajod correctly remarks, one feels in Colombe the influence of Italy, and we add also in Perreal. Like a noble softness is this spread over the whole, far removed from the careless excesses of naturalism.

The architectural, which is limited to the decoration of the substructure, treated as an enlarged sarcophagus, is only Italian. Almost touching each other along the base are round recessed medallions, six on the side and two at the end, above which stands an arcade of as many niches separated by pil-

pilasters,.¹²⁶³ With the small pearl bead and fillets, that rest thereon, the Italian portion of the work ceases, and there follows as a cornice-like termination the simply moulded covering slab, far too heavy for the lower portion, and on which rest the reclining figures. The capitals, panels of pilasters and grotesques, which with shells cover all surfaces in and about the niches, are of average Italian work. White and black marbles, green for the clothing in the medallions, with reddish-brown stucco or terracotta as the ground of the niches, produce a polychromatic effect.

Note 1263. The treatment of the catafalque or the other parts of the tombs by a series of niches separated by pilasters, we perhaps first see in Italy on the Tomb of Pope John XXIII in Florence, later on the catafalque of the Doge Andrea Vendramin (died 1478) in Venice. On the substructure of the triumphal chariot of Sigismondo Malatesta, on the Sarcophagus of the "Antenati and Discedenti" in S. Francesco in Rimini by Duccio. By the latter also in relief, above his inscription on the facade of S. Bernardino at Perugia.

The circumstance, that the French figures cower in the round niches in uncomfortable poses as if under punishment, and those standing have their heads touching the crowns of the niches, shows that Perreal or Colombe was still little acquainted with the usual relations between figures and architecture in architecture after the antique.

This work forms one of the most important creations of the Renaissance at the beginning of the 16th century, and it has been frequently described in our time, always indeed as a work of Michel Colombe, while we have seen that Charvet proved the composition and superintendence to belong to the painter Jehan Perreal.¹²⁶⁴ Yet the whole is based on a decidedly Franco-Italian collaboration.

Note 1264. Colombe employed two pupils for this; his nephew Guillaume Regnault and Jehan de Chartres, whom he terms his disciple and servant; also two Italians, that will be further mentioned.

On Jan. 4, 1511, Perreal wrote, that Michel Colombe worked for five years on the monument, and two "Italian cutters of antique masonry" for as long. Montaiglon is probably correct,

when he assumes Jeronimo da Fiesole as one of these. ¹²⁶⁵ For the present the words "for preparing and executing" require him to be regarded as the author of the architectural treatment of the monument, for the same reasons as at the monument of the two little children of Anne of Brittany.

Note 1265. See Montaiglon, A. de. & G. Milnes. *La Famille des Justes*. p. 67. The permit for the purchase of the marble is dated Jan. 15, 1500.

855. Tomb in the Church of Brou.

In connection with the preceding is a tomb, that must at least be recalled in passing.

When the duke of Savoy died on Sept. 10, 1504, his wife Margaret of Austria, decided to erect in Brou a house, a Church with tombs, and a monastery, and although this was not a French monument, yet at first it was designed by French masters and now lies within the borders of the country. On this famous monument of duke Philibert-le-Beau of Savoy, that Margaret of Austria had constructed in the Church of Brou near Bourg, in the part above the slab was the reclining statue of the duke, the lion at his feet, and surrounded by three pairs of nude angels, there prevails so much of the antique simplicity and clear order of arrangement in comparison to the over-rich late Flemish Gothic niches and arcade work, that one may assume, that in the upper portion were employed the work of Jehan Perreal and Michel Colombe, or at least their models were approximately used, as Charvet conjectures. ¹²⁶⁶

Note 1266. See Arts. 47 and 92.

856. Tomb of Charles VIII.

Further to be described is the Tomb of Charles VIII, formerly erected in the Abbey of S. Denis. It is mentioned by Alberto Vignati in 1517 as already completed, ¹²⁶⁷ and is the work of Guido Paganino from Modena. ¹²⁶⁸ Since the same has disappeared, we must be satisfied with an early representation in Fig. 211, ¹²⁶⁹ and reproduce some old statements collected by A. de Montaiglon. It must have differed from most contemporary French monuments, in that bronze played the chief part, and was combined with black marble and gold.

Note 1267. On the works of the latter in France, see A. de Montaiglon in *Anciennes Archives de l'Art Francoise*; Documents.

1 st Series. 1851. p. 125-132; 2 nd Series. 1862. p. 218-228; further, Bulletin des Antiquaires de France. 1864. p. 149.

Note 1268. See the Tomb of Louis XII, Plg. 212.

Note 1269. From Jean Morot. Vol. 1. p. 170.

Father Dom Germain Millet ¹²⁷⁰ calls this tomb the most beautiful one in the choir of S. Denis. The king, kneeling before a praying stool on which lie a book and a crown, was surrounded by four angels at the corners supporting heraldic shields. All was of gilded bronze, excepting the faces and the blue cloaks beset by golden lilies.

Note 1270. See Tresor Sacre de S. Denis. p. 347-348. Jean Billaine. Paris. 1615.

On the sides of the tomb were circular recesses, in which were gilded copper (bronze) basins, within these basins being beautiful cast and gilded figures. On an inscription tablet of gilded bronze was the verse. ¹²⁷¹ "Hic, octave etc. jaces etc, "Opus Paganini mutinensis".

Note 1271. Doublet, J. Pere. Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis en France. p. 1292-1294. Paris. Michel. Joly. 1625.

The tomb consists of black marble with ornaments and gilded bronze figures, 8 1/2 ft. long and 4 1/2 ft. wide, in 12 circular recesses being as many women representing virtues. Between these recesses were swords crowned with laurel garlands. ¹²⁷²

Note 1272. Felibien. Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denis. p. 532-533. Paris. 1709.

If one considers the animated pose of the angels leaning slightly forward, and further the medallion recesses here on the sarcophagus, one questions whether there did not exist a certain connection between the former and those on the Tomb of the children of Charles VIII, and between the latter and the Tomb, that his wife had erected in Nantes. When one remembers, that Guido Paganini received by far the highest salary ¹²⁷³ of all the artists called to Amboise by Charles VIII, one asks whether he did not also exert a certain influence directly or indirectly on the other two tombs. In any case the mouldings of his Tomb in S. Denis were much better than those on the Tomb at Nantes.

2. Tabernacle and Shrine Types.

857. Tomb of Philip de Comynes.

Of the very interesting Tomb-Chapel, that the famous historian Philip de Comynnes caused to be erected for himself in the Abbey Church of the Grandes-Augustins, no entirely complete representation can be made from the scattered fragments in the Louvre and in the Ecole des Beaux Arts, even with the aid of Millin's illustrations.¹²⁷⁵ I believe that the remains of 12 pilaster-piers may be determined, and further of two semicircular gables, indeed for the two ends. The ogee gable reproduced in Millin must have formed the middle of the longer side. Within this shrine was placed the sarcophagus, from the top of which rose two praying stools, behind which appeared the upper half of the polychrome life-size statues, figures of Comynnes and of his wife. Some of the intercolumniations were closed below by a railing slab.

Note 1274. Millin. *Antiquités Nationales*. Vol. 2. p. 41. Paris. 1791.

Note 1275. See Courajod, L. Le Port etc. p. 26-33.

In one tympanum a very beautiful series forms a semicircle of round medallions after the Milanese fashion. (See S. Maria delle Grazie and S. Maria presso S. Satiro). But the treatment of the delicate flowers and fruits is not in the Milanese style, though in that of della Robbia. A shield of arms forms the centre of the tympanum. Another with two cupids and floating bands fills the other tympanum.

Although I frequently saw these remains during many years, for long I could form no opinion, whether the architectural and ornamental was the work of an Italian or of a Frenchman. Only at the writing of these lines and while comparing the forms with those, which undoubtedly came from the French masters in Gaillon, Nancy, Rouen and Nantes, did I believe that one must think of an Italian. Only compare the mouldings here with those contemporary by Perreal and Michel Colombe on the monument of Francis I in the last city, and all doubts must disappear. What earlier hindered me from reaching this conviction, was the circumstance, that the scroll-work on the entablature, motives on one pilaster and a treatment showed, what one does not usually find in Italy at that time, and which recalls Early Christian works; likewise appears in the panels of the pilasters a mixture of mythological, mediaeval

and Christian ideas, that I do not recall in this manner in Italy. Strange also is the pearl bead sidewise on the pilasters, and the lambrequin-like addition below the architrave, fluted in pipes. Further the detailing of the motives is so delicate and full of Italian technics and knowledge of form, that one cannot think of a French chisel. ¹²⁷⁶ A point mentioned by Courajod then entirely supports me in this conviction, and the singularity in the choice of motives is explained by the manifestly correct remark, of Courajod, that the tomb-chapel was executed in 1506 during the life of the famous historian and under his supervision. Only the wishes and commands of a learned man could explain such a combination of motives.

Note 1276. Courajod in his Study; *La Porte de l'Art Italien* etc., p. 26, does not definitely express himself on this point. In the figures of the deceased he sees a work "almost exclusively French"; he writes of the entire work; "the general style and the decoration of the whole were incontestably suggested by Italy." Only in reference to an error in the inscription: -- "Sontus Greorius, Sontus Ieronimus", he writes with full justice; "an error very natural to an Italian hand."

The pilasters have good proportions, refined and delicate capitals, one with two winged horses. The arabesques have no very animated movement in spite of correct lines -- probably on account of the numerous motives, that must be included according to Commynes' requirements. There also occur in the pilaster panels, besides medallions, inlays of marble and of porphyry and cranes, further sphynxes, cupid on the seahorse, a woman riding on a sea-man, the phoenix with its young, a winged lion with a snake-tail in Italian drawing, rather like Leonardo, an eagle struggling with a serpent, then Adam and Eve, Samson fighting with the lion, and his attributes, such as the shoulder blade bone, the fox, the broken column etc.

One understands, that with this man of different motives and forms it was scarcely possible to attain everywhere to an equal movement or an elegant grouping. At places where the ornament should be quietly developed, for example on the candelabras behind Samson, the elegance and grace of form is charming, and quite certainly must have been composed and executed by an Italian.

Thus we likewise have on this monument an Italo-French collaboration. The design is here Italian, partly according to French requirements, and likewise the architecture and ornamentation. On the contrary, the figures on the tomb are by a Frenchman, as it seems. ¹²⁷⁷

Note 1277. See further three Studies of Boron de Guilhaemy in Daly's *Revue generale d'Architecture*. Vol. 3. p. 557, with illustrations by Labrousse; also *Annales Archaeologiques*, Vol. 12, p. 93; finally Guilhaemy's *Inscriptions de la France*. Vol. 1. p. 405.

A bishop's tomb in the cathedral of Narbonne, indeed originating 20-30 years later, shows in the details of the arcade forms more nearly French. It likewise forms a sort of chapel, supported by columns at the four corners and by a pier with arabesques at the middle of each longer side. It rises above a substructure of two pedestals, the upper having an arcade of niches and candelabras. A stone ceiling with coffers extends over the whole between the entablatures. The figures representing the deceased seems to have disappeared. ¹²⁷⁸

Note 1278. See the plaster cast in Museum Trocadero in Paris and the illustration in Lübke's *Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich*. Fig. 131.

858. Tomb of Louis XII.

An entirely different type of arrangement is shown by the Tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, which Francis I caused to be erected in the Abbey Church of S. Denis. It is the most important monument, which was placed therein for a king of France, and it long served for comparison, to give the idea of excellence of a work. ¹²⁷⁹ Jacques Yver (1598) in his "Printemps" makes such between those of Francis I and of Mausolus.

Note 1279. See Montaignon, A. De in *Archives de l'Art Francoise*, 2nd Series, Vol. 1, p. 295, who gives the words of J. Jean Breche (jurist from Touraine) in his "*De Verbum Significatione*" (Lyons, 1556, p. 410-411, and Geneva, 1659, p. 459). See Latin text in Note.

Fig. 212 ¹²⁸⁰ illustrates the general construction. There are two arches at each end. All is of white marble.

Note 1280. From Marot, J. Vol. 1. p. 173.

The idea prevailing here is an impressive one. Below the tomb for the dead, above a glance into the beyond, where the sacrificed pray with devotion. Through the arches one sees the marble sarcophagus, where bereft by death of all earthly possessions, the nude bodies ¹²⁸¹ lie beside each other, stretched out on the sarcophagus. The twelve apostles have seated themselves under the arches. Four allegorical figures of the virtues sit on the external angles of the monument.

Note 1281. In the drawing of Jacopo di Piero Bellini for the tomb of a soldier, he likewise lies nude on a state bed, merely with a laurel wreath around his head and a cloth about his loins. See Musée du Louvre. Collection Historique Lesclapart, No. 21.

859. Prototypes.

If one queries what circumstances called for this great development of magnificence, and influenced the choice of this type, he would scarcely err, in that the origin of two famous works in Italy reacted here; the Tomb of Julius II and that for Gaston de Foix in Milan. And indeed one must consider the originally intended forms of both, much more than the curtailed and incomplete ones now existing, that are generally in mind.

Especially must the latter monument be considered, which the king of France ordered near Bombaja for his kinsman, the young hero of Ravenna. At first it was to form a small tomb chapel in the Church, but later represents a tomb chamber enclosed by arches arranged like a triumphal arch. Here also was the corpse of the dead represented below, above being him again as alive. ^{1282.}

Note 1282. We were able to determine in his time the author of two of these designs and their purpose, one in the Louvre and the other with the duke d'Aumale in Chantilly. We reproduced both in the prospectus of the Photographic Thesaurus of Architecture.

The idea of the open arcade, that forms a sort of chapel around the dead, as well as its form and decoration must first of all be influenced by a third Italian tomb, namely be borrowed from the shrine of Giovanni Cristoforo Romano for the Mausoleum of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti in the Certosa of Pa-

Pavia. It was erected by him in company with Benedetto Briosco and Jacobino de Boni in 1494-1497. ¹²⁸³

Note 1283. His name and the latter date are cut on the architrave, and it stood there completed, when the Church was dedicated on May 3, 1497. The sarcophagus and certain accessory figures were only added later. See Beltrami, L. La Certosa di Pavia. p. 103. Milan. 1895.

860. Character of the Work.

Some observations follow, that we made on the monument relating to the character of its different parts, and employ the designations of right and left, before and behind, as if the two reclining figures could themselves speak and could employ them.

In front on a pier at the right is the date of 1518; on the middle one is S. P. Q. F.; on the rear one at the left, 1517; at the right on the first pier from the corner, inside are the letters S G I S S o N on an inscription tablet. The twelve apostles seated beneath the arches are Italian works; in the hands may be seen the influence of the David of Michelangelo, in the heads that of Raphael, Perugino, or of the Sistine Chapel. Of the four large figures at the corners, the two in the rear appear to me to not have been by an Italian hand.

On the sarcophagus all is Italian work, and is a prototype for the pedestal of the Diana of Jean Goujon.

The grotesques of the pilasters are all Italian, with perhaps the exception of those on the first pier below on the right side.--The best are on the left side and are Florentine. Here two charming sirens on the upper part of the first recall the Giants' Stairway in Venice.

The reliefs on the plinth were by weak Italians. On the right are some horses' heads after Leonardo. The master of the front one was also acquainted with Leonardo's group from the battle of Anghiari, or some other mounted combat of Leonardo or of Bramante. (Montaignon assigns them to Giovanni di Giusto. p. 19.

The kneeling figures of the king and queen appear to me to be of Italian work.

Among the sculptures the two nude bodies of the dead are by

far the best. Splendid, true, noble and decent, in peaceful resignation is the head of the queen; nobility and dignity, quiet resignation in pain are expressed in the head of the queen, together with beauty in the modeling of the nude.

The proportions are good Florentine in the style of 1470-1500. The moulding of all parts is done by Italians, perhaps even more Lombard than Florentine. The elevation is good. The pose of the four seated figures at the angles is perhaps rather accidental.

361. The Master.

The history of the monument was long anything but clear. It was assumed to be the work of P. Ponce in Venice (Ponzio Trebati from Florence). Dom Felibien later referred to Jean le Juste from Tours as the author, without abandoning the participation of Ponce. Others ascribed it to Pierre Bontemps. (See Patria). By the labors of A. de Montaiglon was it successfully determined, that it was the work of the brothers Antonio and Giovanni di Giusto.¹²⁸⁴

Note 1284. Montaiglon, A. de & G. Milonesi. La Famille des Juste en Italie et en France. Societe de l'Histoire de l'Art Francaise. 1876. p. 22-31; 64-69.

Montaiglon concludes from the fact, that Giovanni also had the contract to construct the tomb beneath the monument, that he was the architect and designer of the monument,¹²⁸⁵ emphasizes a rather notable difference in style, but the four great corner figures of the virtues, and that of the figures of the apostles seated in the arches on the one hand, and on the other from the nude extended and life-size figures of the king and queen, the latter indicating a better artist. This statement agrees with the observations made by us.¹²⁸⁶

Note 1285. p. 27. He cites the excellent description of the Tomb by De Guilhermy in his Monographie de S. Denis.

Note 1286. According to Polustre, on the tomb of Louis XII (erected 1576-1532), the ornamental parts were by Antonio Giusto, the figures of the dead and the angels by Giovanni Giusto, the son of Antonio and nephew of Giovanni. (See Architecture de la Renaissance. p. 288.).

On April 13, 1516, the agent of the marchese of Mantua had already seen the same in construction in Amboise,¹²⁸⁷ and

designated it as tolerably beautiful, of marble, with numerous great figures, and as the work of Florentine masters. On Aug. 20 by Antonio di Giusto additional marble was ordered in Carrara.

Note 1287. Campori, Marchese C. Memorie biografiche degli scultori - - di Carrara. p. 269. Modena. 1873.

Alberto Vignati, Commissary General of the fortresses of Francis I in Piedmont, says in his description of Paris in the year 1517 likewise, ¹²⁸⁸ that it was already under way and would be most beautiful. On the northwest and southeast pilasters may be seen the dates of 1517 and 1518. The erection only followed about 1531.

Note 1288. Beltrami, L. Description de la Ville de Paris, etc. p. 20, 56. Milan. 1889.

The agent Grossino of the marchese of Mantua had seen it under way in Amboise; ¹²⁸⁹ on Jan. 20, 1520, G. Pachaoli writes to Michelangelo, that he had seen it in Tours under way, and it contained a great number of figures. ¹²⁹⁰

Note 1289. Montaignon. p. 64.

Note 1290. Aurelio Gotti. Vita di Michelangelo Buonarruoti. II. p. 58; p. 26 in Montaignon.

Jean Brecho of Tours wrote in 1556, that it was executed in Tours by Jean Juste, a vern elegant sculptor. On the contrary Sauval writes, that it was wrought in a barn belonging to Hotel S. Paul in Paris, which later belonged to Philibert De L'Orme, and that was designated in 1571 as "a sort of barn in which was cut part of the marbles of the tomb of the king." ¹²⁹¹

Note 1291. Montaignon. p. 27.

If Grossino did not confound Amboise with Tours, it must be assumed, that the Giusti had two workshops on the Loire, or that they were settled in Tours after 1520; in 1531 Jean Juste received 400 crowns of the golden sun as the remainder of the sum of 1200 stipulated for the transportation from Tours to Paris.

R. de Maulde la Claviere queries in an interesting Study on Jehan Perreal, 1292, 1293, whether this favorite artist of Louis XII played any part in the creation of this wonderful monument. But he does not venture to give an answer. The treatment of the architecture and the mouldings, compared with

those of Perreal on the monument of Francis I at Nantes, are so much superior, that we could see no work of Perreal on the monument of Louis XII, and he must then have greatly extended his knowledge of the Renaissance during his new journey to Italy in 1509. He indeed indicates this in a letter in reference to the monument in the Church of Brou. What he says of a monastery in Italy permits it to be assumed with certainty, that he had seen the Certosa of Pavia. He was thus acquainted with the shrine of the Tomb of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, on which a pier instead of an opening is at the middle, just as in S. Benis. It would not be impossible, that he influences the general arrangement of the composition, and had advised the placing of the four virtues at the angles. I have found no proof for the opinion of R. de Maulde, that perhaps the idea occurring in the Church of Brou, the opening of the tomb by arches, came from Perreal. The entire development of the project, the moulding and detailing is certainly by an Italian, on the contrary. Thus here also would not be entirely excluded a certain Franco-Italian collaboration. Perhaps to this is to be referred the existence of two different scales, which A. de Montaiglon sees not quite erroneously in the entire composition.

Note 1292. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 3rd period. Vol. 15 (1896). p. 58, 240, 367, 379.

Note 1293. See *Arts*. 79, 92, 106, 854, 855.

If one compares the part played by Jean Perreal at the funeral ceremonies of Anne of Brittany (Jan. 1514) and of Louis XII (Jan. 1515), as described by R. de Maulde,¹²⁹⁴ with the important statement, that for the latter it fell to Domenico da Cortona (Boccador) with others to erect the catafalque in the form of the chapel described by us, then is it certain, that on the one hand Perreal and Boccador were again there together (Perreal lived in Blois, like Boccador), and on the other hand the idea is prominent, that Boccador might also have played a part in the question of the tomb, in case one does not desire to attribute the entire composition to the Giusti alone. The two different scales appear in the dimensions of the sculptures and not in the architecture itself.

Note 1294. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Vol. 15. p. 67.

Note 1295. See Art. 71.

362. Other Works of the Giusti.

In addition to the Tomb of Louis XII some other works of the Giusti family are to be mentioned.

The Tomb of bishop Thomas James in the Church at Dol in Brittany is the earliest known work of the Giusti in France, dated 1507, and with the inscription - - - "Constructed by that master of the work Jones, whose name is Justus and is a Florentine". Beneath a great arch, flanked by pilasters, that forms a sort of chapel, stands the tomb, enclosed by four pilasters with stone ceiling and entablature, like a bed with canopy or a ciborium. Between this entablature and the arch is a rich ornament, and above the main entablature is a lunette with marks of painting, and formed like a stilted semicircular gable. This entire arrangement, though but distantly, recalls certain Tuscan tombs, for example that of Cardini (1451) in S. Francesco in Pescia, and the panels, pilasters and entablature have the richest arabesque work, whose purity affords another proof, that the master had but recently left his native land.

On the front side of the bed is the inscription tablet between two niches with statuettes of the virtues. At the sides, for lack of space, the scarcely visible medallions of the bishop and of his nephew, who provided the tomb. On the wall in the rear, at the heads of the reclining figures, now vanished, two angels in relief, who hold the arms on a shield of Florentine form. The painted upper part replaces the effect of Della Robbia majolicas.

The chapel of the chateau of Oiron contained four tombs of Italian workmanship, three of which still remain, erected for members of the Gouesier family. Since the last and destroyed one of 1559 is proved by documents to have been the work of Giovanni Giusti, the work on two others is identical in treatment, and entirely in the style of the Giusti, one may likewise assign these to them. One is dated 1559, and it is striking, that the same niches with pilasters are retained so late. 1296

Note 1296. See Montaignon. p. 38 et seq.

The good profiling of the entablature is also certainly It-

Italian and is still in Florentine character of 1480-1500.

The Tomb of Guillaume Goussier, known as Admiral Bonnivet, is much simpler, on the contrary.

3. Tomb in Form of a Family State Bed.

By the extension of the previously described type of a tomb with the figure of the deceased reclining thereon to cases in which the same design of monument must serve at the same time for several honored persons, there originated a new type or a variant of the preceding, which may be designated as a family state bed.

863. Tomb of the Princes of Orleans.

The first example of this kind is a tomb of the princes of the house of Orleans, formerly in the Church of Celestins in Paris, now in the Abbey Church of S. Denis. Louis XII ordered in Genoa this tomb of his ancestor Louis of Orleans (died after 1407) and of Valentine of Milan (1408), as well as of Philippe, Comte de Vertus (1420) and Charles of Orleans. (1465).

On a square couch enclosed by 24 niches and half columns rest at the sides the figures of those last named, while in the middle on a raised slab lie the reclining forms of those first mentioned, on whose marriage were based the claims of the French royal family to the possession of Milan.

It is of white marble in a moderate Tuscan style of 1480-1500; the pilaster order is fluted, on the piers of the arches are arabesques, with shells in the niches. In height, the order with the reduced entablature is in one piece. The statues occupy the entire height of the niches and with the exception of two or three are very mediocre, sometimes not even Giottoesque in style (even at about 1500 !) but grotesque. Instructive as evidence of what was then preferred or must be found satisfactory !

Charvet ¹²⁹⁷ queries, whether Perreal did not also furnish the design for this tomb. The fact that it was executed in Genoa would not exclude this. Since here as on his Monument of Francis I at Nantes, the figures are too large for the niches, this conjecture may not be without foundation.

Note 1297. See his Jehon Perreol. p. 208, 209.

864. Tomb of Batounay.

A second example of this type is the detached Tomb of Batar-nay in Montresor. The tomb forms a detached square altar on the top of which the three figures lie between angels kneeling at the angles with shields of arms. The slab is supported on each side of the square by four niches with statuettes between fluted and twisted columns instead of pilasters. ¹²⁹⁸

Note ¹²⁹⁸. Illustrated in Mandrot, B. de. Ymbert de Botor-nay, Lord of Bouchage, councillor of the kings, Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XI. p. 279. Paris. 1886.

4. Type of the Wall Arch or Wall Niche.

865. Tomb of Renata of Orleans.

Likewise the type of the Tuscan chapel-like wall niche is found, for example in S. Denis on the Tomb of Renata of Orleans-Longueville. (Died 1515).

On short pilasters with high pedestals rests a tunnel vault in the form of an oval arch, coffered inside, whose archivolt is accompanied by small figures on the extrados instead of crockets. In this niche like a chapel stands corresponding to the pedestal the sarcophagus with the reclining figure of the dead. On the rear wall and corresponding to the shafts is a marble paneling, that like the sarcophagus is treated by niches and pilasters. Above and occupying the height of the capitals and of the lunette, is an overgrown great shell. -- Here the composition, all details and the pilaster grotesques are taken from Italian prototypes, but the entire execution is by French hands, and is instructive of their native abilities at that time. The niches and their figures are wrought from a single block.

Courajod ¹²⁹⁹ himself reached the same result. He regarded the tomb as inspired by Italian artists, even if but partly executed by them. It was to be found earlier in a chapel of the Church of Celestins in Paris. Several portions are restored; a now lacking fragment Courajod found again and illustrated. ¹³⁰⁰

Note 1299. See the work mentioned in Note 1276, p. 23-25.

Note 1300. See the same, p. 27.

866. Tomb of Cardinal d'Amboise.

The magnificent tomb of George d'Amboise in the choir of the Cathedral of Rouen, begun in 1516, is surrounded from top

to bottom by a wealth of ornament, that recalls the facade of the Certosa near Pavia, and is worthy of the builder of the chateau at Gaillon. The cardinal kneels in an elongated wall niche, that is decorated entirely like the interior of a small chapel, whose front side is removed. Pilasters, niches with statues and reliefs ornament the walls; a rich arcade with pilasters, niches, figures large and small, subdivide the substructure, on whose top the figures kneel. A richly coffered vault forms the ceiling, over which an inexhaustible wealth of niches, pilasters and candelabras form the external ornamentation. The figure of the cardinal was later moved forward in order to make room for the likewise kneeling figure of his nephew, cardinal George II d'Amboise.

By the refined treatment of certain small balusters on the second candelabra on the right one feels, that the master learned the refinement from Bramante or from his works; the charming little angels, that stand around the candelabra, might perhaps be Italian work. It is believed to be the work of Roulland Leroux. 1301

Note 1301. See Arts. 80 and 108.

The Tomb of duke Rene II in the Chapel of the Cordeliers at Nancy from 1508 must be by Mansuy-Gauvain. It is entirely treated in polychrome. According to the style it comes from the school of Gaillon, as especially shown by a capital on the right. Two different and not Italian stonecutters worked thereon, one of which was finer than the other. The motive is that of a wall niche in which the duke kneels at a desk before the Madonna.

867. Tomb of Lannoy.

The wall Tomb of Mount de Lannoy in S. Remi at Amiens shows beneath an oval arch in a recess the reclining figures of the deceased, on the projecting piers above being kneeling forms, with an angelic figure in the middle before architecture on the wall. In the middle of the latter stands a tabernacle with semicircular gable, terminating at both ends in a projecting column with returned entablature. 1302

Note 1302. See Koller & Teylor. Picardie. I. 1.

5. Other Types.

868. Another form of Tomb is the Memorial Column.

In S. Denis is that of Cardinal de Bourbon, in character M Milanese-French early Renaissance, very finely moulded, probably by a Lombard. -- Then the much later column of Francis II, likewise in S. Denis. It rises between cupids on a pedestal, like a three-sided antique altar. From the shaft burst forth flames, regularly arranged, like the conventionalized brand on the Column of Bramante in Milan.

In the Cathedral at Amiens, attached to one of the crossing piers, is the Tomb of cardinal Hoemard (died 1540). Three square piers bear the entablature, above which four arches with figures are arranged as an arcade. Over these is the square niche enclosed by two pilasters or the recess in which the cardinal kneels. The whole thus has three stories of about equal height.

The Tomb of Sidrach de Lalaing in the Chapel of S. Jean at Douai is like a monstrance in elevation. A column with consoles supports the tabernacle-like tomb recess covered by a segmental arch. Above the entablature follows a medallion as a termination, supported by consoles and crowned by a domical form. At the sides are pilasters with arabesques and a half candilabra. (About 1520-1530).

The Tomb of Galliot de Genouillac in the Church at Assier has nearly the form of a wall altar, on the table of which is the reclining figure, on the walls between pilasters being arranged cannons and other warlike emblems.

The Tomb of Hugues des Hazards at Blenod-les-Toul (1520) in the style of Louis XII shows the figure of the bishop as if lying in a cabin between a lower and an upper arcade, that extend between two broad pilasters. ¹³⁰³ Another monument of this time is possessed by the Church at Folleville in Picardy.

Note 1303. Illustrated in Poluetre, L. Archit. etc. Pl. 95.

b. Tombs of the high Renaissance and of 17 th Century.

1. Tomb of Louis de Breze in Rouen.

369. Importance as earliest Work of J. Goujon and of the high Renaissance.

Mention was frequently made of the famous Tomb of Breze in the choir of the cathedral at Rouen, ¹³⁰⁴ and we have indicated why we believe that in this is to be seen an architectural composition of Jean Goujon. The fact that we here stand

before the earliest work of the French high Renaissance, and are also compelled to see therein the first work of Jean Goujon, and finally the circumstance, that thereby this master appears to have exerted an influence on Ph. De L'Orme and Jean Bullant, all this assigns to this monument an importance in the history of the French Renaissance, that is yet too little appreciated. It is reproduced in Fig. 212 a. ¹³⁰⁴ Let us attempt to prove the reasons forming a ground for the authorship of Goujon.

Note 1304. See Atts. 87 and 142.

Note 1304 c. From a photograph without name of author.

Louis de Breze died in 1531. Between the years 1536 and 1544 his widow, the famous Diana of Poitiers, had this monument erected for him. ¹³⁰⁵ The historian of Rouen might hold Jean Goujon to be its author, since he then dwelt in that city. Without knowing this opinion, we likewise reached this conjecture, indeed first as a result of the relationship of the peculiar character of the surfaces on several mouldings with those of the two authentic columns of Goujon in S. Maclou at Rouen.

Note 1305. From Deville, A. Tombeaux de la Cathedrale de Rouen. Rouen. 1837. In A. Dorcel's text to Art Architectural en France. p. 18-24.

Yet only after a series of years were the reasons clear to us, that now compel us to recognize here a work of Jean Goujon.

370. The Composition.

On a sarcophagus, stretched out and naked, scarcely covered by a shroud at one place, lies the deceased. Two pairs of coupled and fluted Corinthian columns enclose the sarcophagus and project so far from their pilasters, that with these they form two tabernacles, as it were. In that at the head of the deceased kneels his widow, praying to the Madonna and Child, who stands in the other tabernacle at the feet.

Above the entablature of the columns, in the form of virtues, coupled caryatids stand on pedestals. The pairs of columns and of caryatids with their returned entablatures form a bold enclosing structures at both ends of the tomb. Between them both entablatures extend to the rear wall, and divide it into two stories. In the lower hang two inscription tablets,

enclosed by rolled cartouches and festoons of fruits. The upper story recedes in its entire width as a round-arched niche, which is occupied by the equestrian statue of Breze in full armor with armored horse, passing toward the right.

Above the second entablature are at the sides arms and emblems, arranged like trophies, each supported by a hegoat, placed to crown the projections, while in the middle of the rear wall the figure of Patience terminates the structure. In a noble pose, she sits before a round-arched flat recess under a tabernacle borne by two columns, that on the outer sides and above the impost of the niche is accompanied by small angels as caryatids, beneath them being connected with the entablature by consoles of quadrant form.

On this strikingly clear composition is alternately employed black marble and white alabaster. Of the latter are the pedestals (except the black base and cap), bases, capitals and the frieze. White are also the statues and the rear wall in the lower story.

371. Details.

The lower entablature has a frieze with festoons, whose garlands are alternately fastened to the wall and to masked heads above inscription tablets. A bird with expanded wings fills each space above a festoon. The masks have an expression of antique repose, and are animated by beautiful feeling. The festoons recall those of Giovanni da Udine, indeed with the same interpretation, that we frequently see in the original drawings of Du Cerceau.

The upper frieze, evidently because it extends above caryatids instead of columns, combines more animated and refined elements than the lower one. Five seated Victories with extended arms hold wreaths on winged lions, each laying a paw on her knee, and they form charming groups, in which the lines of the tails, wings, arms, combined with the consoles of the seats of the Victories, have a magical harmony. The four slender and graceful flower vases or urns separate these groups and again unite the whole into a single motive filled with the noblest charm.

In the two friezes are the drawing and execution of such a kind, that one queries whether it was executed by Italians.

The Corinthian capitals are perhaps rather low, but still have something angular like those in the court of the Louvre, and they are already formed after classical models. The certainly smaller Composite capitals on the upper tabernacle are considerably better and more mature. It is somewhat disturbing, that the caryatid groups appear too broad as masses, and indeed also too high in proportion to the columns supporting them. The latter impression is perhaps merely a result of the grille, that screens the lower pedestal, whose effect is somewhat affected.

372. Grounds for Authorship of Goujon.

The reasons compelling us to assume Jean Goujon as the designer of this composition are as follows:--

First of all it appears to me impossible, that in this work of architecture and of sculpture, these were by two different masters. Both arts are so intimately combined, that they could have been so united only by a single master. ¹³⁰⁶ This circumstance alone is as good as decisive for the authorship of Jean Goujon. On the other hand, the execution of all the figures can scarcely have been entirely by him.

Note 1306. On the occasion of the ordering of the tomb statue of George II of Amboise at Rouen, Jean Goujon in 1541-1542 was designated as "stonecutter and mason". The latter word was then the most common designation for architects.

Particularly beautiful is the extended form of the deceased. With its head bent backward and the high arched breast is the figure incontestably the prototype for that of Henry II in his Tomb at S. Denis. Charming is likewise the small angel supporting the arms, and standing on a console behind the kneeling widow. Very notable is then the figure of Patience, with the most beautiful and masterly movement of the body, in order to be represented in front view before the flat niche. It is full of natural nobility, without a vestige of that particular French elegance, that later and even with Goujon was seldom free from something coquettish. This so animated and charming figure is the instructive evidence, like the study of the works of a great master -- here the female forms of Raphael in the Stanzas -- forming and ennobling inspired Goujon, without in any way restricting his creative powers and perso-

personal design. In all French art at that time could Goujon alone model this figure, and it appears as a second signature of the master on the work.

As a third signature of Goujon must be regarded the following peculiarity. While both the general composition as well as the treatment of all mouldings and details are derived from the severe tendency of Bramante and of Michelangelo, there appears directly and without any reason on two places in the details the influence of Michelangelo in the direction of the bizarre. It is that in the rolled work of the two inscription tablets, particularly in the winged goat heads, that support the cartouches. They recall certain forms on Michelangelo's Medici tombs in S. Lorenzo, especially on the masks on the breastplate of the Giuliano. Likewise are lions' paws arranged at the angles of the pedestals of the trophies, accompanied by forms borrowed from no natural kingdom, but from the caprice of Michelangelo are not always derived fortunate imaginative forms. A similar sudden occurrence of some fanciful Barocco details inspired by Michelangelo in the middle of a composition of classical severity we saw on the pilaster capitals of the table of the famous altar of Jean Goujon at Chantilly. (See Fig. 187 and Art. 140).

A fourth and very important reason for ascribing the design of this monument to J. Goujon lies in the relationship of it to the portal of Anet, to which we shall again return.¹³⁰⁷ But Philibert De L'Orme cannot be thought of as architect of the tomb begun in 1535 in Rouen, since he first returned from Italy in 1536, and while still entirely unknown, settled first in Lyons.

Note 1307. See the gateway towers in the following; Figs. 314-318.

2. Tomb of Francis I.

873. Great Part played by Architecture.

That one of the kings' tombs in which architecture played the most important role, and also forms the most important mass, is the famous Tomb of Francis I, his first wife and three children in the Abbey Church of S. Denis. It was erected after the design and under the supervision of Ph. De L'Orme. As sculptors are mentioned Pierre Bontemps, Ambroise Perret and a series of others.

the tomb is conceived as a detached triumphal arch with three archways, whose ground plan forms a kind of Greek cross, compelled by the location. The two narrower side arches form passages. The middle higher, wider and longer archway is closed by the continuous pedestal, and on this stood the two sacrophaguses, formed after antique prototypes, on which the two deceased rest.

As the upper termination serve the kneeling figures of the king and of his wife Claude of France, accompanied by three other statues, the Dauphin Francis, Charles of Orleans and Charlotte. In the refined, noble and sufficiently bold mouldings, in the beautiful proportions of the fluted Ionic order, in the tablet without inscription intersecting the architrave may one recognize the noble master of the portal at Anet, Philibert De L'Orme. Begun before 1548, it was completed after 1559 ¹³⁰⁸ by Primaticcio. The monument is of white marble, the panels of the frieze of black marble, the plinth below the pedestal has an ogée moulding and is in gray marble.

Note 1308. See L. Choruet. Philibert De L'Orme à S. Denis. *Revue de l'Art Français*. 1891.

It would be interesting to know, whether De L'Orme had any knowledge of the two designs in the style of a triumphal arch, that Agostino Busti (il Bambaja) had made for the monument of Gaston de Foix. ¹³⁰⁹ That in the Louvre and the other in the possession of the duke d'Anmale may well have been sent to obtain the opinion of the king, and may have been preserved in his collection.

Note 1309. See what was said in reference to the Tomb of Louis XII. Art. 859.

874. Lacking Portions of the Monument.

It appears that not all intended ornamental figure sculptures were executed. It is difficult to assume, that on the projecting column there should not follow above its entablature a crowning motive, such as a small angel or candelabra. Hence it may occur, that at present for a monument of this kind in the interior of a church, the purely architectural plays too great a part in proportion to the sculpture. In spite of the motive of the triumphal arch, it has more the effect of a massive city gate. On the monuments of Louis XII

and of Henry II, the proportions of architecture and sculpture must be more correct. But this remark must not lessen the excellence of the treatment of the architecture.

A few days after writing this, we found in connection with the study of documents relating to the Tomb of Henry II an entirely unexpected justification of our feeling, that the monument did not produce the impression of a composition carried entirely to completion.

In the inventory of the superintendent Mederic de Donon in 1572 are found enumerated:-- "sixteen little children of marble, that should serve for the Tomb of the late king Francis I"; eight were by Germain Pilon and eight by Ponce Jacquio, three of which were taken by Jean Picart for the monument of the heart of Henry II in the Celestins.¹³¹⁰ The number and size correspond exactly to the existing needs of ornaments above the Ionic columns. Palustre has read this statement differently, and desires to doubt the correctness of the inventory of the royal superintendent De Donon. He could only believe in eight children by Germain Pilon, but further identifies them with "eight figures of fortune in the round in white marble," that De L'Orme likewise ordered of Germain Pilon for the Tomb of Francis I. He would again recognize the latter in eight caryatids in relief (very low relief) on the vault of the middle archway.¹³¹¹ L. Dimier has indeed justly emphasized the error of this last identification,¹³¹² from which he concludes, that the monument of Francis I has nothing to show from G. Pilon.

Note 1310. Bodeliële, A. de. *La Sepulture des Valois in M Memoires de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris*. Vol. 3. Year 1877. p. 251.

Note 1311. See Palustre, L. Germain Pilon in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. 3rd period. Vol 11 (1894). p. 8-16.

Note 1312. See *Chronique des Arts*. p. 220. Paris. 1899.

The following statements in the Study of A. de Boisliële
1313 nevertheless prove the accuracy of the inventory of the royal superintendent, and thereby of the original number of 16 little figures.

Note 1313. Bodeliële. p. 257-258.

On Nov. 10, 1580, some one asserts, that "after the decease

of the late master Jean Bullant, who was contractor for the construction of the said tomb, he say one named Pillon cause to be brought in a house called La Hache in the said S. Denis, nine little people of white marble, that were placed in a chapel of the great Church of the said S. Denis."

On Jan. 13, 1581, Charles Bullant among others was interrogated before a court concerning the "nine little people or 1 plump little children of marble, two and one-half ft. high, carried away with the connivance of Donon for Marshal De Retz."

Before the court Mederic de Donon testified on Jan. 15, 1581, concerning - - "the whole of the number of 13 little children of white marble, of which the king had made a gift to the said lord marshal." Thus again 16 less three. The reason for not using them we find in the letter of Henry III on Mar. 22, 1579, to Marshal De Retz, in which he states the gift; it runs:-- "Some children of marble, that had been made formerly", thinking to use them for the tomb of the late king Francis, our grandfather, which remained useless and of no service, on account of the change of the design by the late Abbe of S. Martin".

Thus it occurred in consequence of the completion of the tomb under the superintendence of Primaticcio; that the 16 little crowning figures (and perhaps four candelabras or similar crowning ornaments) were omitted. Whether core was lost thereby for the architecture, than was perhaps secured for the effect of the five kneeling figures, we cannot decide here.

3. The Mausoleum called "Sepulture des Valois and the Tomb of Henry II.

a. The general Composition of the Mausoleum.

375. Original Purpose.

We now pass to the last of these royal tombs, that of Henry II and of Catherine de Medici. It is evident, that in comparison to the monuments of Louis XII, and especially that of Francis I, that the merely small dimensions of the same in its present form explain thereby, that this forms only a portion of the original whole, and that by its location in the middle of the grand "Sepulture or Chapel des Valois", it formed therewith an inseparable whole, as may be seen in our Fig. 213. Palustre also completely recognizes this. ¹³¹⁴

Note 1314. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. 3rd Series. Vol. 11. p. 280.

Courajod certainly hit the nail on the head, when he wrote of Catherine de Medici:-- "She dreamed of possessing at S. Denis a new San Lorenzo".¹³¹⁵ This wish of the Florentine lady is only too perceptible. Bramaticcio prepared a design for the Italian queen of France, that by its genius certainly cast into the shade the architecture of the two Medici Chapels of Florence. This creation is architecturally of such importance, the question of its authorship has been so much obscured, and the origin of the monument is so instructive for the understanding of the state of the development at that time of French architecture and decoration, that we must go more fully into these various points, and throw full light thereon.

Note 1315. See Courajod, L. *Deux epaves de la Chapelle funeraire des Valois etc.* in *memoires de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaires de France*. Vol. 38. p. 22 of separate reprint. Paris. 1878.

The arrangement of the great circular Tomb-Chapel, also called Notre Dame-la-Rotonde, was already described in the Section on domed buildings. (See Art. 747 et seq.). The question of the authorship of the architecture must however be reserved here, since it can only be properly treated in connection with the Tomb.

b. Tomb proper of Henry II and of Catherine de Medici.

376. The architectural Composition.

The composition of the tomb itself is evident from Fig. 213.¹³¹⁶

After the removal of the tomb-chapel, the monument was placed in the Abbey Church. It was torn down in the time of the revolution, and with the others was again restored under Napoleon III.

Note 1316. After an old engraving by Gissort in the *Colco-graphie des Louvre* in Paris.

The sepulchral chamber is shaped less like a sarcophagus than a shrine, has at each end a doorway, and is entirely open with columns at the sides.

The proportions of this order are charming. A substructure subdivided twice in its height would have had a better effect

than the mere pedestal.

The columns are of gray marble. It is red in the panels on the pedestal. The standing figures at the angles and the kneeling figures of the king and queen are of bronze and very beautiful. Yet more ideally graceful are the reliefs at the middle of the four sides of the substructure, in which is combined in a charming manner the style of Jean Goujon with that of Bandinelli, more rarely with that of Michelangelo, indeed often without mannerism. The mouldings are animated and mostly good. The architraves and caps of the doorways permit the study of the works of Michelangelo in San Lorenzo to be plainly recognized. The finely serrate Corinthian capitals are stiff and without grace. The strongly returned entablatures seem to require a crowning termination. ¹³¹⁷

Note 1317. The monument was restored under Napoleon III by Viollet-le-Duc. Some parts are lacking, the angle figures have received pedestals set diagonally etc. The prayer desks have disappeared, and the unskilfully restored statues at the angles have lost a portion of their attributes. The 12 masks etc. are damaged. (Boisselier. p. 292).

377. The Statues.

The commenced reclining nude figure of the queen, which Jerome della Robbia had begun in marble, was identified by Courajod ¹³¹⁸ in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. "It is in a grand style", he writes of it. The existing nude corpses of the king and queen were both by G. Pillon, and of great artistic beauty. Perhaps however there is lacking to them something of the sacred solemnity of death. This is particularly true of the figure of the then still living Catherine. Palustre must be right, when he writes:-- "With an art slightly sensual, he represents a woman not yet dead, but sleeping. The left thigh is slightly raised as in a dream, which destroys the symmetry of the feet viewed from the front. The hands lie in different directions and are separated by a considerable distance, and as for the head, it is half veiled and entirely surrounded by carefully arranged curls; it does not rise from the shroud, but reposes luxuriantly on a rich cushion. ¹³¹⁹ The most striking portion of this figure seems to have entirely disappeared. If I do not err, the artist has

given to the hands of Catherine de Medici, even to very slight variations and the entire pose, those of the Venus de Medici! Who had this idea indeed, Primaticcio or G. Pillon, or even Catherine herself. It is difficult to say. Perhaps something may result from the following.

Note 1319. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. 3rd Series. Vol. 11. p. 290.

Since on the tomb for the heart of Henry II, Primaticcio designed the group of the three graces laid out by Germain Pillon ¹³²⁰ (now in the Louvre), -- Palustre is of opinion, that the choice of this master came from the queen herself-- then an inspiration for this figure proceeding from the Venus de Medici must not be surprising.

Note 1320. Palustre thinks of the group of Siena and writes of Pillon: -- "What did he know of the group of Siena? Evidently very little." He also forgets here the supervision and designing by Primaticcio. One of Marc Antonio's engraved compositions of Raphael is furthermore a nearer model for these three figures of Primaticcio and Pillon, than is the group of Siena.

When did these figures originate? Courajod believes, that the note from 1583 given by Boislisle refers to the masks for these two nude figures, while Boislisle and perhaps justly, refers it not to the reclining corpses, but to two reclining figures in state apparel. ¹³²¹ Likewise the two beautiful bronze statues kneeling above were finally executed by Pillon and were cast by Benoit Boucher.

Note 1321. Boislisle, A. de. p. 272-273.

Palustre ¹³²² takes the passage in the *Comptes des Batiments du Roi*; "Total of the expenses of the tomb of the late king Henry - - - 8,033 livres and 18 sous" as proof, that in 1570 the monument proper with its statues was complete. Thus this occurred entirely under the supervision of Primaticcio.

Note 1322. See the same. Note 1320. p. 291.

878. The Part taken by Primaticcio in the Execution.

Primaticcio only made and furnished the design for the external figures, as he did for the three graces of G. Pillon, or did he here leave the initiative in design for the reclining and the praying figures to the three sculptors Domenico

Fiorentino, Girolamo della Robbia and Germain Pillon, after a general statement of what was desired, satisfying himself with improving their models, until these fitted into his general harmony, and corresponded to his views? Both procedures might be contemporary and alternately employed. The difference in the character of the Catherine of Pillon and that begun by della Robbia permits the conclusions, that when in the course of the study a form was found, that better pleased Catherine or Primaticcio, this was adopted.

Likewise the disquiet of the folds running in all directions of G. Pillon's statue of the Madonna in the Church de la Couture in Le Mans permits the assumption of a purifying influence of Primaticcio, indeed since the former stucco-worker Primaticcio might very well have modeled the two naked figures himself. There is in them an ideal simplicity and harmony, a fluidity of the general lines, that shows no vestige of the so frequently puerile northern realism.

If one compares the beautiful folds on the praying figure of the king in their grand Italian simplicity with the numerous smaller, unquiet folds, as if accidentally produced, on the reclining figure of Henry II in state garments, which forms no beautifully graduated entire group, then one recognizes, that the latter form is more realistic and French than the former. Likewise there is much more poetry and dignified artistic simplicity and grace in the kneeling figure of the queen, than in the Catherine represented in later years as stretched out in state apparel, with the unpleasing monotonous, yet unquiet folds of her garments.

In any case it must be regarded as certain and fixed, that on the Tomb of Henry II nothing occurred, that Primaticcio did not arrange, and therefore the work may pass for his own. On the other hand, it is not to be denied, that many French peculiarities are therein expressed. At any rate the tomb of Henry II came from an atelier of the school of Fontainebleau transferred to Paris, and it forms one of the most interesting results of Italo-French collaboration.

a. Phases of the Execution and the collaborating Artists.

The history of this grand monument falls into three phases, that result from the work of the artists, who took part in it

its erection and supervision.

The first is 1559-1566, i.e., to the death of Domenico Fiorentino and of Jerome della Robbia. The second to the death of Primaticcio in 1570. The third from 1570 to the erection of the tomb in the domed building in 1594.

First phase.

879. Composition of the Atelier.

For the execution of this great work, Primaticcio had grouped together a number of artists, who indeed belonged to the best of their time in France. He knew exactly what they were able to do, for most had already long worked under or beside him.

This Italo-French atelier forms a sort of continuation of the school of Fontainebleau, and it was especially important for the further development of the contemporary French art, namely that of Germain Pilon.

Domenico Fiorentino had made in 1565 the model for the kneeling model of the king, in order to be cast in bronze. Already between 1537 and 1540 ¹³²³ he had already worked under P primaticcio in Fontainebleau. Then he was indeed as master of the Tomb of Claude de Lorraine and Antoinette de Bourbon in Joinville (Art. 888), which passes for one of the most beautiful in France, with Jean Goujon, the most important living sculptor of this country.

Note 1323. See Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi. Vol. 1. p. 136, 192; Vol. 2, p. 120.

To the Florentine sculptor Jerome della Robbia was intrusted the execution of the reclining marble figure of the queen. ¹³²⁴ Germain Pilon had undertaken to make the reclining figure of the king, ¹³²⁵ also had two of the great bronze figures at the angles and some reliefs and masks.

Note 1324. See Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi. Vol. 2. p. 120; Vol. 1. p. 112, 117, 138, 213; Vol. 2, p. 105. One finds him already in 1537 employed as enameiler and Florentine sculptor in Fontainebleau, but especially also as such and with Gratien François as architect on Chateau Madrid, where he had the title of sculptor of the king, and in 1563 was designated there as master mason and engineer.

Note 1325. See the same. Vol. 2. p. 119, 128.

Germain Pillon in 1560 was but 25 years old. His first certain work consisted on the eight little cupids, that were ordered from him by De L(Orme for the Tomb of Francis I, probably about 1548, since they were first completed under Primaticcio. But we saw (art. 374), that in consequence of new decisions, they were not used. Pillon must have pleased the new superintendent, for we see him working for him at the same time in the garden hall at Fontainebleau, on the Tomb of Henry II, and on that for his heart in the Celestins, where he executed the three graces in marble after Primaticcio's design.

Ponce Jacquo or Jacquiau, whom Dimier ¹³²⁶ identifies with the Florentine Ponzio, as it seems to me rightly, made the two other bronze figures, also marble works, and likewise two models for the capitals, one of clay and the other of stone (1565), and in 1565 he must have made an important model in clay or gypsum "representing part of the tomb of the body of the late king Henry," the last, since he received for it the great sum of 450 livres. ¹³²⁷ Jacquiau may well have been a contemporary of the young Pillon, since his first work also consisted of eight cupids, like those of Pillon on the tomb of Francis I. As Ponzio he had worked on the grotto at Meudon, according to Vasari.

Note 1326. Dimier, L. *Les Impostures de Lenoir* in *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*. p. 119. Paris. 1900.

Note 1327. *Les Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*. Vol. 2. p. 107. Boissière, A. de. p. 247, makes the following statement thereon from the papers of Nicolai used by him.

"The first name presenting itself in 1562 is that of the "sculptor and image-maker" Ponce Jacquo, the ancient collaborator of Germain Pillon for the tomb of Francis I; he designed the mausoleum, or at least prepared at the order of the Abbe of S. Martin, "models of clay or plaster representing part of the tomb of Henry II." In the following account (i.e. of 1563), Jacquo is found again making "among other works of his art" two capitals of columns, two bronze figures " etc.

Among the masters then employed on the Tomb under Primaticcio, we further saw two already working in 1536 at Fontainebleau, Laurens Regnauldin and Louis Lersambert, each then rece-

receiving 15 livres salary monthly, as Primaticcio had 25 livres. ¹³²⁸ Also Pierre Pontemps, the chief sculptor of the tomb of Francis I, worked after 1536 under him, ¹³²⁹ like the two others, at 20 livres monthly.

Note 1328. The same. Vol. 1. p. 98.

Note 1329. The same. Vol. 1. p. 101.

Laurens Reynauldin made in 1565 and 1566 wax models for bronze reliefs about the tomb and also such in marble. ¹³³⁰

Note 1330. The same. Vol. 2. p. 119, 128.

Fremyn Roussell made in 1565 and 1566 reliefs (a Charity) and a mask of red marble. ¹³³¹

Note 1331. The same. Vol. 2. p. 119, 128.

The sculptor Gualtier executed in 1565 the ornamentation and Benoit Boucher cast in bronze the four angle figures modeled by Pillon and Jacquio.

The most of these artists are furthermore found to be employed at the same time on other works under the direction of Primaticcio. ¹³³²

Note 1332. Bodeliade, A. de. p. 248.

Second Phase.

830. Its Character.

The second phase is a result of the deaths of the two Italian sculptors, and of the greater part then entrusted to Germain Pillon, then 30 years old. Very few statements relating to this phase are preserved. These changes did not affect the general appearance of the composition, but only the details and the character of the two reclining and the two praying figures.

The death of Domenico in 1565 and of della Robbia in 1566 had as a result, that as Palustre believes, Germain Pillon replaced the figures not completed by them by others of Pillon's own design. The influence of Primaticcio on them was already described. Palustre further emphasizes the innovation on this tomb in assigning to bronze such an important part. Yet this also entirely agrees with the well known talents of Primaticcio, on account of which he was originally called to France, and with his known activity in casting bronze figures after the antique, whose forms he had brought with him from Rome.

It was indeed perfectly correct, that Primaticcio did not require from Pilon the completion of the figures begun by della Robbia and Domenico Fiorentino, but sought with him for new ones, that would correspond to the talents of Pilon.

Boislisle has proved, that two years earlier than is found in the Comptes des Batiments du Roi, Lerambert was Primaticcio's foreman. 1333

Note 1333. In 1568, Lerambert the elder, without leaving the chisel of the stonecutter, became foreman, always under the supervision of Primaticcio, who made an inventory of the stock of marble the succeeding year, according to the inventory of Mar. 6, 1568. K. 102. No. 3¹³ of Archives Nationales.

We have already seen, that the tomb proper was completed in 1570 during the lifetime of Primaticcio.

According to the report of Nov. 10, 1580, it seems yet to have not been erected. The parts were placed in a storehouse, "where were deposited the effigies, both reclining and upright, of the late king and his companions - - and where the said effigies being there, both of marble and of bronze," had to suffer much from the rain. 1334

Note 1334. See Boislisle, A. de. p. 256.

Third Phase.

881. Its Character.

In the third phase, that commences with the death of Primaticcio, one is almost exclusively concerned with the building of the domed structure of the Chapel of the Valois or Notre Dame-la-Ronde, and further with the two state figures of the king and queen, that may well be later additions.

Contemporary with the frightful days of the night of St. Bartholemew, the architectural activity must have entirely ceased for a series of years, and the atelier have been closed. An inventory of the executed pieces was taken. 1335

Note 1335. Toward the last days of Aug. in 1572, the atelier was closed, after the regular procedure of an inventory of the materials. On Sept. 15, the superintendent Mederic de Donon made the verification of all the marbles, both at Paris and at St. Denis. Boislisle. p. 248.

I cannot explain how this entire interruption mentioned by Boislisle is to be harmonized with the fact, that in the index

alone remaining of the last volume of the Comptes des Batiments du Roi, ¹³³⁶ works are also mentioned in the years 1573, 1574 and 1575. Perhaps these merely related to payments for works executed before 1572.

Note 1336. See Comptes des Batiments du Roi. Vol. 1. p. 2 21-34. Also see p. 42.

After the death of J. Bullant on Oct. 10, 1578, the superintendence of the tomb was entrusted to the first president of the chambre des Comptes de Paris, Antoine Nicolay, since there was nothing to build. However, as already stated, Baptiste Du Cerceau became the successor of Bullant on this building on Oct. 17, 1578. ¹³³⁷ On the other hand, the exact time at which he apparently gave up this office is not clearly apparent. ¹³³⁸

Note 1337. See the same. Vol. 1. p. 38. This must indeed prove the date of 1581 given by Boislisle. p. 207.

Note 1338. See Art. 207 and Note 428.

About 1582 work must have been more active; for in the index of the lost volumes is found the title, "Construction of the Tomb of the late king in the Church of S. Denis; estimate and contract for works in masonry and stonecutting. -- Purchase of marbles. -- Wages and condition." New estimates of cost were prepared, building contracts made and marble purchased, and for 1583 masonry, sculptures and employees are mentioned. ¹³³⁹ About 1583 Germain Pillion commenced in white marble the two figures with state garments reclining on bronze plates, which were to be placed opposite the tomb. Boislisle says of him; ¹³⁴⁰ "he alone remained of that pleiad of artists called by Catherine to decorate the tomb for her husband. He reigned as master, and he alone regulated the last details of the mausoleum with his associate from the Palace, the first president Nicolay".

Note 1339. See Comptes des Batiments du Roi. Vol. 1. p. 39.

Note 1340. See the same. p. 273.

Boislisle says that the works commenced in 1586 to suffer on account of the departure of Baptiste Du Cerceau, which was a result of his religious convictions. Pierre des Estoile ¹³⁴¹ places this in the last days of the year 1585. But on April 21, 1586, Boislisle states, he assisted in measuring

the work done during the last preceding year. ¹³⁴² The works were interrupted briefly in 1587, whether by reason of the departure of Du Cerceau, or on account of the death of Nicolay, but commenced again on Oct. 23, 1587, to stand entirely still after the departure of the queen mother and the return of Henry III after the "day of the barricades".

Note 1341. *Memoire-Journeux*. Vol. 2. p. 220.

Note 1342. *Boislisle*. p. 274, 279.

G. Pillon died on Feb. 3, 1590. The erection of the mausoleum followed by the architects of Henry IV after his entry into Paris in 1594. ¹³⁴³ Under the regency in 1719 on account of decay, its removal was decided after long consideration, and this was commenced on Aug. 21.

Note 1343. "The works of the tomb remained unfinished in the state in which the widow of Henry II had left them in quitting Paris - - - scarcely did the royal architects occupy themselves (after 1594) in making some indispensable repairs to the unfinished portions of the Church, or in definitely installing the mausoleum etc." *Boislisle*, p. 282, 289.

The foundations were not executed with sufficient care previously by Bullant or his predecessors, or as a result of lack of care during the removal of the building were undermined. Already in 1597 a stonecutter was paid 6 crowns and 50 sous for "supports for the tombs of S. Denis in France and restoring a foundation."

Only in 1609 and 1610 came the sarcophaguses of Henry III and of Catherine from Blois to S. Denis, indeed through the care of Diana, duchess of Angouleme, legitimated of France and natural daughter of Henry II. (*Boislisle*. p. 280).

b. Proof of the Authorship of Primaticcio.

As often as we had to speak of the Chapel or Mausoleum of the Valois, we have mentioned the domed structure as an assumed work of Primaticcio; further we have proceeded on the conviction, that the Chapel and the Tomb were designed and developed at the same time as a whole and by the same artist. The moment has now come to furnish the proof of this, so much the more since opposing views have appeared, and Palustre ¹³⁴⁴ in his latest work, interrupted by death, has attempted to establish Pierre Pescot as the father of the entire work.

Note 1344. See Palustre's three articles (the last remained unwritten as a result of his death) on Germain Pillon in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. 3rd period. Vol. 11. p. 5-24, 273-298; Vol. 12. p. 282-289. Year 1894.

First of all are to be recalled some facts, which prove that Primaticcio was actually the architect and passed for such, so that no foreign assistance was required in the projecting of this composition.

882. Title of Primaticcio.

Already in the patent of Francis II of July 17, 1559, whereby Primaticcio was appointed superintendent of the royal buildings, "to have the charge and superintendence of all and each of the buildings - - - that we could build and design anew hereafter in this(realm), the entirety of the construction of the Tomb of the said our late lord and father - - 1345" is, as may be seen, the erection of this tomb decided on and especially mentioned, from which appears the importance that was attributed to this undertaking. When De L'Orme received from Henry II the superintending, the Tomb to be erected for Francis I was not particularly mentioned.

Note 1345. See *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*. Vol.1.p.401.

But passages are also found in which Primaticcio bears the definite title of architect of the king. In the accounts of 1563 is a charge for 11 months' salary of Primaticcio at 100 livres monthly, ¹³⁴⁶ "because of his position as superintendent and architect of the king. Further, in the year 1566 is found in the same accounts, on occasion of a series of repairs of the Chateaus at Fontainebleau and at St. Germain-en-Laye, which were paid on the order of Primaticcio, who was designated as architect in ordinary of the king. ¹³⁴⁷

Note 1346. *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*. Vol.2.p.108.

Note 1347. The same. Vol.2.p.129.

In his patent of appointment as superintendent occurs the following striking and pertinent expression, "his great experience in the art of architecture, of which on different buildings and on several occasions has made good proof." Also assumed that one can only explain the expression as a proof of his critical intelligence in the decision of architectural questions, which completely sufficed for the actual supervis-

supervisory mission of superintendence, but did not empower him for the preparation of creative architectural designs. -- Thus it is impossible to decide for the latter, if we see him designated as architect of the king and as architect in ordinary of the king.

Note 1348. See Art. 162.

In spite of all favor of Catherine, it would be impossible to confer on him such a title as De L'Orme bore, unless he were competent to act as architect.

383. Models and Drawings of Primaticcio.

But cases are also further found, where it is particularly mentioned, that during his office of superintendency he prepared the drawings and designs. From the accounts of the royal buildings of 1563 it is most completely certain, that Primaticcio furnished the drawings and models of the tomb for the heart of Henry II in Orleans. Jean le Roux called Picart made the models of the three figures, and further the columns "enriched according to the design furnished for them - - - the whole according to the drawing and model, that was given by the said Abbe of S. Martin (Primaticcio):¹³⁴⁹ Picart was sometimes associated with Domenico Fiorentino; we here see him working together with Jerome della Robbia; he made two marble children for the sides of the pedestal.

Note 1349. Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi. Vol. 2. p. 107.

Likewise may be seen, how about 1545 in Fontainebleau Primaticcio made the drawings in full size for the pedestal, "columns of grit in the fashion of the Baths in the antique mode" - - - for the monumental fountain of the court of the fountain.¹³⁵⁰

Note 1350. See the same. Vol. 1. p. 122.

It is also conceivable for but a moment, that since Primaticcio then attained the position of a superintendent and royal architect, which was particularly difficult for a foreigner, and in which he must constantly desire to make good his appointment thereto, that he should "amuse" himself by furnishing sketches and working drawings for such a relatively unimportant work as the monument of the heart of Henry II in Provence, but the creation of the grandest monument, that was ever conceived for a king of France, that he should leave this

to another architect. Whoever had but a drop of artist's blood and merely a spark of artistic soul in himself would feel, that the idea of such an absurdity would refute itself. From all this it follows that Primaticcio, and he alone, whom we have proved to be the designer and architect of the great Chateau of the queen at Monceaux-en-Brie (Art. 555) was likewise and must be the creator of the mausoleum.

The artistic mission in the position of Primaticcio as superintendent was further such, that we see him on the Tomb of Francis I, which De L'Orme had designed and nearly completed, we see him make artistic alterations during the lifetime of the latter, such as the suppression of the 16 marble cupids made by Germain Pillon and Ponce Jacquio. 1351

Note 1351. See Art. 874.

884. Necessity of a unified Design.

Here must still be considered another fact. Could this occur on a tomb like that of Henry II, on which at least four important artists and a number of others had undertaken to execute different parts, without that the unified design of a single master had exactly determined all these parts, and without this creative spirit having carefully watched the execution of the single model and of the whole?

And who should then be this creator under the existing circumstances other than Primaticcio? Certainly not De L'Orme, on whose tomb of Francis I changes were made by Primaticcio, even when its completion was also expressly entrusted to him.

And was not Primaticcio as artist for an undertaking like this, as if expressly created? He, who after 1533 was in Fontainebleau, at the time when there existed no French school of interior decoration in the new style, independently from Rosso, was the designing and executing master ¹³⁵² of the stucco figures and paintings of the chamber of the queen and of those above it. He needed not to have made by any one, not even by Lescot or Jean Goujon, the designs for a work like the tomb of Henry II, on which the decoration, the architecture and sculpture, marble and bronze should harmonize together.

Note 1352. "Contractor and designer of the solid works of stucco and painting". *Comptes des Batiments du Roi*. Vol. 1. p. 94, 95, 98-108.

It is indeed sufficient to refer to these facts, to finally decide the authorship of Primaticcio for the Tomb of Henry II and of Catherine de Medici.

And since the domed structure and the tomb form an inseparable whole, Primaticcio must also be recognized now as the architectural creator of the latter. There is only required as explanation and statement a reference to the notice, that we have devoted to his work as architect. ¹³⁵³

Note 1353. See Arts. 165-168.

885. French Opinions.

The more recent and more important French investigators as far as Palustre also reach the opinion, that Primaticcio could alone have been the architectural designer of the Mausoleum of the Valois.

Berty writes thereon:-- This mausoleum was first projected after the death of Henry II, and was begun in 1560, thus falling just in the time of De L'Orme's being out of favor. ¹³⁵⁴ Berty is therefore right in conjecturing, that the statement of Felibien (*Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denis*, p. 565), that De L'Orme was the originator of the building, is based on confounding it with the Tomb of Francis I. His name nowhere occurs in the accounts. These give necessarily the names of P Primaticcio, Jean Bullant, and after 1582, Baptiste Du Cerceau as architects in charge.

Note 1354. Berty, A. *Les Grandes Architectes* etc. p.29.

Likewise destailleur spoke to me frequently of the mausoleum of the Valois as a preation of Primaticcio and not of De L'Orme.

A. de Boislisle, who has heretofore published by far the best and most detailed study and most valuable statements relating to this monument, reviews the different possibilities and is unable to regard any one other than Primaticcio as the creator of the structure. He also stated to me in 1895, that this was still his opinion. ¹³⁵⁵ "The attribution of Ph. De L'Orme," writes Boislisle, "was long accepted, but it presents slight probability, and nothing seems to confirm it in the biography of Ph. De L'Orme, fully known today".

Note 1355. Boislisle, A. de. *La Sepulture des Valois in M Memoires de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris*. Vol. 3. 1877. p. 251. Boislisle derives this statement from the two volumes

of contracts in the Archives Nationales in Paris. K. 102. No. 2 and No. 3. Which the two first presidents of the Chambre des Comptes had collected, to whom successively the supervision of the building was entrusted after the death of Bullant. Boisliste has given a summary of this work in the *Revue des Documents Historiques*. p. 31-34. Paris. 1878.

We note on this as follows.

When one remembers in what words De L'Orme expresses his useless wish to serve the queen in the covering of her ball court in the Chateau at Monceaux-en-Brie, and to earn her favor, and if one further remembers how he later speaks of the manner, in which only gradually follows his artistic views in the building of the Tuileries, he will readily admit, that De L'Orme would have emphasized it with real pleasure, if he had had anything to do with the Mausoleum of the Valois.

886. Views of Palustre.

All these facts were at Palustre's command, and it is to be assumed that he knew them. Yet he has attempted to establish Pierre Escot as author of the design of the Tomb as well as of the domed structure, since he justly recognizes both as belonging together.

With animation he first emphasizes the error, which assumes De L'Orme's authorship; ¹³⁵⁶ then he strengthens himself in the belief, that Primaticcio possessed no architectural training, on his new theory, that receives not the slightest justification by any statements.

Note 1356. "Is it now necessary to recall the error of those, who desire to attribute this monument to Philibert De L'Orme? Besides that the style employed is not that of the great architect, can one imagine Primaticcio demanding such from his predecessor as superintendent of the royal buildings to perform such an act of self-abnegation as to consent to work under his orders? And if, although impossible, the presumptuous Italian had risked that, there is only need for having become slightly acquainted with that proud genius, who wrote the First Book of Architecture, to know what reply he would have made on the instant. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. 3rd period. Vol. 11. p. 260. (1894).

A passage in Boisliste ¹³⁵⁷ is not entirely clear, or a

fact stated by him does not appear quite correctly, at least in part, to have given occasion for the error of Palustre. The office of superintendent was not in 1560 divided between Lescot and Primaticcio, as might be thought from his words. Already during the time of the superintendency of De L'Orme and not first after that of Primaticcio, was Lescot entirely independent of both these superintendents, as expressly stated in all their patents of appointment. Lescot was exclusively superintendent of the erection of the Louvre, and it was already about two years, before De L'Orme was entrusted with his own appointment, and Lescot is the first example of an architect to whom the confidence was shown, to entrust him with the superintendence connected with the executive responsibility. 1358

Note 1357. Boisjelle on page 248 writes:-- "In 1570, Primaticcio died and the superintendency passed entirely into the hands of Pierre Lescot, who had shared with him since 1560 the numerous functions of that charge; but the great architect was too much absorbed by the Louvre to retain all that burden, and he transferred the charge of the works at S. Denis to Jean Bullant, as proved by that unpublished passage, drawn from a formulary of the secretary of state. Bibliotheque Nationale. Mss. from 5085. fol. 135.Verso.

Note 1358. We have proved this in a study of the organization of building in France, and will publish this on another occasion.

When in 1559 Primaticcio was superintendent in place of De L'Orme, he held exactly the same authority as the latter. He stood in the same relation to Lescot as De L'Orme had, having no authority at all over Lescot. Primaticcio had thus shown him no complaisance ¹³⁵⁹ in order to win his favor, as Palustre represents erroneously. ¹³⁶⁰

Note 1359. "Pierre Lescot on the contrary," Palustre writes:-- "could without difficulty accept the offers of the new favorite, for no coldness resulted from his former position, and besides, do we not know that Primaticcio, in order to attach him to himself entirely, and to strongly supplement his own time, did not hesitate to divide with him the functions of his charge?" Goz. d. B. A. 1864. Apr. 1. p. 281.

Note 1360. Whether after the death of Primaticcio, the superintendency was retained, to the same extent as held by De L'Orme and by him, is not entirely clear. Boisjelle seems to believe, that it was then entirely transferred to Lescot, only that the Mausoleum of the Valois was detached and conferred on J. Bullant; this does not appear certain to me. The superintendency in its nature was merely an executive office, that looked after the interests of the employer and transmitted his wishes to the architect, and there was one of these for each work. Lescot, De L'Orme and Primaticcio were further the first architects, to whom was entrusted such an office over several buildings at the same time. That of Lescot was restricted to the construction of the Louvre alone and indeed so continued. Only with Baptiste Du Cerceau does this office appear to have returned to its more extended form.

Even if unwillingly, one must refer to the haste with Palustre, from his mere conjecture, thought himself entitled to deduce the most definite conclusions and to regard these as entirely proved, although many errors thus occurred.¹³⁶¹ Elsewhere (Art. 745) was reference made, that the affinity in style, that Palustre sees with Lescot in this case, has not the slightest value.

Note 1361. "But see what definitely decides the question. The external treatment, as we know it from the engravings of Alexandre Leblond, is copied from that of the Louvre. There is the same arrangement of a projection composed of fluted columns, between which on the ground floor is a round-arched niche - - . Not only did this architect draw the plans, but it was he again, who during the first ten years superintended the work. Jeon Bullant only replaced him after 1570. (See the same. p. 282).

The theory of Palustre in favor of the authorship of Pierre Lescot is then entirely disproved.

387. Further Evidence of the Authorship of Primaticcio.

Since this concerns a building, that stood alone in the beauty of its composition in Italy and France, it is indicated that other points should also be mentioned, which contribute to clear up the authorship.

The first proof results from the position of an artist, who

had already worked in 1536 in Fontainebleau under Primaticcio, and who was now his foreman.

From the year 1570, this Louis Lerambert the elder, is found designated as "foreman of the said mausoleum under the said commissary (Primaticcio)" with a monthly salary of 20 livres, 16 sous and 8 deniers. There follow on the same list six others designated as stonecutters with 15 livres monthly wage.

This statement does not mean, that Lerambert was the designing master on this building under the merely executive superintendence of the said commissary, i.e., Primaticcio, but that he was foreman under the direction of Primaticcio, the "architect." Had Lerambert been the designer and superintendent of the building, then for a structure of such importance he would not have received only 5 livres more salary than the class of stonecutters, but at least 50 livres monthly, like the case of Rosso as master of the decorations in Fontainebleau. 1362

Note 1362. See among others. Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi. Vol. 1. p. 98.

Since it then follows from the small salary, that Lerambert was not a master in designing, but merely a foreman, then in this case it is self-evident, that the expression "under the said commissary", that this was Primaticcio, the architect under whom was the foreman Lerambert.

A second source of proofs consists in an important document published for the first time by Boislisle, the draft for the royal patent of appointment of Bullant as architect of the mausoleum. The names of Primaticcio and of Pierre Lescot are indicated therein only by the word "tel" (a certain). 1363

Note 1363. The original is in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Mss. Fr. 5085. Fol. 135. Verso. Boislisle gives it on p. 248, and we reprint it, omitting only the conclusion.

Charles, etc. To our friends and all our accountants at Paris, greeting and esteem. Since by our letters patent of the first day of October, 1570, after the death of "Tel", etc. s superintendent of our buildings, we had given the charge and intendency to "Tel", to arrange all the expense of the same, even of the mausoleum of the late king Henry, our very honored lord and father, and inasmuch as for the said mausoleum

was required great care, labor and vigilance, both in architecture and sculpture, for the excellence of the work, and that the said "Tel", an account of the great obstacles and the affairs by which he is occupied for us each day, having advised us to relieve and separate the said charge and oversight of the mausoleum, and to give it to Jean Bullant, to arrange all the expense, that it is proper to incur, both in design, prices, contracts, visitations, meaning, days and vacations, of workmen, all in the same form and manner as did the said "Tel".

From the wording may be deduced four important conclusions.

First result:-- from the words "that at this mausoleum are required great care, labor and vigilance, both in architecture and "sepulture" (thus for sculpture), for the excellence of the work, it follows that the office then already on account of the architecture, which is mentioned before the sculpture, demanded much care, labor and attention.

Second result:-- that the great impediments, that Lescot then had in the building of the Louvre, prevented him from taking the superintendence of the building, then would this have also earlier and until then hindered him from designing and overseeing the architectural part during the time of Primaticcio's superintendence.

Third Result:-- in case of domed structure of S. Marie-la-Rotonde was designed only after Primaticcio's death, it must have been by J. Bullant, which is now asserted by no one, but in no case was this by Pierre Lescot.

Fourth result:-- The sequence of the words designating the varied activities of Bullant are:-- "design, price, contracts, visitations, measurement" etc. But now in this case from the meaning given by the other words, the word "design" can only have the signification of designs and drawings. But since it further states, that Bullant has to fulfil these purposes "entirely and in the same form and manner as did the said "Tel" (Primaticcio, then it definitely results therefrom, that Primaticcio also had to make the designs.

A final reason, that speaks for the authorship of Primaticcio as emphasized by us, is the close connection in the treatment of this circular building with those different and unex-

unexecuted designs of Bramante and Raphael for the apses and choir aisles of S. Peter's Church at Rome. (Arts. 50, 51).

This important relation has been noticed yet by no one, and could only be conjectured, before the comparison of the original designs for S. Peter, published by us, established it in the clearest manner. If also, as we saw, many other French architects had made acquaintance with certain of these designs, then in this case this fact is yet another ground for the authorship of Primaticcio, who as pupil of Giulio Romano, the pupil of Raphael and the heir of so many of his papers, had the possibility of seeing much, that was not accessible to others.

That must be sufficient; one sees from what side also the fixed elements for the solution of the problem are considered, then will one always be reduced to this, that Primaticcio alone must have been the architect and creator of the mausoleum of the Valois, both of the tomb as well as of the domed structure inseparable therefrom.

4. Other Types.

838. Tombs of Anne de Montmorency and of Claude de Lorraine.

The Mausoleum of Anne de Montmorency, which the Constable Madeleine de Savoy had ordered from Jean Bullant, consisted of two stories of sculptures, "reclining below and praying above". 1364

Note 1364. See *Memoires de Michel de Costelneu*. Vol. 2. p. 510, in Boislisle. p. 257.

It formerly stood in the Church at Ecouen and was of semicircular ground plan, ¹³⁶⁵ composed of radially set coupled Corinthian columns, that supported a hemisphere. ¹³⁶⁶

Note 1365. See Berty, A. *Les Grandes Architectes*. p. 168. Fragments of it are in the Ecole des Beaux Arts. in Paris.

Note 1366. L. Courajod gives after A. Lenoir a representation of this port in the *Memoires de la Societe Nationale d'Antiquaires de France*. Vol. 38. p. 6. In the *Archives de l'Art Francois, Documents*, Vol. 6, p. 316, 327, reference is made to a description of the Mausoleum in the *Mercury de France*. July. 1740. p. 154, 157.

Greatly to be lamented is the destruction (1792) of the Tomb

of Claude de Lorraine and of Antoinette de Bourbon at Joinville. The naxed bodies lay in a recess, that opened with a segmental arch, beside and before which four Ionic caryatids bore an entablature, on which the figures were repeated in thin clothing and kneeling. It passed for a masterwork, one of the most beautiful tombs of France, and was erected in S. Laurent by ~~doménico~~ Fiorentino ¹³⁶⁷ after a design of Primaticcio, who had associated with himself for it Jean Leroux, called Picart, as R. Koechlin, J. J. Marquet de Vasselot and L. Damien now believe. ¹³⁶⁸

Note 1367. See Arts. 658 and 278.

Note 1368. See Bonaffe, E. Le Mausole de Claude de Lorraine in Gazette des Beaux Arts. 2nd period. Vol. 30 (1884). p. 314-332, with the illustration in Nodier & Taylor. Champagne. Vol. 3.

Two of the caryatids are preserved in the mayor's building of Joinville. Bounaffe has illustrated one of them. Further there are four reliefs from this tomb in the Museum at Chaumont, and these were published by Alphonse Roserot in Gazette des Beaux Arts. 3rd period. Vol. 21. (1899). p. 205-214. Two other reliefs are in the Collection Peyre in Paris.

839. Other Examples.

In the Cathedral at Mans is found the tomb of a warrior and writer dying in 1544, Guillaume de Langey, formed as a wall niche between two beautiful hermes, whose entablature bears his heraldic shield, accompanied by lions and griffins. The deceased is supported by the helmet, with sword in the right hand and a book in the left, with books beneath himself and on his knees, appearing to rest in the greatest animation on his sarcophagus, richly adorned by battle scenes. It was erroneously attributed to Germain Pilon, who was only born in 1535.

In the Cathedral at Bordeaux are some tombs of the family of Noailles of about 1580. Finally may be seen in the Church at Berthancourt-les-Dames near Abbeville a tomb in the style of Henry II.

890. Monuments for Hearts.

Here belongs the mention of such monuments intended to receive the heart of a king or a great man.

That for the heart of Francis I in S. Denis consists of an urn decorated by small figures and ornaments, on a pedestal ornamented by medallions. All is expressed only in secular motives, mostly allegories of the arts, and among others, a slightly correct representation of the building of S. Peter's Church in Rome.

Under the control and after the drawing by Primaticcio, Germain Pilon executed for the heart of Henry II the group of the three graces of the Louvre, on whose heads rests the urn, formerly in the Church of the Celestins in Paris.

Other parts of the same were ordered from Domenico Fiorentino and Jean Picart. Likewise Primaticcio had made the monument for the heart of Francis II in Orleans. The column on which was preserved the heart of the Constable de Montmorency in the Celestins, was executed by Jean Bullant and his nephew Charles Bullant. 1369

Note 1369. Bodelle. p. 258.

Later Louis Metezau built in 1609 the tomb which was to receive the hearts of Henry IV and of Maria de Medici in the College de la Fleche. 1370

Note 1370. See the same. p. 284.

Some examples from a later period may also be mentioned.

891. Later Tombs.

The beautiful Tomb of Richelieu, placed detached in the right transept of the Church of the Sorbonne, was executed in 1694 by Girardon after the drawings of L. Brun.

The Tomb of Mazarin by Coysvox was formerly placed in a chapel of the College des Quatre Nations (Fig. 193), but is now in the Louvre. Allegorical figures are seated around the sarcophagus on which the cardinal kneels.

The tomb in the Church at Vallery, the Great Conde erected to his father Henry II of Bourbon, who died in 1686; it at the same time forms the enclosure of the ducal chapel.

Finally belongs to the very late tombs that of Lulli in the style of Meissonier, in the Church des Petits Peres (Notre Dame des Victoires) in Paris.

c. Ideal or Tombs of Christ.

1. Monuments at Solesmes.

892. Their particular Importance.

Here is the most suitable place to speak of two works of ideal architecture, which in reference to the Burial of Christ and that of the Madonna stand opposite each other within rich groups of statues at both ends of the transverse aisle of the Abbey Church of Solesmes near Sable. They are designated as the Sepulchre of Christ and the Chapel of the Virgin.

They must compose a unique existing entirety, that has the more striking effect, in that it is found in a little uninteresting Abbey Church of Maine, between Le Mans and Angers. Of the origin and the master of this work as good as nothing is known, except what may be derived from its style. The tombs or sculptures of Solesmes have therefore already been the subjects of many studies and of contrary interpretations, and finally a monograph of the Rev. Father M. de la Tremblaye, in which is also a model of conscientious research and loving and unbiased decision of all opinions. (Note 1371). Thanks to the excellent engravings and a thorough examination in the year 1900, we are in condition to refer to these remarkable works, and to more minutely indicate several points, than has yet been done.

1. The Sepulchre of the Christ.

393. Description of the French Participation in the Composition.

In the end of the right transept are combined the Burial and the Mt. of Calvary in a single unified composition, that represents the treatment of the wall and the decoration of an internal facade 17.72 ft. wide and 29.53 ft. high. As Dom G. Gueranger remarks, it is less a richly decorated tomb facade, which one has before himself, than the combination of the divine mysteries, that are appointed to console mankind in reference to death. (Fig. 213 ¹³⁷¹).

Note 1371. From Tremblaye, Rev. Father M. de la . Solesmes. Des sculptures de l'Eglise abbatiale. 1496-1553. Work published with the patronage of the Societe Historique et Archeologique du Maine. Solesmes. Imprimerie. Saint-Pierre. 1892. fol. Pl. 1^{re}.

In the lower half one looks into the tomb chamber as if through a broad arched portal. Four stepped oval arches form the ribs of the very broad archivolt, whose three coves are

ornamented by continuous foliage and a suspended arched frieze, the extrados having crockets. Before the jambs of this archivolt stand two soldiers as guards. Within the tomb is performed even the act of laying the body in the grave, in which seven figures participate, partly life size, standing behind and at both ends of the sarcophagus. The very noble and simply treated figure of the Saviour, extended in a linen cloth, is just being lowered into the sarcophagus.

An eighth figure, that of the very beautiful Magdalen, is alone represented on this side of the sarcophagus, and sits at its foot with folded hands, looking at the head of Christ.

This broad arch is flanked at the sides by the two bold projecting piers like pilasters. Their front surfaces have splendid relief panels of Italian composition and work, which belong to the very best of this kind. A high termination like an entablature crowns the lower division. Its entire mouldings and subdivision are still entirely Gothic. The entire frieze is decorated by a railing pattern of grouped fish bladders; on the architrave and on the lower half of the cornice are arranged free perforated Gothic scroll-like ornaments. By the strong accenting of this lower and also of the upper termination was required the equilibrium of the vertical and horizontal movement of the parts, so that the projections of the cornices should be perceptible, at least side.

On the lower half are already prepared the places for the three crosses, that stand before the upper half, beyond two projecting angle piers, and by a form like a console at the middle, resting on the arch.

Three angels stand as terminations of this projection, complete the lower composition and form the beginning of the upper one. The middle angel stands behind the vacant cross, which he embraces. The two others with the implements of the Passion stand before the crosses on which the two robbers are still suspended.

The wall decoration behind the crosses is treated as a high attic for the lower architecture, like the rear wall of the reredos of an altar. They might be also conceived as a decoration of a sculptured wall of rock, in which are formed two upper ideal tombs, beneath whose broad oval arches appear ki-

king David and Isaiah as if resurrected. With broad lettered labels in their hands, they look down and exhibit the words, by which the Spirit of God permitted them to predict this episode of the work of salvation.

From the external mouldings of these arches are developed open gables of ogee form. Further on their cross-flowers at the height of the two robbers, two angels hold the other instruments of the Passion. In this manner is the entire composition crowned and terminated by these four statues, and by the combination of heavenly and earthly things is again indicated a symbol of the great reconciliation between heaven and earth.

While the artistic equilibrium in the distribution of the composition brings these upper figures, appearing detached from the Burial, into connection with the two lower soldiers watching before the grave and outside it, are also the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to this world phenomenon are brought as triumphant proofs into relations with the representatives of earthly power. Thus arises a mighty contrast, that has an inspiring and strengthening effect on the observer.

394. The Italian Participation.

On the two Roman soldiers is at once recognized the composition and execution of Italians. They have distantly something of those on the lower portion of the portal of Palace Medici at Milan, now standing in the Museum Archaeologico there. Their costume and its ornamentation recalls likewise certain figures of soldiers on the silver altar reredos of the Baptistry at Florence in the Museum dell'Opera del Duomo. These ornaments give some starting points for an approximate determination of the native country of the artist.

The stiff palmatum at the middle of the breastplate refers to certain Florentine works by the followers of Desiderio and Giuliano da Majano. The arrangement of certain leaves likewise occurs in some rare examples of Florentine decoration, like the capital-consols in the refectory of the Badia at Fiesole. Thus we again have to do with an Italian, indeed from Florence or its immediate vicinity. In all France would no Frenchman be capable of adapting himself to these peculiarities of treatment.

With the same certainty must it be emphasized, that the two pilaster panels were composed and chiseled by an Italian. On the foot of the left candelabra is cut 1496. On the foot of the right candelabr. is "Charles VIII reigns". In France no other examples of just this kind of pilaster panels have occurred to me, and they are rare even in Italy. Their striking beauty is based first on the wonderfully bold elevation of the candelabra on the axis of the pilaster, which is at the same time clear, bold and very elegant, occupying the entire height of the axis of the pilaster. Then end in caps, below which two little angels are seated, and on which a phoenix stands in the midst of the flames. Further in the particularly beautiful way that the foliage develops in the shape of scrolls from the form of the candelabra, the movement of its lines accompanies and fills the ground of the pilaster panels. From certain portions of this foliage is it indeed possible, that these pilaster panels were by the master that executed the soldiers. Yet it is not entirely certain. The treatment of the palmations about the right candelabra indicates with certainty a master, whose training likewise fell in the time of the decoration of the refectory of the Badia at Fiesole, (probably by Giuliano da Majana about 1460). On the candelabra itself, on its garlands and ornaments is fine decoration and foliage. On the contrary it is bold on the scrolls of the ground and shows an inclination for a rounder treatment of plant motives, which exhibits greater naturalism, than is usual on the contemporary ornament of that time in Florence.

Rather would one here think of certain forms on the jamb of Ghiberti's east doorway on the Baptistery, of the foliage of the window jambs of Palace Pazzi (Quarateri), and of the great cloisters of S. Croce in Florence, while that of the other side recalls the somewhat rounder and bolder treatment of this plant ornament on the pilaster panels and capitals, that Sperandio modelled in 1479 in terra cotta for the doorway of the Church of Corpus Domini or La Santa in Bologna.

Taken as a whole, these pilasters with candelabra panels are much more connected with examples in upper Italy, such as may be found between Genoa and Venice, than with Florence. On S. Maria di Miracoli at Brescia is at the left from the m

middle part of the building a somewhat similar candelabra, even if with finer foliage, which likewise ends at the top with the phoenix in the fire. Hence besides the master from the vicinity of Florence, a second from north Italy must have been employed here. They appear to me as much more skilful than the two carvers, who worked on the tomb of Francis I in Nantes.

893. The French Sculptures.

Of the other seven standing figures, the two at the head, the two at the feet of Christ, and then the two on the left of the Madonna, are most closely related to Michel Colomoe, while the three at the rear in the middle have an expressed native French and Gothic character. Of the Flemish influence, that some have sought here, not a trace is visible. As was the case with Colomoe, in the first four figures the Gothic and realistic elements are much softened by the Italian influence, without the figures assuming an Italian appearance. Whether the beautiful, noble, quiet and true to nature figure of Christ, that shows no vestige of offensive realism, was an Italian or a French work, I am unable to decide merely from the photogravures in profile. Observed from the front, the head at once shows me the work of a Frenchman. Perhaps the figure of the Magdalen and the figure of David are from the same master. The effect of these figures in a mild shadow is magnificent, one that however allows them to be properly recognized.

896. Character of the Architecture.

But the most instructive part in this entire composition is, that we here have the work of a Frenchman, that has already Renaissance ideas, has heard it spoken of and might compose in that style, but since he does not know the forms of expression of Italian antique architecture, he is compelled to execute his entablature with architrave, frieze and cornice in Gothic forms, as well as the upper frieze with its cornice.

One sees here a very instructive difference from all those numerous works, that are entirely Gothic in elevation and general composition, have nothing Italian at all, but whose entire detailing exhibits the sequence of the most charming Italian forms of shrines. The latter transformation could only

be made by an Italian, and shows that we must seek for a great quantity of Italian work in France, whose general appearance in nothing recalls the masses of the Italian works, with the exception of certain Milanese members. The latter phenomenon is one of the most conclusive proofs of the error of Palustre's theory, according to which Italians were only called to France to execute these works in the character of their native land.

2. Chapel of the Virgin.

397. Description of the Composition.

The Chapel of the Virgin or "Beautiful Chapel" represents five scenes from the life of the holy Virgin and is designated as a "sculptured poem". It occupies the left transept, and was originally separated from the crossing by an arcade forming a screen. The date of 1553 on one of the columns of this screen also fixes the time of the completion of the entire chapel. The names of "Beautiful Chapel", "Notre Dame des Merveilles", and "Notre Dame la Belle", which are given to it, are justified. With its two lower grottos and two upper loggias and richly sculptured architecture, animated by fifty to two life size statues arranged in groups, and eight others standing in the niches, this chapel presents in its appearance something entirely extraordinary and unique in its kind. (Fig. 213 b 1372)

Note 1372. From Tremblaye, Le R. P. Dom M. de la. Solesmes. Les Sculptures de l'Eglise abbatiale, 1496-1553. Work published under the patronage of the Societe Historique et Archaeologique de Moine. Solesmes. Imprimerie Saint-Pierre. 1892. pl 13

Before the north and the east walls, according to a general design, magnificent architecture and groups of sculptures are built up to the vaults, whose members are best compared with those of very rich altar walls. The lower half forms a kind of ground story and is terminated by an entablature with very rich frieze, which is supported by pilasters. On the east wall stands one in each corner, and between these opens the deep imitation chapel, with three oval arches borne by columns, in which is represented the last Communion of the Virgin. This chapel commences above the altar, while on the north wall the columns of a similar chapel, with the Burial of the

Virgin, rests on the floor. This difference in heights affords space between the arches and the entablature for an arcade of four niches, with half figures of popes and bishops therein.

Since the north wall is wider, there are at each side two pilasters instead of one, each of which accompanies a statue under a rich canopy as if in a narrow flat recess. In the second story corresponds to each chapel a rich portico with columns, whose form of a triumphal arch with higher middle arch is adapted to the scenes represented there. There is a rich group of figures of the Coronation of Maria on the east wall and her Ascension on the north wall. Above the lower side panels are arranged on the latter niches with figures of prophets, so that on this wall is produced above a triply stepped elevation in the five bays, above whose cornices rich finials with several stories of shrines form the ending. The columns are covered by spiral scroll work.

893. Its Character.

The architecture was by a Frenchman, that had almost become an Italian. The lower half, that may be held to be somewhat earlier, exhibits in the rich pilaster panels and the scroll frieze such sharp reminiscences of Bergamo, Brescia and Venice, that one thinks of an Italian chisel in some places, without being able to decide so with certainty; in the arcade piers of the east wall, of certain piers in the court of Palace Doge in Venice, while the form of the triumphal arch, that resembles the so-called Palladian motive, of the tombs of Andrea Vendramin in Venice and of Ascanio Sforza in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome, even if also free, yet appears to distinctly indicate them. One can already count this with the high Renaissance. On the contrary in the finials are found the charming French-Milanese forms.

We stand here perhaps before a unique existing example of the Renaissance in France, before a development parallel with that of the style of Marguerite de Valois, whose living freshness it did not attain, in spite of all refinement and occasional excellence of ornament.¹³⁷³ The incessant desire to reproduce certain Italian prototypes and their peculiarities has restricted the freedom, indispensable for the animation

of the forms.

Note 1373. particularly beautiful is the scroll and arabesque work on the shafts of the columns of the two lower grottoes. Some composite capitals on the north wall belong to the very best in France. The fluted shafts and the capitals of the upper columns of the east wall recall somewhat the character of those of Boccador on the Hotel-de-Ville in Paris.

On the western wall its treatment comprises only the lower half, since the upper half is occupied by the window. It consists of Ionic and Corinthian orders of columns in three bays. The upper is recessed by niches, before which is represented Christ among the learned scribes. In one of these, men desire to recognize the face of Luther. The style of this group is related to the Flemish-German style tendency, although it might perhaps be by a Frenchman from the vicinity of Troyes.

1374 The other groups, likewise the work of a Frenchman, are already more than half Italian in their forms.

Note 1374. It is believed, that the "Beautiful Chapel" was produced at the cost of Claude de Lorraine, the Lord of Sable near by, or that at least he aided its execution by considerable means.

The opinion of Palustre, that the sculptures of the Burial of Maria was a work of Jean Desmarais, and that the architecture was by Jean de Lepine, I am unable to determine.

There are yet other examples of such ideal tombs, yet chiefly without the accompaniment of notable architecture. A Burial may be seen in S. Miniel, another in the Church S. Clotilde in Grand Andely etc. One of the most interesting on account of its architecture is that in S. Maclou at Pontoise, executed by the one designated by us as master D. (Arts. 718, 719).

Chapter 22. Glance at Internal Decoration of Churches.

The unfavorable fate, which permitted the erection of so few churches of the Renaissance in complete form, affected the internal decoration even more injuriously. If even in Italy, the native land of Renaissance art, one must travel through the entire country in order to collect the elements required, to be able to imagine the decoration of a single church or of a great Palace of the high Renaissance, then are circumstances in France even more unfavorable, especially for the decoration of church architecture. Therefore we must forego treating this in a connected and systematic manner, and are able to give only brief indications.

899. The Italian Influence.

Of the general character of the decoration must it be said indeed, that it adhered to the different phases of Italian decoration. Yet those did not all find equal opportunities for employment under like conditions.

In the following example, we see three domains of decoration entirely inspired by Italy:--

In the chapel of Chateau La Bastie d'Urfe near S. Etienne, the rich wainscotings and stalls with their intarsias, all in the Italian style, the work of the Veronese Francesco Orlandini and of Fra Damiano from Bergamo. ¹³⁷⁵

Note 1375. On these works in the Collection of M. Peyre in Paris, I saw the following inscriptions:-- "Francesco Orlandini, Veronese's work, 1547", and "Brother Domiano of Bergamo, member of the preaching order, made it, 1548".

The wall paintings of the chapel with an expressed Italian character are the work of a Frenchman become an Italian.

The stained glass recalls that of the Certosa near Florence, which is attributed to Giovanni de Udine. ¹³⁷⁶

Note 1376. Illustrated in Soultroit, Count G. de & F. Thiollier. Le Chateau de la Bastie d'Urfe. S. Etienne. 1836. Pls. 34, 55.

Floor tiles in the style of della Robbia, taken from the baptismal chapel of the Cathedral, may be seen in the Museum at Langres. The pretty chapel in Chateau Mesnieres near Neufchatel in Normandy must have had beautiful glazed slabs and

stained glass.

a. Glass Painting. 1377

Note 1377. For the study of this domain the three following works are particularly appropriate.

Le Vieil. L'Art de la Peinture sur Verre. Neuchotel. 1781.

Magne, L. L'Oeuvre des peintres-verriers français. Paris. 1885, and Les Vitreaux de Montmorency et d'Ecouen, conference faite a Montmorency. Paris. 1888. The numbers in brackets here given refer to the latter work.

900. Survey.

Of the two best periods of the French glass painting (Beginning of the 12 th to the middle of the 13 th century and the first half of the 16 th century), Lucien Magne held the second to be the most brilliant of the art of glass painting. In the second it became by the study of nature an art of imitation.

The glass windows of the Church of Montmorency, of S. Godard at Rouen, of S. Etienne at Beauvais, and of S. Madeleine at Troyes, as Magne writes, are the most beautiful works, that one can mention, in order to dignify the splendid "Renaissance of Glass" in the 16 th century.

He designates the glass windows of the Churches at Ecouen and Montmorency as the climax and the beginning of the decadence of the great French art of glass painting.

Already under Henry II, he writes, the art of the glass painter commences to lower. The original compositions disappear, the imitations of Italian and German copper engravings, which were then in all hands, occur in their places. With enameling commenced the painting "on glass" says Magne, and the French art of the glass window, "of the glass", was dropped for a time.

While enameling permitted the placing of tones beside each other, it omitted one of the elements of glass painting, namely the leading, which is necessary in transparent decoration for the definition of the drawing. (p. 29).

Glass and its laws are yet today so little known and so badly employed, that the use of enamel is regarded as an advance. (p. 29).

Magne emphasizes, that Enggrand le Prince (died 1530), to whom

Palustre ascribes this probable advance, never employed enamel; timid attempts therewith began about 1540. The windows of the Church at Ecouen from 1544 and 1545 exhibit no trace of it.

Montmorency shines with the original compositions of the greatest French glass painter; Ecouen is a reflection of the works of Raphael. The Church of Ecouen, not to be confounded with the chateau chapel there, presents characteristic examples of the very rapid transformation in this decorative art of peculiar excellence as an art of imitation. (p. 42-43).

In the Church at Conches and in the window with the beheading of S. Foy, the shrines come from the engravings of Hans Sebald Beham, that Passavant gives under Nos. 181 and 187. The abbot kneeling before the Virgin is from an engraving of the master with the star, and the departure of Christ from his mother is treated after the engraving of Albrecht Dürer. (p. 37).

901. Further Examples.

In S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris may be seen a series of glass windows from the middle of the 16th century until the beginning of the 17th, that are attributed to the most important masters, without being able to distinguish between these with certainty, indeed to Jean Cousin, Claude Henriot, Enguerand, Leprince, Pinaigrier, Michu, Francois Periez, Nicolas Dosengives, Nicolas Levasseur and Jean Mounier. ¹³⁷⁸

Note 1378. See Guthiermy, F. de. Itineraire de Paris. p. 198. 1855.

Some fragments are found in a southern chapel of S. Medaro. of the once famous windows of S. Merry, in order to admit more light, the middle bay was removed for its entire height in the 18th century, and other injuries were added, so that no connection longer remains between the numerous remains from the 16th century, which must have been by Heron Jacques de Pany, Chamu and Jean Nogare. ¹³⁷⁹

Note 1379. The same. p. 176.

According to a secular contribution of Abbe Chartier the chapel of Chateau Fleurigny near Troyes contained a glass window by Jean Cousin. Particularly famous are the glass windows of the Chateau chapel at Vincennes, that are also ascribed

to Cousin. The glass windows of Robert Pinaigrier in the Sainte Chapelle of Champaign, which forms the sole remnant of the splendid Chateau of Montpensier destroyed by Richelieu, passes for the most beautiful of the Renaissance. 1380

Note 1380. Audiot, E. Bernard Poncey p. 201. Paris. 1868.

902. Composition.

In the choir windows of the Church at Montmorency of 1524 the figures stand in three series of arcades over each other, that are represented without the use of perspective views. (p. 31, 36).

In the great windows of the Church at Ecouen are bands with masks and cartouches, that separate the three panels from each other. coats of arms decorate the base, on which the donors kneel, and the tympanum panels are filled by the eagle & wings of Montmorency and the silver wheel of Coligny. (p. 48).

In the windows of the old series (1524) at Montmorency, each panel between the window mullions has its own perspective point of view. In the Judgment of Solomon in the Church of S. Gervais in Paris by the same master, according to Magne, he frees himself and permits a single composition to continue behind the mullions. It bears the date of 1531. The inventory of the city of Paris attributes the latter to Robert Pinaigrier, but Le Vieil on the contrary to Jean Cousin. In the Annunciation in the Church at Ecouen may be seen the complete representation of the interior of a room of the 16th century (1544).

In the Cathedral at Sens in the chapel on the right of the chapel of S. Maria is a window of about 1540. Further, in the left transept, on the western wall is a window with great figures about like Rubens' style, and a second of indeed between 1550-1580, with another of about 1550 beneath the rose window.

The window with the legend of S. Eutropius must be by Jean Cousin.

903. Coloring.

Magne is fully justified in emphasizing the misuse of yellow occurring after the 16th century, of which warning had already been given by the monk Theophilus. It became prominent with the discovery of silver yellow toward the end of that

century, when men could undertake yellow retouching on gray grounds without leading.

Yellow or gray architectural enclosures and ornaments play a great part in the 15 th century. As decoration they fill the entire opening and form the ground of the colored figures. (p. 23).

I am unable to say, whether the reaction against this misuse of yellow proceeded from France and Guillaume de Marcillat, or from Bramante. In any case this coloring is entirely dropped in the windows, that Guillaume de Marcillat executed in Rome for Bramante, as well as in his later works in the Cathedral at Arezzo. We again find this reaction completed in France. The windows of 1544 in the village Church of Ecouen have many white portions like those of Guillaume de Marcillat in Italy. The architectural parts are white, the sky is light blue, as well as the most distant parts of the landscape, whose foregrounds are light greenish. The faces are lightly colored. The clothes are in a single color, red, blue, green or in that reddish violet, which has the tone of copper oxide.

In the side aisle of S. Alpin at Chalons-sur-Marne the windows, that represent the saints before Attila, exhibit a very beautiful gray with architecture (1535) in the style of B. Peruzzi. There is also another window partially restored. In the Cathedral at Troyes are beautiful figures of popes and bishops of about 1550 in the right transept, and another window of 1625 with the Apostles and S. Paul on a white ground. The choir windows of S. Eustache in Paris from 1631 by Soullignac have colored figures of the Apostles and of the fathers of the church in color in the midst of perspectives of Corinthian halls in gray.

Grand series in the character of those in S. Guedule at Brussels and in the Chateau at Gouda in Holland are unknown to me in France.

b. Other Branches of Decoration.

904. Mural Painting.

Through the long adherence to the Gothic structural system, there were few surfaces in the churches, that would have afforded opportunity for a greater development of mural painting.

Since decoration of the vaults and walls of the Cathedral

of Alby was painted by Italians, and is so thoroughly in the character of the Roman high Renaissance, it cannot pass for a French work. The cross vaults alternately exhibit two systems on a blue ground, one vault always with white scroll work heightened by gold, the other with compositions from the life of Christ. On the transverse arches is a varied scroll work. On the diagonal ribs are gold ornaments, with figures on the bosses on a blue ground. On others are octagonal painted coffers. In each triangle of the vaults of the apse a richly painted candelabra is surrounded by scroll work and apparently assists in supporting the boss. The representations of the Passion between pilasters with rich painted candelabra panels in the style of north Italy on the walls might just as well find its place in the Sistine Chapel in Rome as here.

In the year 1849 there were discovered mural paintings in the seventh choir chapel of S. Eustache in Paris, and afterwards yet others in the adjoining chapels.¹³³¹ In the transept of S. Remy at Troyes may be seen nine paintings on wood, executed about 1550, and an Annunciation of 1622. In some places one might believe in a distant influence of Holbein.¹³³¹

Note 1331. See Guilhaume, F. de. p. 206.

In S. Severin in Paris were painted under Henry IV in the Gothic arch spandrels of the arcade by Bunel the now destroyed prophets and sibyls on a gold ground.¹³³² The letter of Freminet to the king with the description of the paintings projected by him for the ceiling of the chapel of the Trinity in the Chateau at Fontainebleau is preserved.¹³³³

Note 1332. See the same. p. 159.

Note 1333. Archives de l'Art Francois. 2nd Series. Vol. 2. p. 362. (1862-1866).

To be mentioned are the paintings of Philippe de Champaigne in the Church of the Sorbonne in Paris.

Pierre Mignard, recently returned from a long sojourn in Rome, decorated the dome of the Val-de-Grace in the Italian style with great compositions, but without great inspiration.¹³³⁴ The sculptures of the brothers Anguier there exhibit grace and dignity.

Note 1334. He had contracted for them for 35,000 francs. See Archives de l'Art Francois. Vol. 25 (1857). p. 77.

Yet to be mentioned are the paintings on the vaults of the Palace Chapel at Versailles.

905. Polychromy.

Painting occurs not merely on the wall surfaces and the architectural members. The polychromy also sometimes extends to organs and works of sculpture. We recall first of all the well known organ at Gonesse near Paris and of 1508.

On the relief crowning the Tomb of James at Dol in Brittany, there occur green dragons among other things. In the baptismal chapel of the Cathedral at Troyes is painted a group of six persons of nearly life size, representing the baptism of S. Augustine, of about 1550.

Later was added to monumental polychromy with different species of marble the enrichment of metals. Pierre Biard I in 1597 employed for the Tomb of Francois de Foix et de Condalle black marble with brass ornaments, such as consoles, globes, festoons, with colored marble for the lower parts.

906. Precious Metals and Precious Stones.

Besides the enrichment of variegated marble by bronze additions, there also occurs the use of precious metals with precious stones. In the chapel of Richelieu in Palace Cardinal all the equipment for religious uses was of massive gold and formed the so-called Chapelle d'Or; the cross, the two candelabras, the statuette of the Virgin and the reliquary as well; these were set with 224 rubies and 9000 diamonds. Bonaffe
1385 designates this luxury of precious stones in goldsmith's work and ornamented articles as characteristic for that time and as a Spanish influence.

Note 1385. See the same. p. 26.

907. Sculptures.

Sculpture chiefly found on tombs (see these) and altars its best opportunity to take part in internal decoration. In the 17th century, there are more numerous examples, figures on pulpits, altars, or parts of the coverings of walls.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier in 1664 had the Gothic arches of the apse transformed into round arches by a rich casing of marble with reliefs, all this, as well as the canopy of the altar, by the sculptor Tubi after the design of Lebrun. Also in other examples may one see painters make the designs

for the sculptors. The pulpit of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris rests on the shoulders of Atlas, who was designed by the painter La Hire and executed by Claude Lestocard.

Chapter 28. Monasteries and Cloisters.

903. Examples of the Style of Louis XII and of Francis I.

We do not propose in any wise to undertake here a special study of these classes of buildings, and we shall be satisfied by mentioning such examples, in which we have fragments, that present some interest for the knowledge of Renaissance forms in general.

We commence our description with two examples from the school of Amboise in Tours.

In the cloister of Psallettes (choir bays) in Tours may be seen how late Gothic forms pass into those of the early Renaissance in various places. At one corner projects a round stairway tower, that on a small scale belongs to the school of those at the Chateau at Blois.

The cloister of S. Martin at Tours already shows more advanced Renaissance forms, and is regarded as a probable work of Bastien and Martin Francois, nephews and pupils of Michel Colombe.¹³⁸⁶ My careful examination resulted in the following:- the mouldings are the same as in Blois, Bury and Chambord, and are derived from the Italo-French school of Amboise. The collaboration of an Italian is probable. At least two or three in part excellent sculptors from upper Italy carved the ornaments. The facing is not finished everywhere. Round arches span between boldly projecting buttresses, which are decorated by medallions, and around them extend the impost cap. The archivolts are beautifully profiled and are decorated by rich palm-like ornaments, foliage etc. Above the archivolts and between the buttresses extends a rich frieze with its scroll work, over which follows a cornice with modallions. In the arch spandrels are medallion heads and scroll work or wreaths.

Note 1386. See Tremblaye, L. Rev. P. Dom M. de. Solesmes. *Les Sculptures de l'Eglise abbatiale.* p. 228 and Pls. 30-32. Solesmes. 1892.

In Evreux the cloister of S. Tournus of the time of Louis XII is allied to the school of Gaillon. At the cloister of S. Mengault at Toul, where the characteristics of the times of Louis XII and of Francis I are combined, columns with Corinthian capitals still support Gothic tracery.

With cloisters we desire to class the atrium of S. Maciou in Rouen (1525), a former churchyard 105 × 157 ft. At one side is a wide portico and a half-timbered structure above this. The buildings on the other three sides are now walled up. The refined and straight profiling of the stone columns shows the Bramante-Milanese school. The columns have at mid-height a double astragal, above which are sculptured scenes from the dance of death with charming little figures full of Franco-Italian grace. The lower half is fluted, the upper being plain. The capitals are in the early Renaissance style, and like Corinthian. Palustre gives it the date of 1526-1533.

A smaller cloister is mentioned by Palustre at Melun, in the Priory of S. Sauveur, as well as remains in Orleans and Blois.

Judging from the illustration that we give in Fig. 214,¹³⁸⁷ the destroyed cloister of the Celestins in Paris must have been of wonderful beauty. It must have belonged to the charming phase in which the forms of the high Renaissance still exhibit the entire freshness of the early Renaissance.

Note 1387. From the drawing of J. Bouchet in Albert Lenoir's collection *de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de la France*.

The small cloister of the Celestins in Paris was begun on Aug. 8, 1539, by master Pierre Hanon, stonecutter and mason, on a contract for 5139 livres tournois. After several interruptions and a subsequent allowance of 1251 livres, the works were completed in 1549.¹³⁸⁸

Note 1388. See A. de Montaignon in *Archives de l'Art français*. (1857-1858). Documents. Vol. 5. p. 62.

For the cloister at Fontevrault, the exterior already belongs to the high Renaissance, and it has round-arched arcades of about square proportions, coupled Ionic columns on pedestals before the piers, whose entablature blocks on the side wings support coupled Corinthian columns in the second story, enclose the windows by lintels, and have a continuous entablature.

The treatment of the details is good, strong and sharp. In the middle of the wide jambs of the arches is further a pier spanned by a transverse arch, whereby two archivolts are produced behind each other, whose projection has a bold and ani-

animated effect. On a window of the chapter hall is the date of 1541. The porticos are covered by ribbed vaults; the pointed transverse arches have almost become round arches.

909. Examples from the 17 th Century.

Of the formerly Spanish Abbey of S. Amand, built with royal magnificence 7 1/2 miles from Valenciennes, only the vast facade of the Church now remains, as well as the former portal of the abbey, now used as the mayor's office. 1389 Means must have been unlimited. The building seems to be of a single inspiration, and the ornaments are sculptured in equal abundance as far as to the lanterns of the tops of the three towers of the facade.

Note 1389. A painting of J. F. Xiets in the Museum at Valenciennes and a drawing of 1696 at the mayor's office exhibit the general design.

It was erected under Abbot Nicolas de Blois and according to the date of 1633 on the mayor's office and on the church tower beside the clock, must have been completed at about that time.

The general plan of the Abbey erected under the Spanish rule was entirely that of a great chateau, and it shows therein a similarity to the Escorial. Broad canals filled with water and enclosed by balustrades surround the building and certain portions of the external gardens. The plan forms a vast square with projecting angle pavilions, about as at the Tuileries. That on the right of a person entering was formed by the high facade of the immense church.(Art. 867). The monumental gateway (1632-1633) between two octagonal towers alone forms the existing mayor's office. This was entirely surrounded by water and lay between two bridges before the middle of the front side. Behind this extended for half the depth and the entire width to the church on the right, the great court with fountains and two formal gardens. In the middle of the rear side and occupying about one-third of the entire width, adjoining on the right the transept of the church, rose the front facade of the principal building, that enclosed the four sides of the inner court. Like the angle pavilions, it had three stories, in the towers, but the wings only two. Inner gardens surrounded three sides of the main building.

Likewise the royal Abbey of Val-de-Grace in Paris, whose general ground plan is given in Fig. 215,¹³⁹⁰ has much in common with the plan of a chateau. The main building with projecting angle pavilions encloses the nearly square garden. Two lower courts separate the same from the street, along both sides of which a uniform type of house was to come into use. The great Church was previously described, (Art. 756), and had its separate forecourt.

Note 1390. After Jean Morot. Oeuvre. Vol. 2. p. 124.

In conclusion reference may be made to the following examples. Judging from the engraving of Ludovicus Barbaran of 1673, the hall of the Abbey of S. Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons must have been interesting.¹³⁹¹ Likewise judging from an illustration in the Paris Cabinet of Copper Engravings, the ruins of the Abbey of Faremoutier near Coulommiers must afford some interest. (Period of Louis XIII ?). The character of a small cloister was also assumed by the so-called ossuary, built with three wings in 1605-1606 against the apse of S. Etienne-du-Mont in Paris, with Doric pilasters and tunnel vaults.¹³⁹² It enclosed the little churchyard located on the spot.

Note 1391. Illustrated in Rodier & Taylor. Picardie. Vol. 2. Part. 1.

Note 1382. Guilhaemy, F. de. Itineraire de Paris. 1855. p. 188-191.

For the 18 th century we refer to the building, that Brother A. de la Tremolaye erected near S. Etienne at Caen, the present Hospital and Lyceum. They exhibit a grand and clearly distinguished style. (1702-1724).

Chapter 24. Hospitals.

In addition to monastic buildings we give some examples from the domain of hospital architecture, not in order to treat technically of this class of buildings, but to show some arrangements, that may contribute to the better knowledge of the general development of the style.

910. Hospital de la Charite at Lyons.

Fig. 216 ¹³⁹³ exhibits a birdseye view of the general design of the Hospital or Hôspice de la Charite at Lyons, which was founded in the 16th century under the name of the "General Almshouse", and received the form here shown after 1617. The correctness of this view is proved by the original ground plan published by Charvet. All our statements relating to this building are taken from his exhaustive volume on Martellange. ¹³⁹⁴

Note 1393. From Merion. Topographie de France; probably a reduction of the engraving by Charles Andron in 1619.

Note 1394. Charvet, L. Etienne Martellange etc. p.191-200.

The clarity of the design and its airy porticos have something grand. According to the original design the building consisted of a plan like a monastery with nine courts, of which the middle one ¹³⁹⁵ alone was square and surrounded on all four sides, the others all being open at one side in order to admit sunshine and to make ventilation possible. Each wing was furnished with open galleries at one side in each story. The church was placed at the northwest corner (at the left in front in Fig. 216). The front half was intended for the public and the rear (divided in two parts) for the men on the right and the women on the left.

Note 1395. The kitchen buildings close the rear court and are a later addition.

Concerning the origin of the hospital, Charvet states as follows:-- On Oct. 2, 1616, Martellange presented his design (See his biography in Art. 419) and placed it "in the hands" of the Sieur Pignet, one of the "directors of the General Almshouse." The corner stone of the church was laid on Dec. 3, 1617. On Jan. 8, 1617, one wing must already have been under construction. On Mar. 10, 1622, the poor were transferred to the new building.

Charvet rightly attributes to Martellange in great part the well conceived and simple arrangement of the Hôpital of his native city, for which he always showed himself very complaisant. Since this did not concern a building for the order of the Jesuits, Piquet was immediately selected for the execution of Martillange's plans. One recognizes in the fullest extent, as Charvet says, a master entirely entrusted with the creation of extensive plans, but not the work of an otherwise unknown builder like Piquet.

Another technician writes of this design:--"Martellange appears with this plan to have preceded his century in regard to hygiene. There are found some arrangements, which were recently employed in the Hospital of Bordeaux, and generally excited surprise. Simplicity, convenience, elegance and healthfulness, these are the advantages, that the architect knew how to confer on his work. 1396

Note 1396. See Poliniere, Dr. Boron de. *Considerations sur la salubrité of the Hospital and of the Hospice de la Charité of Lyons.* p. 122. (p. 198 in Charvet). Lyons. 1853.

911. Amphitheatres for Anatomy.

Another design connected with the study of the care of health, and which presents a certain interest by its arrangement, is the Amphitheatre for anatomical instruction in the former Academie Royale de Chirurgie in Paris. As shown by Fig. 217, 1397 it forms an octagon 33.17 ft. in the clear, with buttresses projecting inward.

Note 1397. From Blondel, J. Fr. *Architecture Francoise.* Vol. 2. p. 208.

It is not to be confounded with another building of this kind, the Amphitheatre of Anatomy in Rue de la Bucherie, that was erected by Barbier de Blignier, architect of the Faculty of Medicine, and dedicated in 1744.

912. Hotel des Invalides in Paris.

Another building in this category, that on account of the greatness of its extent must not be forgotten, is the famous Hotel des Invalides, which Louis XIV had erected in Paris. Fig. 213 1398 exhibits the entirety of its structure, but not the important gardens, that extend before its main front, and with the great slope stretching beyond the same to the Seine,

contributing to the grandeur of this creation.

Note 1398. From Blondel. Architecture etc. Vol. 1. Pl. 2.

The exterior is imposing by its dimensions and its suitability, without causing enjoyment by its architecture itself. The semicircular gable above the middle pavilion has a weak effect. Better, even if also severe and cold, is the effect of the great court with two stories of round-arched arcades on square piers, and projections at the middles of the four sides and at the angles. The Church of the Invalids, whose entrance is at the middle of the rear of this court, has already been described, as well as the Dome of the Invalids, whose facade lies in the rear of the plan.¹³⁹⁹ It therefore suffices to refer in our Fig. to the system of the general plan, that is alone of interest here.

Note 1399. See Arts. 761-776.

914. The foreign Character of the Renaissance.

We have shown how unjust it is to reproach the Renaissance with its foreign origin, since the country had nothing to set in place of gothic. ¹⁴⁰¹ This does not prevent, that a real difficulty, that could not be overpassed, lay in the foreign character of the Renaissance.

Note 1401. Arts. 9 and 26.

By this cause alone the Renaissance in France already found itself in a much more unfavorable position than in Italy, where it was or seemed to be a return to the national style. The creative and form inventing imagination could not be so direct or extensive, the appreciation of foreign forms could not be so harmonious, objective and intensive, and therefore the animated power of the forms could be apparently not as energetic and perfected.

915. Lack of a Religious Impulse.

With the Renaissance occurred no new source of religious life. Had the epoch-making movement of the Reformation broken out in France instead of Germany, then might the fate of the church architecture of the Renaissance have become entirely different and grander, with the architectural gifts of the French.

Had a national conscientious impulse for simplifying and purifying forms been combined with the then conventional necessity of simplification, then might a mighty source of architectural designing have sprung therefrom for the Renaissance.

One does not deny, that the impulse toward a renewal of the forms of church architecture must have been more esthetic and intellectual, than of an actually religious nature. Why should not the idea be connected with the conception of greater perfection, which men believed to be embodied in the antique forms, ¹⁴⁰² that greater perfection might also be a new and higher means of laboring for the honor of God!

Note 1402. For Italy in a sense, the belief in an almost superhuman power, virtue and perfection of the antique Greco-Roman monuments might form an actual impulse in the endeavor after perfection, since a great patriotic ideal was connected with them.

The feeling of belonging to the Roman church, that returned

to the antique, particularly in the rebuilding of the Church of S. Peter, might in itself perhaps strengthen in France this view in some persons. But even then it is not to be denied, that the national affinity of temperament with these forms was not so great in France as in Italy. The predominating Latin race in southern France has in a notable way played in the development of the Renaissance only a subordinate and in no sense an originating part.

Not only was there no mighty religious impulse in favor of the Renaissance. A directly opposed secular spirit developed with it, to the consequences of which we shall return in considering the objections to the Renaissance.

916. The Religious Wars.

Just to church architecture, the effect of the crisis produced by the Reformation and the religious wars was particularly paralyzing. These broke loose in the moment when the maturity of the style had developed its highest bloom.

917. Lack of large new Buildings.

Another hindrance consisted in the lack of new and important church buildings. The great cathedrals were rebuilt during the Gothic period of religious and national inspiration, or they had been carried so far, to be unable to further the development of the new style in a great degree.

918. Opposition of the Clergy in the 16th Century.

From the previously mentioned foreign character of the Renaissance came new hindrances. The first was very great and already explains all others. This was the firm adherence of the people, but particularly of the national clergy to the forms, which France had created, and which had placed it at the apex of the religious art of the West outside Italy. Anthony Saint-Paul has very properly emphasized this.

The French liturgy, he writes in reference to the Church of S. Eustache in Paris, in spite of the dropping of religious customs, showed itself obstinately opposed to concessions, and perhaps the architect of S. Eustache had precisely the same purpose to show his contemporaries, that the concessions were not unavoidable. He very properly remarks further, that the wealthy clergy were among the earliest patrons of the Renaissance in France, does not indicate that the grounds for a

Renaissance were religious art as in Italy, or as much as there. The liturgy, which with such decisiveness in France opposed the Greco-Roman traditions as incompatible with the propriety of Christian worship, and had produced perfect satisfaction by the creating of Gothic construction -- could not in gaiety of heart confirm anew the evil condition, which they had avoided with such success. ¹⁴⁰³

Note 1403. See Anthyme Saint-Paul in Planot. Vol. 6. p. 373, 360.

The artistic results of this in the domain of church architecture here, that clergy and people were as good as unable to imagine other forms and treatments of the interiors of churches, then just those, which had gradually developed as the expression of their own feelings, i.e., the Gothic.

919. Influence of the Clergy in the 17 th Century.

It was otherwise with the part played by the clergy in the 17 th century. After the religious wars and the victory of Rome other considerations came into the foreground, and became a source of other hindrances.

It became almost a religious principle, to appear also in the form of church buildings as clearly as possible, that men held fast to the decrees of the Papacy. For this the architectural standard consisted in adhering firmly to the form of the Church of S. Peter, completed up to the towers in 1612, or to Vignola's Jesuit Church.

Whatever may chiefly be the architectural interest of some of these works, yet on the whole the judgment of H. Martin on the character of this time is correct. He writes:-- "Church architecture languished more and more therein. The vacant space left by the ceasing of Gothic art became greater instead of being filled."

Only too frequently does one seem to stand before inanimate, dead, mechanical and schematic variations of the prototypes prescribed by Rome as models.

b. Survey of the unexecuted or Style Types merely existing fragmentarily.

920. Explanatory.

With the great number of small fragments, of which the church architecture of the French Renaissance chiefly consists,

it was not possible to describe them in an order, that afforded a clear survey of the species of these fragments, and that would at the same time permit the various types of the steps of development to be emphasized, in which these different and so scattered fragments may be combined.

Besides the monuments, that form the three chief types, and according to which the worth of the works of church architecture is alone to be judged, these fragmentary types form another very extended domain of the greatest importance, which apparently has scarcely been considered. This interesting source must not here remain unused, since it could only be gathered by an architect, and after long labor. But since it once exists, then it becomes of decided importance for the judgment of the worth of this style.

The purposes and the high art capabilities of the architects of that period were manifested only by these smaller compositions for lack of greater and more complete architectural works, and these may frequently be regarded as precious models for greater motives or reflections from unexecuted designs.

Since particularly the plans of the churches and also the system of their elevations held fast the Gothic scheme, and the character of the church and its type substantially proceeded from the degree of refinement and of the culture of form of the existing moment of the development of the style as well as from the talent of the architect, then it frequently becomes possible by means of mere fragments, such as choir and chapel enclosures, altars, arcades, bays or chapels, to make up an entire church in the character of these fragments.

By the combination of the groups of such parts of closely allied forms may be determined a sequence of style types. These form a sort of graduated series of typical steps in the development of the style. With the type of each of these steps the architect may then gather together a group of churches of different magnitudes. In this manner does one obtain an instructive idea of the purposes of the masters in the different phases and an assured representation of the practical capabilities of the style in the domain of church architecture.

1. Types of the early Renaissance.

921. Three early Types.

No. 1. We find the first type on the facade of the Church at Montresor (1520-1541; Fig. 153). It shows one stage of the combination, which was capable of working with details of the greatest delicacy a clear and simple accenting of the members, that occasionally resemble the Romanesque.

No. 2. The second type of the style is that of the wooden doors of the Cathedral of Beauvais, of the choir enclosure of the Church at Pagny (with H. Foule in Paris), and of the rood screen of the Cathedral at Limoges, and further a series of fragments of this character, as for example of the middle part of the portal of the Church of S. Phal near Troyes. It exhibits an art stage, that combined a subdivision of almost faultless fluidity and a form development of the most refined charm. It shows a maturity of the style of the early Renaissance itself at the time of its greatest decorative richness, which was able to create great as well as small churches of inconceivable artistic mastery.

The type of the chandelier of the Church of S. Nicolas at Troyes from 1549, which is identical with the style of many of the drawn or engraved series by Du Cerceau, ¹⁴⁰⁴ is related to the former and manifests a character of ornamentation completely developed in all directions.

Note 1404. See for example, Figs. 54, 84 in Album of Les Du Cerceau.

No. 3. We find the third type in the upper half of the older tower of the Church at Gisors. With the described buttress at Gisors and Usse, on S. Priene at Caen and in the Church at Falaise, it exhibits different stages of a somewhat different conception of the combination of form, which has likewise made possible a beautiful group of churches.

922. Type of S. Eustache.

No. 4. Were the great Church of S. Eustache in Paris designed only 10 or 15 years later -- or even by a different contemporary master --, then would it have been a similar harmoniously executed building, such as the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, and the Cathedrals of Amiens and of Beauvais. Some dry places or coarsenesses on the piers and on the triforium, in the swelling of the upper columns, and the miserable window

tracery would have been avoided and replaced in a more striking way. The proportions of the different members and the detail would have received something of the lightness of the nobly perfect and the charm of grace and of imagination, which would itself surposed the fresh attracitio of the best Gothic details. The forms of the type of the doors of the Cathedral of Beauvais, the forms of the developement of the piers in the arcades there in a character somewhat earlier than the piers of S. Eustache, as well as all types of the style of M Marguerite de Valois, give assurance of this. An altar with the S. George (?) at S. Florentin exhibits a good example of this tendency. The window tracery of the Church of S. Jean at Troyes, of Notre Dame at Tonnerre, and of the Church at B Bar-sur-Seine near Troyes on their part vouch for a complete avoidance of the defects of S. Eustache in this direction.

923. The Towers.

As accessories of these churches one may think of types of towers, such as those of S. Antoine at Loches and of the Church at Bressuire (Fig. 312), as well as the commenced crossing tower of S. Jean at Caen, the later towers of S. Patrice at Bayeux, of S. Michel at Dijon, the three towers of the Abbey of S. Amand near Valenciennes, and further the intermediate steps, that are easily interpolated, or examples already described by us, then one stands before a wealth of treatment of towers, that scarcely is inferior to that of the Gothic, and must present a wider field of development.

2. Style of Marguerite de Valois.

With this phase one meets with types, which assume the charm of two phases in different proportions; the noble abundance of the completely refined early Renaissance, and the still blooming freshness of the high Renaissance.

924. Types of Du Cerceau.

No. 5. Perhaps one must connect the first type of this tendency with the facade designed by Du Cerceau for S. Eustache. (Fig. 156). But one thinks of an entire structure executed in the style transferred to the church with two dormers, which are added to the series of the furniture of Du Cerceau.¹⁴⁰⁵ The noblest and elegant severity of the antique architectural forms is here combined with the freshest, refined and elegant

fancy of detail forms, is here combined with

The detached side portal of S. Sernin at Toulouse must be a somewhat earlier example of this tendency, as well as the very interesting general subdivision of the facade of Notre Dame at Tonnerre.

No. 6. The type followed by Du Gerceau in his "Grande Chartreuse de Pavie" must be recalled here. In spite of its more mature appearance, it must be about contemporary with his facade for S. Eustache.

925. Type of the Cloister of the Celestins.

No. 7. The wonderful Cloister of the Celestins in Paris (Fig. 214), the chapel of the same time in S. Jacques in Rheims are types, in which the harmony of the supports and the vaults is of such perfection, that one can say that the Gothic and Bramante have here joined hands. A series of churches executed in this phase would have their like neither in French Gothic nor in Italian Renaissance.

A church like S. Eustache in Paris, designed and treated in this phase, would have enriched the world by a masterwork of the first rank.

The Abbey Church of Valmont near Fecamp and the Chapelle of S. Romain at Rouen are not far removed from this type.

926. Type of the Tendency of Domenico Fiorentino.

No. 8. To the earliest examples of the type, in which the principal forms were fixed by the high Renaissance, belongs the group of Troyes. The two story gateway of Domenico Fiorentino at S. Andre-lez-Troyes (1549), the destroyed rood screen in S. Etienne at Troyes, the masterwork of Domenico, must have exerted an influence on that entire country, which might perhaps be proved by a closer study. Domenico Fiorentino was well versed in the classical compositions¹⁴⁰⁶ of Bramante and of Raphael, and therefore it should not be surprising to occasionally see very noble classical treatments,¹⁴⁰⁷ that are combined with the charming details of the French-Italian school. This is the tendency, that we saw in the dormer of Du Gerceau (Art. 924), that in details shows some relation to parts of the facade of Notre Dame in Tonnerre. On the latter are found analogies to the group of the portals, that resemble those of S. Pierre at Loudun. (Art. 302).

Note 1406. See the drawing of Domenico Fiorentino with the Palace of Bramante and of Raphael in the background, which we published in Geymüller's *Raffaello Sanzio studiato come architetto*.

Note 1407. Koechlin & J. J. Marquet de Vasselot. *La Sculpture à Troyes* etc. Meanwhile they have published in Fig. 85 an old representation of the rood screen on which this is based. They have proved the correctness of this drawing in the domain of sculpture and at the same time have furnished me with an element for justifying my conjecture of the influence of Domenico Fiorentino on the architecture. The influence of Domenico (del Barbieri) must also be directly or indirectly recognized on the following works in Troyes; on the court of Hotel des Ursins; on the screens of the chapel of the baptismal fonts in the Cathedral; perhaps on the mantle in Hotel de Valuisant.

The cramm of the works in this tendency is entirely peculiar and also proves here, that the animated and correct endeavor for noble perfection of all parts has never been otherwise.

Perhaps the portal of the Church La Dalbade at Toulouse is to be counted in this phase of the style.

927. Type of some Temples of Du Cerceau.

No. 9. Churches or chapels, as Du Cerceau has reproduced them, ¹⁴⁰⁸ either in the style of the buildings in his "Livre des Temples" (1550), or in still more classical forms, form a type, which therefore scarcely occurs in France, since the best period of this style tendency fell just in the time of the religious wars. On the other hand, in more than one relief or painting may be seen forms of towers and chapels, that in this way are developed into different forms of conical terminations.

Note 1408. See what we have said of these compositions in our volume on "Les Du Cerceau".

A domed church in the style of a canopy in S. Pantaleon at Troyes, which at the same time forms the upper half of the model for such, is conceived entirely in the style of one of the temples of Du Cerceau. The type of the middle portal of the Church at Villeneuve-S.-Georges is little or not at all removed from this style tendency. With sufficient knowledge

of the Italian and French Renaissance may be placed here, many beautiful groupings clothed in attractive forms.

3. Types of the high Renaissance.

928. Type of the Works of Jean Goujon.

No. 10. The earliest type of this phase of the style must be presented by several works of Jean Goujon, in which are to be found scarcely any elements of Gothic and of early Renaissance. The forms belong to the very noblest and most animated and correspond about to the Vatican phase of 1508-1515, when Bramante and Raphael were working together.

The first example must be the two front wooden doors of Jean Goujon on the facade of S. Maclou at Rouen, and although even different, the altar of the Church at Bouilly near Troyes, and then the second story above the middle part of Notre Dame at Tonnerre.

The type of the altar by Jean Goujon from Ecouen and now in Chantilly (Fig. 187), further the wonderful balustrade of the organ gallery and of the gallery in the choir of the Chateau chapel at Ecouen, as well as the paneled wainscoting and enclosures there, likewise now in Chantilly, also belong here, although they may be somewhat later.

To this type must be added in style perhaps the choir enclosure and the staircase of the rood screen on the right in the choir of the Church at S. Florentin with the motive of the ruins of the Tutelles at Bordeaux, even if they should have a somewhat later date. Also perhaps the tabernacle above on the right of the facade of Notre Dame at Tonnerre with the fluted Ionic pilasters, and with cupids riding dolphins above the gable.

As a somewhat allied example of a similar tendency are to be mentioned:-- the upper half of the middle portal of the Church at Gisors, and the two side doorways of the Church at Pont-S. Marie near Troyes.

929. Type of Pierre Lescot.

No. 11. If one thinks of the Tomb of Breze by Jean Goujon at Rouen (Fig. 212 a) and of that by Ph. De L'Orme for Francis I at S. Denis, and further of the destroyed rood screen of Pierre Lescot and Jean Goujon in S. Germain l'Auxerrois in Paris, it is permissible to represent to one's self an entire

church in the phase of the court of the Louvre and of the Fontaine des Innocents.

The tower portals of the chateaus at Ecouen, Anet and in the court of the Louvre, as well as their treatment inspired by Bramante's project of towers for S. Peter (Figs. 314-317) show this, likewise the type of the somewhat later new tower of the Church at Gisors, to which perhaps the portico of the Cathedral of Auch may be related. The two-story triumphal arched portal of S. Nizier at Troyes adheres to these forms.

930. Type of S. Clotilde at Andely.

No. 12. The exterior of the Church of S. Clotilde in Grand Andely (Fig. 163) forms already in itself alone a type of the style, that indeed is related to the two preceding, but still retains its individuality. It indeed contains all elements of the two last types, but combines them with translations of Romanesque and Gothic ideas into the forms of the high Renaissance.

The most interesting principle of several orders at enlarged scale, such as Bramante arranged in S. Peter's, here comes into use.

931. Other Types.

No. 13. As a church facade of the best classical period we may be taken that accompanied by a forecourt and reproduced in one of the "Petites Vues" of Du Cerceau. We have already described this on account of the system of a series of alternating gables.¹⁴⁰⁹ It is thoroughly Italian and in the spirit of the design of Fra Giocondo for S. Peter's.

Note 1409. Illustrated in Geymüller's Du Cerceau. Fig. 105.

We further recall the elements of the facade of S. Nizier at Lyons and of the later facade of the Church of Capuchins at Coulommiers.

932. Type of high and wide Arcades.

No. 14. The treatment of the piers and arcades of the Church at Ennery (Fig. 178) is on the way leading to a grand nave belonging to the family of the Cathedral of Granada. The same may be said of the piers of the Church at Mesnil-Aubry. The bays of the transverse aisle of the Church of S. Clotilde in Grand Andely show starting points for other ideas in treatment.

933. Type of the Roman Baths.

No. 15. The chapel enclosures of the cathedrals at Troyes (Fig. 41) and Laon belong to a tendency described in Art. 182, That shows that men thought of the part of the round arch as a wide spanning element, as in the Roman Baths. The design of a Palace chapel for the Louvre (1595; Fig. 42) proves this, as well as that the masters of the 16 th century also introduced spaciousness in the high Renaissance, and desired to apply it to the forms of churches, that were more in the spirit of this style, than a mere covering of Gothic forms of piers. The Tomb-chapel of Anet likewise exhibits something of this wish.

934. Type with Arches of wide Spans.

No. 16. We find various examples originating about 1540-1560 and of unequal maturity of style and of different character, but in which the round arch is combined with the orders in such a way, that the former exhibits different stages of the character of wide spanning. One has here elements, whose proportions at a greater scale permit the arrangement of the naves in the true spirit of the spaciousness of the Renaissance.

But as different examples we first mention the arches and piers of the Church at Epiais, which might lead to an interior of the type of the nave of the Cathedral at Florence. Then the Chapel of S. Romain at Rouen with its two orders, coupled columns and wide arches, the two chapels of the Cathedral at Toul (Figs. 185, 186, 190, 191), as well as the choir aisle of the Church at Argentan.¹⁴¹⁰ Further the organ gallery of the Church at Gisors with its light middle arch. The loggia over the middle portal of the same church outside and by the same master exhibits the same treatment of forms applied to other proportions.

Note 1410. I do not know whether the latter, according to Polastre, was erected in 1580-1598 by Guillaume Crete and Thomas Olivier. One would place it at apparently about 1550.

A somewhat different character is shown by the chapel attached to S. Laurent at Nogent-sur-Seine.

935. Types of Domed Structures.

No. 17. The Chateau chapel at Anet (Fig. 193), that in the

park at Villers-Cotterets (Fig. 195), and the Mausoleum of the Valois (Fig. 197) permit the assured conclusion, that if Ph. De L'Orme and Primaticcio had been entrusted with domed buildings of the magnitude of those of the 17th century, they would have been able to execute even more important works than the architects of Val-de-Grace and of the Dome of the Invalids.

4. Types from the Period of Henry IV to Louis XV.

936. Their Character.

The side portal of S. Nicolas-der-Champs (1481) and that of S. Etienne-du-Mont, both in Paris, exhibit an increase of the monumental scale.

No. 18. In addition to these, an interior in the style of S. Gervais in Paris combined with the bold arches of the Salle des Pas-Perdus by the same Salomon de Brosse would be very grand.

No. 19. The piers of the Abbey Church of S. Amand near Valenciennes and later Boffrand's interior of the Church of S. Jacques at Luneville exhibit a different tendency in the arcades, whose arches rest on the capitals of the piers; In the first case must be recognized a new example of the Spanish influence prevailing there, since this arrangement is related to that of a group of Spanish cathedrals.

No. 20. Finally an interior harmonizing with the character of Servandoni's facade of S. Sulpice in Paris must exhibit a grand character.

The interior of the Palace Chapel at Versailles and Boffrand's Cathedral at Nancy show different and not to be neglected ideas.

c. Comparison of French Church Types of the Renaissance with those of other Countries.

When the architecture of the Renaissance left its native land of Italy, there commenced for it the character of a world style. To correctly judge its part in the domain of church architecture in France, it is necessary to cast a comparative glance on types, which it has particularly created as a church style.

1. Principal Types of Renaissance Churches outside France.

937. Their Origin.

From the step by step development of the alliance of the Gothic and the antique Roman styles, according to the conditions of combinations and of the countries in which they occurred, arose a series of prominent buildings, which are to be recognized as ideal types of Renaissance churches, even where not completely executed. On account of clearness we divide them into six groups.

These different types of development form two series of steps in which the Gothic diminishes and the Renaissance elements again increase. The examples mentioned here suffice to prove, that every proportion of the combination of the two styles is conceivable.

The first phenomenon shown to us by the comparison of the types of the two first groups is, that the same cause of ideas in Italy and France led to opposed forms.

First Group.

938. Difference between Italy and France.

Before the Renaissance the antique element was the native one in Italy. It was the Gothic in France. In the domain of compromise and of the combination of nature with foreign elements the same psychological and esthetic principles are seen to prevail; but since in both countries the bases of the native styles were diametrically opposed, then opposed results proceed from the combinations.

In Italy from 1296 to 1420 -- for with this period in Florence must be compared the French transition style and the early Renaissance of Francis I from 1500 to 1540 -- the interiors sprung from the antique feeling for space were clothed in reduced gothic details. In France interiors composed and built in Gothic soon after 1500 and even to 1600, and frequently exteriors also, were embodied in antique details and its formulas for treatment.

939. Cathedral at Florence.

Type A. The Cathedral of Florence (begun 1296 and enlarged in 1357) and S. Petronio at Bologna (after 1390) exhibit the antique principle of an interior with the ancient Roman spaciousness, wider spacing of piers and mighty arches.

The beautiful bays of the new cathedral of Siena belong to

this tendency, but show a style more based on the harmony of the forms.

On the Campanile at Florence begun by Giotto, the non-Gothic forms and compositions are more numerous than the Gothic.

940. Peruzzi's Dome for S. Petronio.

Type B. The last stage of this tendency is perhaps B. Peruzzi's wonderful dome for the completion of S. Petronio in Bologna ¹⁴¹¹ (about 1521). It combines elements of the domes of the cathedrals of Florence and of Pavia with the studies of Bramante for S. Peter into a splendid Renaissance structure with partially Gothic clothing, that also contains Renaissance elements.

Note 1411. Preserved among ~~the~~ drawings in the sacristy of the church.

941. Cathedral at Milan.

Type C. The interior of the Cathedral of Milan (after 1386) on the contrary emphasizes an antique idea, which perhaps has not been sufficiently recognized or made prominent; the firmness, connection and prominence of the antique colonnades in four incomparable series, ¹⁴¹² which expresses at the same time the strong animation, and retains the majesty of the broad halls, everything is in combination with Gothic vaults. In spite of the frequently miserable details a grand Renaissance idea is here embodied, and the documents teach us, that in 1401 men desired to have no Gothic but a new church.

Note 1412. We have perhaps for the first time emphasized this in the 5th edition of Burckhardt's Cicerone, where an error in printing and now our fault, has changed the word "Reihe" (series) into "Renaissance".

Second Group. Gothic churches in antique garments.

We find here Portuguese and French types, which we mention, not in the chronological sequence of their origin, but in that of their stylistic development.

942. Monastery at Belem.

Type D. In the Monastery at Belem, the wonderful Chapel "Mor da Egrega dos Jeronimos" exhibits the system of a hall church with slender polygonal columns. As in some examples of the school of Gaillon, the supporting rounds at the angles of these are still like Gothic, but the rich arabesque work,

which extends to the vaults in the panels is Italian. 1413

Note 1413. See Art. 710 concerning this type of the style.

In secular architecture we see this principle of form treatment perhaps occur in France. In the domain of church architecture we have to record only small fragments in the interior of the church at Gisors and on the facade of the church at Montresor.

943. S. Eustache in Paris.

Type E. Just as we see the Florentines, when the French Gothic presented itself to them, held fast to the traditional spaciousness and to horizontal endings, so do we see, when the Italian Renaissance made its return visit in France, that the French adhered to the Gothic treatment of the interior, which was the personification of their ideal, merely clothing it in Italian details.

We here see a French cathedral clothed in the Milanese early Renaissance forms of the style of Francis I, in which as Anthyme Saint-Paul says, the bays of S. Denis or of Amiens rise on the plan of Notre Dame in Paris.

Third Group. Early Renaissance Composition in high Renaissance details.

944. Cathedral at Pavia.

Type F. The Cathedral at Pavia was begun in 1487 but long remained unfinished, and it is the first example of a series of great types, in which occurs a building influenced by Gothic but in garments like the antique. It is like a kind of talented fusion of the ideals of the Cathedrals of Florence and of Milan with S. Lorenzo in the latter city and an improvement of the two former in many ways. Christoforo Rocchi here with Bramante's assistance has established in a notable way a preliminary stage of two very different works, S. Peter in Rome and S. Eustache in Paris, 5 years before the latter and executed in the mature forms of the Milanese early Renaissance.

945. Cathedral of Granada.

Type G. The magnificent Cathedral of Granada, one of the noblest buildings of Christendom, with the use of its very interesting domed structure as choir, exhibits a Gothic treatment of the masses translated into the noble forms of the Ital-

Italian high Renaissance. One finds here a further development of ideas and forms, that occur in the buildings of the Cathedral of Pavia, ¹⁴¹⁴ on the domed structure of S. Maria di Sanepanuova in the same city, on the choir of the Cathedral of Como, and later occasionally in S. Eustache in Paris.

Note 1414. Juste, C, in the Zeits. der Christ. Kunst. Year 9, Heft 7, 8, gives an interesting study on the Cathedral of Granada, on the basis of the works of Manuel Moreno. He seeks to establish the participation of Enrique de Egas, who commenced the building about 1509, and that of Diego de Siloe, to whom it has been heretofore attributed. The latter assumed charge of the work in 1528 and prepared a new model. From the former comes the general composition. Juste names him once as a Gothic master.

Yet since the Hospital de Santo Cruz at Toledo was likewise by him, and this affords undeniable evidence, that he knew the Porta della Rana and the Plinius' memorial of the Cathedral of Como, and further the portal of Onedeo at the Certosa of Pavia, thus the analogies here emphasized by us of the Cathedral of Granada with those of Pavia and of Como are not merely accidental. Already Alberti on the Annunciato at Florence and in S. Francesco at Rimini treated the choir as a domed structure.

We have mentioned two examples of pier treatments in France, which might lead to this subdivision of the nave.

Fourth Group. Churches with a minimum of Gothic Influences.

946. Tuscan Buildings.

Type H. Excepting the lantern of the Florentine Cathedral, there occur in the churches of Tuscany after Brunellesco scarcely any Gothic influences. They exhibit chiefly a combination of the Early Christian basilica with some elements, that must be more or equally Lombard and Byzantine than Gothic.

947. Church of S. Peter in Rome.

Type I. The entire circle of ideas and the entire ideal of the Italian Renaissance united in Bramante's designs for S. Peter, which fused together the Tuscan, the Milanese and the Roman Renaissance into perfect harmony. And again all later architectural ideas of the Renaissance in the domain of church

architecture on the one hand are to be referred to unexpected designs from that colossal structure, but unfortunately yet more to the much less happy solutions, which were executed from 1547 until the death of Bernini.

Of a Gothic influence of antique forms can be mentioned in Bramante's designs only the treatment of the choir aisles and of the apse. But these may just as well be derived from Byzantine, Early Christian and Roman elements, just as the good continuous connection of the pilaster groups with the domical arches and the towers.

948. Other Types of Bramante.

Nothing gives a richer representation of the beautiful churches, that one can design in the Italian high Renaissance, than the sketches and studies of Bramante for the rebuilding of S. Peter and the studies of the architects, who had been employed in his architectural office. Whoever lives in these as a creative architect, and does not merely pass over them like a blind notary in the history of art, will recognize the truth of this evidence in favor of the Italian high Renaissance.

It is so much more a duty to emphasize this, since in Italy itself the religious and political conditions likewise hindered so much the development of this magnificence of church architecture, or made different elements very deserving of consideration almost unrecognizable by overloading them with the insolent and empty forms of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Nearly all French domical structures of the 16th century stand under the influence of Bramante's designs for S. Peter. Those after the 17th century are under the influence of the type as transformed by Michelangelo, Vignola and their successors.

949. S. Fedele in Milan.

Type K. S. Fedele in Milan exhibits one of these types. There the arches of the nave are sufficiently stilted, are of wide span, and yet are slender, noble and distinguished. Such Bohemian compartment vaults rise on such transverse and side arches, have a very good effect and adjoin them much better than the cross vaults in the Temple of Peace. (Basilica of Maxentius).

Fifth Group. Antique Compositions in antique forms with

Gothic Accenting of the vertical connecting Members.

950. Domes by Michelangelo and of Padre Pozzi.

Type L. Michelangelo, in the change of the subdivision of the exterior as well as on the dome by the good combination of buttresses and ribs, returned to an earlier model by Bramante, and again introduced the Gothic principle of vertical connection in a perceptible way.

The last stage of this tendency, which one may conceive by the translation of a Gothic subdivision into forms like the antique, is a type in which the vertical unbroken forces and members is employed in a building with antique Roman proportions and vaults, and is executed by means of columnar subdivisions likewise according to antique proportions with the aid of the principle of returned entablatures and transverse arches. The Barocco shows us the same, as well as the dome and the drum, which Father Pozzi composed as an apparent perspective for S. Ignazio in Rome in a beautiful and strong manner. It is a further development of the external subdivision of the dome of S. Peter transferred to an interior.

As just stated, since the beginning of the 17th century all French domed buildings adhere to this type.

Sixth Group. Types with Byzantine Elements.

951. Types with alternating Rhythm.

The Grecian and Roman, the Early Christian, the Romanesque and the Gothic architecture knew only the rhythm of a row of columns or of piers with equal or apparently equal intervals.

The alternating rhythm of wide and narrow intervals, which forms the system of "rhythmic bays", remained as good as never used.

The architects of the church of S. Marco in Venice and of its daughter, S. Front at Perigueux, perhaps alone in the West, had recognized the mighty power, that was innate in this arrangement, and combined the same with Byzantine elements.

That appears to be exactly the arrangement, that naturally corresponds to vaulted construction with vast stresses. By it the arch first received a widely spanning elastic movement.

The alternation of tunnel vaults and domes produces a pulsating rhythm, that according to the case is always animated, but also has a majestic or even a triumphant effect, and is

especially worthy of a church building, as shown by S. Giustina in Padua.

The types of a series of domes ¹⁴¹⁵ derived from S. Marco in Venice, or of domes alternating with tunnel vaults, as shown by S. Sepolcro in Piacenza, S. Niccolo in Carpi, S. Salvatore in Venice, and further the Church of the same name in Bologna and S. Giustina in Padua, belong to the most interesting and most effective arrangements, which is particularly suitable for a treatment of further development in the Renaissance style. In this type is scarcely to be recognized a direct Gothic influence, and it is indeed limited to the combination of pilasters and transverse arches by means of a returned entablature.

Note 1415. For the type with alternation of tunnel vaults and domes, and rhythm of domes in cross form, i.e., on two intersecting axes, I refer to my addition to the fifth edition of Burckhardt's *Gicerone* (1884) in reference to S. Marco in Venice. p. 34. In the later editions these remarks were omitted by my successors.

The type of the nave of S. Giacomo Maggiore at Bologna with round arches of wide span (1493-1518) belongs to these, and it already occurred in France in the Romanesque-Byzantine Cathedral of Angoulême.

The latter circumstance makes it the more striking, that the tendency of this group of the Renaissance in France remained disregarded.

2. Principal Types of Renaissance Churches in France and their Relation to the Foreign Types.

952. The three main Groups.

What are then the types of church architecture, that we have recognized in the French Renaissance?

If one regards only the existing monuments of 1500-1745 effective as entire churches, then the most striking result is, that excepting the domes, one almost always stands before the same Gothic idea of the structure and of slightly changed structural framework.

In spite of this permanence of the Gothic general design, one may recognize three chief types or groups in this treatment of churches.

1. The churches of the 16 th century, which approximately retain the Gothic proportions of the height of the nave.

2. The churches after about 1638, whose internal proportions are no longer as slender, but approximate more to those of the Italian churches of the school of Vignola.

These two types again differ externally by facades with towers and those without them.

3. The domed buildings.

During the early Renaissance this Gothic conceived superstructure was clothed in the forms of the Milanese style of Bramante and of the style of Francis I; men then passed to the forms of the style of Henry II, when generally they came to build churches in the time of the high Renaissance. Finally after Louis XIII, the Gothic axial spacing was combined with the arcades of Vignola and his followers.

953. Comparison with the first Italian Group.

The greatest attention is due to the first of the three chief types or groups. It is further of especial interest, on the one hand to consider the sequence of the French stages of this type in which a church conceived in Gothic is successively clothed with the detail forms of the early Renaissance, the style of Marguerite of Valois, and that of the high Renaissance, on the other hand to bring the same into connection with the early Italian type of interiors conceived in the antique but clothed in Gothic. By a comparative approximation these two great Italian and French style groups become much more intelligible.

At the beginning of this work on the French Renaissance, we still followed the general custom of designating the latter Italian churches as Gothic works, and in consequence thereof, allowed the Renaissance in Italy to only begin about 1420.¹⁴¹⁶ During the further development of this study we acquired the conviction, that it is more correct to designate them as Renaissance churches in forms like Gothic. Thereby not only the beginnings of the Renaissance, of sculpture and painting, but also that of architecture recedes to the age of Dante.

Note 1416. See p. 1.

The Italian group of Renaissance churches in Gothic clothing (1266-1420) and the French of the 16 th century with Gothic

Gothic construction in the Milanese clothing of the style of Francois I, in spite of many imperfections, are creations and acquisitions of the very greatest importance for all future of architecture, since they have shown the two principal ways for the introduction of the antique method of design into the ideas of the Gothic structure and its mode of composition.

The former group exhibits the antique spaciousness, the majesty of its interiors, its harmony, and it naturalizes the dome in Gothic forms and its world of ideas. The French group introduces the principle of vertical composition, connection of forms and the compound pier ¹⁴¹⁷ into the antique-Roman world of form, or more correctly stated, develops further the Italian beginnings and especially the Milanese mode of composition of the style of Bramante in a more Brilliant manner.

Note 1417. The compound pier was not entirely unknown to the Romans, as shown by that ruined fragment at Avenches known as "Le Clôgnier."

954. Different Phases of the first French Type.

Without leaving the Gothic structural system of the superstructure, the French Renaissance in the early period, in the style of Marguerite de Valois, and in the time of its climax, created three phases of the style with all the forms and principles, that are necessary to complete and finish an entire architectural style, while each of these phases contains various subordinate types of the stages of development.

And indeed in some of these types the beauty of form or even its perfection is such, that these works of the alliance of Gothic and of Bramante's Renaissance in Lombardy and Rome is not inferior to Gothic-- as one may easily believe -- in unified flow, but decidedly surpasses it. It was this, since it again introduced new elements into architecture, which the Gothicists had more or less forgotten.

This is a result, which surprises some among the critics, who here frequently speak of the Church of S. Eustache in Paris; but we refer to the fragments of a much more refined development of the style, that entirely justifies our decision.

955. Works of the high Renaissance.

It might at first appear, as if the development of the magnificent high Renaissance had undertaken yet more than in It-

Italy, which never came to completion and scarcely presents any starting points. If it be more closely examined, as may be seen in our Section on the fragments, one finds starting points for real treasures and the assured evidence of seven stages of development (see p. 661), for which only opportunity was lacking to produce something magnificent.

956. The Domed Architecture.

We cannot find the opinion unjustifiable, that the group of French domed structures, in spite of much that is deserving, can so far present no equal substitute for what is produced in the great Gothic cathedrals.

In the 16th century it may be seen to occur in chapels with interesting examples, that appear to promise more. For churches, domed construction only begins with Richelieu's rule.

It was an inexpressible misfortune for France as for all Christendom, that the Church of S. Peter was not completed by Bramante and Julius II with the intended mosaics and sculptures by masters like Michelangelo, Raphael and Sansovino in the style preceding 1515. It would have been the most magnificent creation of the architecture of Christianity and of an art. Instead of this the building was in the form, that resulted from the unpardonable amputations by Michelangelo and the forced elongation under Paul V, together with the Jesuit Church of Vignola becoming an architectural dogma of the Roman Catholic Church.

Whoever has learned from Bramante's studies for the Church of S. Peter, what immeasurably beautiful Renaissance churches of the most diverse types were developed, must allow that it was difficult to conceive a more spiritless, mediocre and unexpressive building, than is actually this epoch-making Vignola's Church of the Jesuits.

First with the Pantheon of Soufflot in its lower internal parts, did the design of domed churches enter on a partly so-under path, perhaps unconsciously connected with certain studies of Bramante for S. Peter.

A second disadvantage was, that from religious and political considerations of French church architecture, domed structures were set as models, whose types developed their full splendor only in the colossal spans of S. Maria del Fiore and

of S. Peter or even the Cathedral of Pavia. For smaller churches, like S. Paul in London, the type is still admissible; on the contrary for the internal effect the scale of the Dome of the Invalids and of the Pantheon in Paris is already no longer sufficient. Frequently a further development has received better service from the Byzantine type. It may be, that the desire to substitute tall domes for the effect of towers and the Northern love for aspiring forms may have acted in favor of the type of the Church of S. Peter.

Seen from the exterior, its mass is better suited than any other for a monumental, accenting of its centre. If one is accustomed to the appearance made by the Florentine dome, presented in the landscape and as a centre of the city and of its surroundings, then a few days later in Vienna how it occurs, that the tower of S. Stephen as an indication of the centre of the old imperial city does not have a more imposing effect, and even appears more slender.

Or if in Paris, when one sees at the same time the Dome of the Invalids and the pointed Gothic towers of S. Clotilde, then the latter appear tolerably small and poor.

After we have fully emphasized this restriction in order to measure everything at a proper scale whenever possible, it is only easy to recognize, that on a small scale even in Italy, Bramante's destroyed Mausoleum des Valois would be unique, and that the domes of Val-de-Grace and the Dome of the Invalids, in spite of the defects mentioned, have externally a high architectural worth, and decidedly must be counted among the best works of the West.

d. Objections of Criticisms of the Church Architecture of the Renaissance in France.

957. Introductory. Partial Justification of the Critics.

In all ages and in all styles an art period has always produced its highest and most perfect works in the domain of religious problems.

But just for the church architecture of the Renaissance in general and also for the French Renaissance, men will not allow this fact to be true.

If this meaning be shown to be correct, then must one ask, whether the entire art tendency inseparable from modern cult-

culture is not built on a conceivable error, and thus is this not true of the Renaissance.

Quite generally, one meets with four different kinds of unfavorable judgments. Firstly, men hold its works to be less important than the preceding Gothic cathedrals.

Secondly, it is believed, that it is less important in the domain of church architecture, than in that of secular architecture.

Thirdly, Viollet-le-Duc objects to the Renaissance, that it killed the national art in France.

Fourthly, the opinion is frequently heard, that this style is less Christian than the Gothic style.

Our labors have led to a peculiar result. We are in position on the one hand, to not recognize an earnest justification for the objections usually made to the Renaissance; but we even sympathize with the feeling from which these objections sprang. And yet we enjoy being obliged to say on the other side, that these censuring judgments must become silent, if one penetrates more deeply into the purposes of the style, and becomes acquainted with its capabilities, learns to know its ideals, that it pursued and frequently commenced to execute.

958. Apparent Superiority of the Gothic.

In the assertion, that the church architecture of the Renaissance has accomplished less than the Gothic, there is on the one hand only too much truth, and on the other an entire error. ¹⁴¹⁸

Note 1418. The statement of Choisy, that the Renaissance churches are Gothic churches erected with more costly materials, refers only to the churches built about since 1625 after the type of the Jesuit church in Rome, constructed with vaults of ashlars, for in the 16th century the Gothic structural means were retained in the churches, and the ornamentation was not more costly than the older.

Viollet-le-Duc emphasizes the inferiority of the Renaissance churches to Gothic in a much stronger way. But his criticism only actually concerns the above mentioned type of the 17th century, and to the not always happy attempts of the 16th to insert the compound piers in the antique orders, that does not

not always secure an entirely harmonious balance. See Dictionnaire Raisonnee etc. Art. Architecture. Vol. 1. p. 240.

It suffices on the one hand in our studies ¹⁴¹⁹ on the means, that the Renaissance had at command for producing a religious effect, and on the other to refer here to the Section on the types only existing in Fragments (p. 658), in order to recognize in what points these complaints are correct, and how much they are unfounded in others concerning the capabilities of the style.

Note 1419. We refer here to the means furnished by Greco-Roman art, Early Christian, Byzantine and Gothic. Further to the art of handling the lighting, to the value of the round arch, of the form of the dome, and of the connection with the sister arts. They appear next in Carlsruhe.

The complaint of Henri Martin on the replacing of the beautiful cross vaults by these tunnel vaults is entirely justified, but only for the churches after Louis XIII. One must return to the conditions of ancient Rome in order to perceive such a great retrogression in architecture. The esthetic effect of a tunnel vault is then only beautiful, if it be an unbroken whole and of a length, that does not require the use of intersecting side compartments. ¹⁴²⁰

Note 1420. In the transepts of the Church of S. Peter, the effect of the tunnel vaults is wonderfully beautiful. The extensions in the nave are monotonous and an architectural crime. For 107 years every intelligent architect of the Church of S. Peter has objected to this form, when it concerned a nave for the church. Even Moderna did his best to lessen this injury.

And this miserable arrangement with more or less interesting side compartments is it, which from religious reverence for the Church of the Jesuits and the Vatican has been adopted by the talented creators of the airy Gothic vaults for almost all churches after 1635. In this type is indeed manifest the inferiority to the Gothic.

As a final reply to this assertion we recall, that while Gothic architecture, strictly taken, places in our hands as a means only continual variations of one and the same idea, the Renaissance today offers at least twenty types and methods

of composition, that are all merely conceivable architectural means for producing a religious effect, of combination and of development.

959. Apparent Superiority of Secular Architecture.

The view of the inferiority of the church architecture of the French Renaissance to its secular architecture appears as more justified. But by a closer acquaintance the reply is different.

Henri Martin writes:-- ¹⁴²¹ In church architecture the Renaissance with us does not exhibit that period of fame, that secular architecture shows. Anthyme Saint-Paul writes:--¹⁴²² "The churches are the monuments, that have won least by the Renaissance, and by which the Renaissance has also won least".

Note 1421. Vol. 10. p. 476.

Note 1422. See his Renaissance Française in Planat. Vol. 6. p. 379.

If an appearance of justification be also in these opinions, one must not be deceived concerning the true basis of the fact. It does not lie in a less stylistic capability in the latter domain, but in that on the one hand Gothic architecture had accomplished so much in quantity and quality in church architecture, that the necessity and the opportunity for building new churches was already less in itself, and on the other hand was still further lessened by the terrible religious wars.

On the contray in the domain of secular architecture the Gothic, in consequence of its nature and of the much lower state of culture in its time, for long did not exhibit the high results, that we see in the religious realm. Therefore to the Renaissance here remained a much greater problem to solve in order to bring secular architecture to the same height, as that in the 16th century church architecture was prepared for and capable of. This results with entire certainty from the fragmentary types collected by us.

Whoever is sufficiently acquainted with the Italian Renaissance to know, what elements and unexecuted projects in Italy were the ideals of Catholic Europe, and how these influenced Pierre Lescot's famous court of the Louvre, will almost with indignation reject the assertion, that the French Renaissance was less capable of acting in church architecture than in sec-

secular architecture. In numerous fragments has it understood how to conquer other difficulties, and it shows an excellence in treatment and of forms of details, which can excel those of the court of the Louvre.

The opportunity alone was lacking to the Renaissance in the church domain at the right moment, as made clear by our Section on the only fragmentarily executed types. (Page. 658).

The unknown architect of the transept facade of S. Clotilde in Grand Andely (Fig. 163) approached a more difficult problem in composition than Lescot in the Louvre court, and even if everything did not result equally fortunate, one yet stands before a work, that alone already refutes the esthetic correctness of the views here mentioned.

960. Objections to its Foreign Origin.

Among the tendencies with which the Renaissance had to contend in France we have emphasized the fact, that this style in France was not as in Italy a flowering of national elements. But between the recognition of this fact and the propriety of making this an objection lies an abyss indeed.

Nothing is more unjust that the objection, that it is not a national style; nothing is more foolish than regret for the introduction of the Renaissance; nothing is more baseless than the belief, that after the Gothic, France would alone have been able to create a national style.

We have shown that the Gothic in France could have been followed then by no national style, ¹⁴²³ even because all national elements had already found their expression in the Gothic. The mere belief in such a possibility, that one so frequently meets, manifests an entire lack of understanding for the great phenomena of the history of the world.

Note 1423. See Arts. 9 and 26.

Furthermore must be related here a division between the views of French architects and learned men. Courajod and his school would find the origin of the Renaissance, not in Italy like Viollet-le-Duc and others, but in Flanders, Northern France and Burgundy, an opinion designated by us as entirely erroneous. ¹⁴²⁴ Viollet-le-Duc complains thereon, that in the 14th and 15th centuries the life had departed from church art in France, an accusation, that we shall more fully inves-

investigate in the following Article.

Note 142A. See Art. 9.

e. Conclusion.

961. Artistic Freshness of the French in the 16 th Century.

After we have examined all domains, that come under consideration for judging the works of the Renaissance in French church architecture, it is necessary to summarize the final results of these studies.

First of all the continuance of the architectural endowment of the French must be set forth. In spite of the statement of Viollet-le-Duc, that appears but slightly credible to us, that in the 13 th and 14 th centuries life had departed from the Gothic church architecture in France, and had applied itself to secular art, on the contrary we see the French together with the Italians transferred to France develop an indeed wonderful freshness of the power of design until the religious wars, on the one hand in order to combine the attainments of their national Gothic with the charm of the new forms, and on the other to treat also compositions in the Italian spirit with a rare combination of freshness, good taste and imagination.

This undertaking was only possible through the peculiar and privileged location of France. By its geographical location it partakes of both the Southern and also of the Northern nature. In consequence the mode of origin of its nationality it contains Northern and Southern elements mingled. France was therefore by geography, history and development of civilization placed in a position, appearing alternately as a Southern and a Northern nation, frequently also assuming a somewhat intermediate character. The Southern elements fitted it for the classical tendency in art, the Northern for a freer, more naturalistic and realistic one.

This explains in part the character of the Renaissance in France, its tendency, as well as the tendencies, that set certain limits to it.

962. Apparently less Religious than the Gothic.

Further the so common opinion, that the Renaissance style is less suitable than the Gothic for churches, is sufficiently

and splendidly contradicted by our proofs, that indeed the Renaissance has at its command all the elements for being the Christian style in particular. It suffices for this to refer to our study of the means of producing an architectural religious effect (Note 1410), and to the Section on Types (pages 658-662).

On the other hand it would be very unjust not to admit, that in many cases the objection is well founded. But the blame chiefly rests on a misunderstanding. The objection applies to only a portion of the churches built and decorated after the Council of Trent.

Since in the countries in which the Reformation took root, scarcely any churches were erected, it cannot be maintained, that the Reformation generally produced the character of the Italian, French and Catholic churches. That results from the procedures within the Catholic world and Church. In the Sections on the architecture of the Jesuits and that of the Huguenots have we endeavored to explain the reason.

By the elements and the means at command, the architecture of the Renaissance was the most perfect religious architecture, that had till then appeared. Through the historical fate, in which it met, it became the most unfortunate of all. The contrast between the fate of the Gothic and of the Renaissance is indeed impressive in this. There is not a single Gothic ideal, which was not clearly expressed in this style. And not a single church of the high Renaissance exists to exhibit to us the high ideal of that magnificent period of climax, or only a single important interior making known to us one of the ideals of early Renaissance. Is it then wonderful, that the prevailing opinion holds Gothic architecture to be a higher, more perfect and more Christian architecture than that of the Renaissance, in the domain of church architecture?

We here stand before a first partly erroneous view, that requires explanation and correction.

If the highest style of religious architecture of Christendom was overthrown by such frightful catastrophes, that was not the fault of the innate and esthetic nature of the style.

Skepticism penetrated deeply into Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries, particularly in the higher and cultured

classes. If then the Italian art until 1520 had a predominant religious character, that indeed came from the fact, that most artists were derived from the class of the people, as Villari once said to me with justice. Men of the higher classes took morality and custom lightly. The airiness and a frivolous spirit too strongly assumed control; men no longer gave themselves the trouble to make good the appearance of morality. This had the spiritual catastrophe of the Renaissance as a result. Within the Church itself was developed more and more a secular, heathenish, cynical spirit. Against the latter arose then the Reformation, and somewhat later as a reaction against this, the Council of Trent and the Jesuits with their system. The consequences of the two tendencies were sufficiently treated by us in another place.¹⁴²⁵

Note 1425. Arts. 689-696 and Chap. 20, p. 603 et seq.

963. A Misunderstanding.

It is time to make an end once for all of a great misunderstanding, and to refer to the abyss, that prevails between the partial return to the antique in the realm of art and the return to antique morality and religion. We have emphasized how strongly a part of the antique esthetics with its ideal of objective perfection is identical with that of Christianity.¹⁴²⁶ The entire responsibility for the nameless catastrophe of the most elevated art and architecture, which the world and Christianity have ever seen, falls upon the antichristian tendency of the learned and literary men of that time and their works, but in nowise upon the "esthetic principles" of the new art.

Note 1426. See our Work mentioned in Note 1419.

The formative arts, and among them architecture, have the right and duty to reject with all energy the entirety of blame. For art and architecture the compelled return to the antique with its principle of "objective perfection" was a blessing. In the realm of religion and morality this return was a curse, just as the philosophers, skeptics and others would have.

The architecture of the Renaissance has faithfully fulfilled its duty. All means for the most perfect church style of Christianity were combined by it and completed. Never can or will there be a richer and more perfect Christian esthetics,

than that presented by the Renaissance.

964. The Art of "Grace".

In addition to the objection just mentioned, reference must yet be made to a side of the Renaissance, that forms the source of its life, and only in this one point is it at a disadvantage to Gothic; it is first of all an art of "grace". It demands a greater artistic excellence in entire execution, still greater gifts and love for the holy and beautiful, a yet greater Christian faith in all participants. Just this increase of its requirements again exhibits the esthetic ideal of the Renaissance in closer harmony with the Christian religion itself.

In a certain sense and considered in its most ideal heights and most sacred ideals, the art of the Renaissance was like a divine reply to the middle ages and the Gothic. "The Renaissance is the style of grace in response to that of aspiration." It is the reply of the "beauty" of God's grace" to the style of "longing," to the true honorable work and the consecrated endeavors of mankind. In Italy the little Urbino with Bramante and Raphael was the bearer of this response to the colossal endeavors of the Florentine Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, somewhat like the embassy sent from little Bethlehem to the great intellects of Greece and Rome.

This is certainly a subject for earnest consideration, since the sense for perfection of form and the gifts for securing this is less in the North and than in the South, as a rule.

965. The Spirit of the French and of the Italian Renaissance.

Very important for understanding the French Renaissance is here again a comparative view of the results of this role of "Grace." In comparison to Italy, France first of all has placed more weight on human labors and reason than Italy, where the beauty of God's grace is at home.

Therefore as the work of greater human exertion, the French Renaissance is often more interesting and instructive for architects than the Italian. The latter, because more by God's grace, affects us more strongly and speaks to the heart of our love. Aside from the architects, it seizes on and rejoices mankind more than the French. The Italians look rather

at the "art work" than at the "specifically architectural work." The Italians had the good fortune to be less exclusively architects than the French, among whom remained something of the exclusiveness of the Gothic stonemason architects.

Another result of this difference in national gifts is found in the domain of proportions. The French proportions in buildings are chiefly to the Italian as a rather cold and correct drawing to the vibrant harmony of a Titian or of a Giorgione. "Proportions rarely attain to a singing harmony."

In the harmonious grouping of spaces of internal compositions, France can in no respect make a comparison with Italy, and just as little in relation to the variety of ideas in the "magical harmony of the proportions of interiors."

With reference to the richness in types, it should not be surprising, if the preference with which the French held fast to the national attainments in the Gothic caused, that they paid less attention to the other types, which resulted from the expedients at the command of the Renaissance.

Of the 12 types of important Renaissance churches in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, that we have collected without exhausting their number, France created but one type, S. Eustache in Paris, but then after 1635 adopted S. Peter and the Church of Jesuits in Rome as guides.

On the contrary reference is made to the great importance of our Section on the merely fragmentary types of the church buildings of France during this period. Without exhausting them, 20 stages of development of the style have been determined, -- each proved by various fragments -- that were capable under normal conditions of erecting groups of the grandest churches.

Of these typical stages of development there occur:--

In the early Renaissance, Nos. 1 - 4.

In the phase of Marguerite de Valois, Nos. 5 - 9.

In the high Renaissance, Nos. 10 - 17.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Nos. 18 - 20.

One can further conclude from the merely fragmentary types according to the given stages, that without the political and religious catastrophes, the tendency supported by the five great French architects ¹⁴²⁷ of the 16th century, would have

striven to develop also in France the more important types to be seen elsewhere.

Note 1427. See p. 128-157.

966. Worth and Character of French Works.

If the French church architecture of the Renaissance be much poorer than the Italian in regard to types for the treatment of interiors, yet it has it added to the general capabilities of church architecture, treasures of the first importance. More than the Italian and in combination with the Milanese and Spanish, it has shown how men can hold fast to the inestimable acquisitions of Gothic, and can extend and truly fertilize them by combination with Italian acquisitions. Thereby France has chiefly contributed to elevate the Renaissance from an "Italian national style to a world style."

This was an act of priceless importance for all time. Better than all else does it show, that the esthetic endeavors of the French Renaissance in the domain of architecture was in quality higher and nobler than that in the realm of secular architecture.

967. Its Means for religious Effect.

One must admit, that when an architectural and religious effect was attained, it almost exclusively occurred by retaining elements, that the Gothic had developed. This is a kind of evidence of poverty, but also the finest evidence, that the attainments of Gothic could be adapted and developed further in Renaissance architecture.

The other elements of the Renaissance for producing a religious effect seldom came into use, since the superstructure of the Gothic retained by them was little suited therefor.

968. Historical Position of the Renaissance in all Architecture.

As a conclusion to the grasp of the entire work of French church architecture, and to recognize its position in the history of the world, it is necessary to retain before the eyes the roles of the four great successive architectural styles, which commence with Grecian temple architecture, in the close connection of their progressive development.

Hellenic art developed the ideal of the simplest and most direct solutions, but "expressed in the most perfect forms." Rome adopted these forms and combined them with the round ar-

arch of wide span. With this "alliance" in the history of architecture there entered into architecture for the first time "freedom in composition." Yet it still had numerous restrictions.

Among the Germanic races, who had settled in the midst of the ruins of the Roman empire, whether as a national peculiarity or the result of the influence of Christianity, we behold the endeavor to express the "longing upwards," and in the Romanesque style is combined the vertically aspiring style with elements of the sinking Roman art. On the one hand have men forgotten what they had known; on the other hand men could not but express what they greatly desired to say. With the maturing nationality of the first Gallic-German mixed people, i.e. of the French, and thanks to the formative influence of the remains of Gallic-Roman civilization, the Gothic rapidly matured. Then the Northern-Christian ideal of art in the "vertical method of composition" in combination with the study of the Northern nature and flora and the expression of individuality was first attained.

Then could also be conceived an equal alliance of the Northern ideals and the ever true acquisitions of Grecian-Roman art. This alliance is the Renaissance; comprising all and capable of assuming all progress of the future, the beautiful combining of harmony of the perfect and the objective with the rights of the subjective individual.

This "new alliance" of the Renaissance, even far more than the ancient Roman alliance became the Magna Charta of the freedom of architectural composition on the basis of the laws of esthetic harmony. Like Christianity, the church architecture of the Renaissance signifies the freedom of the individual on the basis of harmony with the eternally true laws of God. An architectural principle higher than this is inconceivable.

By the heightening of architectural principles in this representation of development men recognize with trust and elevation on what a noble and safe path architecture has unfolded itself as the expression of the greatest event in history, and have been led to its aim, the "Renaissance", as the expression of all-embracing Christian art.

And within this, first of all the firm adherence to the acquisitions of Gothic has remained the ideal of French church architecture. This was at the same time its fame and its weakness. It has shown thereby, that the national element had not been quenched in it, even if this ideal also on the other hand became for it a temporary restriction on the further development of the style.

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HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE

Part II

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Volume 7

Architecture of the Renaissance in Germany, Holland, Belgium
and Denmark.

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HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE.
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 DENMARK.

By Dr. Gustav von Bezold.

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HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE.

Division II. Architectural Styles.

Volume 7.

Second edition.

Preface to first edition.

*"How he looks around and about,
 Fast turns his head around,
 How will he find words for all?
 How will he unite such crowds?
 How may he ever courageous be,
 Ever to sing and ever to write?"*

Goethe. Hans Sachs' Poet's Mission.

The first description of the Renaissance in Germany was given at the beginning of the seventies (1870) by W. Lübke. His *Geschichte der deutschen Renaissance* is truly not a history, but a collection of the monuments; yet it was and is still the basis for further research. In the end, this must be devoted to representations of the monuments on the one hand, on the other to detailed historical investigations. For representations of the monuments was created a starting point in the "deutsche Renaissance" of A. Ortwein & Scheffers (Leipzig. 1871-7). Unfortunately the great work is entirely without system in plan and execution, with extremely unequal worth in the graphical treatment. Very irritating to the historian is the absence of plans and sections. To the "deutsche Renaissance" was added the "Renaissance in Belgien und Holland". (Leipzig. 1888-91). Likewise in this undertaking is the scientific side too briefly treated; but the drawings of F. Ewerbeck, prepared in common with some colleagues, are splendidly drawn. The "Denkmäler deutscher Renaissance" by K. H. O. Fritsch (Berlin. 1880-91) are well selected and very beautifully represented. To these were added the "Denkmäler der Renaissance in Dänemark" by S. Neckelmann. (Berlin. 1888). Some principal works and groups have also been already treated in monographs. A complete collection of the materials will be made in the "Denkmäler-Inventare" now in progress in all Germany. Less advanced is the state of scientific research. It nowise lacks individual investigations; but they are still very fragmentary, and the history of the artists,

already of considerable importance for the Renaissance, has scarcely been commenced.

After Lübke, R. Dohme gave a comprehensive survey of the Renaissance in his "Geschichte der deutschen Renaissance" (Berlin. 1887). Dohme has not entirely conquered the difficulties, which the material presents to a clear arrangement; but he has correctly recognized the main tendencies of the Renaissance of Germany. One cannot today proceed much farther than he has done. Thus according to the condition to the condition of the preliminary work, it is not now intended to enter upon an investigating historical work on the Renaissance in Germany.

Therefore my work is not an investigation but a representation; it is directed to architects and not to historians of art. The architect requires estimates of art works, not genealogical derivations.

Likewise a purely representative treatment of the German Renaissance meets with great difficulties. The main tendencies of the style are indeed easily perceived and have long been recognized; but within them again diverge many small streams, that are hard to characterize. The entire subject is opposed to a distinct representation in words. The Renaissance in Germany lacks the consistent development toward a single end; it is not simple. One may group the material as he will, the subdivision constantly remains more or less unsuitable; particularly will these separate more distinctly, than corresponds to the object. The chosen subdivision appears to me as the best after long consideration, though others might justly differ from me.

The formal treatment requires, that from the unbounded abundance of the materials, only the isolated higher points be shown, only a limited number of monuments being selected and described. The more monuments described, the more indistinct and dry must the description become; for our esthetic and technical terminology does not suffice to sufficiently characterize such a great multitude of buildings of allied and yet different character, and so much the less, when this chiefly concerns works of average importance. But the description must also not be restricted to a few prominent monuments; the reader must receive the impression, that there is placed before him a not very high,

but a very rich art period.

The text will in all cases be assisted by the picture. The illustrations given have only the purpose of relieving and explaining the text; they will not make superfluous the study of larger illustrated works, and will not serve as models for practice.

In the judgement of the entire period, as of the different works, I have striven for the utmost objectivity; I have sought to recognize the artistic purpose and the degree in which the intent is attained; and have based my decision thereon. That is influenced by my opinions on the nature of monumental architecture, and I do not adjudge monumentality in the highest degree to the German Renaissance, will be evident in any case. Others might think differently of this. No living opinions on art are entirely free from subjectivity.

Nuremberg. August. 1899.

Gustav von Bezold.

Preface to the Second Edition.

The second edition of this book has remained substantially unchanged. Its entire plan admitted of no thorough alterations, and for a new edition, the author only had the choice of making a new work on a new plan, or of leaving it as it is. Since the completion of the first edition, my studies have moved within other and far removed domains. I was not in a position to give out a new work, which must critically investigate. Thus I must decide to add some corrections.

Nuremberg. September. 1907.

Gustav von Bezold.

Division II. Section 3.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE.

Section 3. The Architecture of the Renaissance in Germany, Holland, Belgium and Denmark.

By Gustav von Bezold.

A. Historical Survey.

Chapter 1. Preliminary Conditions and General Survey.

1. General conditions.

The first half of the 13 th century is the climax of the German middle ages. The empire had reached the height of its development; it had become stronger in the contest with the papacy; but it fell in this combat. The fall of the Hohenstaufens is the turning point toward decadence. Vast sacrifices were made for the idea of a world monarchy, and then the positive aim was missed, the solid founding of a natural kingdom, that could be based on the power of a strong house. Now appeared new powers; the territorial princes and the city confederations; the king was no longer master, but only the representative of this power and dependent thereon. Each of these corporations pursued its own aims, and their self-will frustrated all the weak attempts for a common government. In general struggles of aspiring and failing powers is the increasing development of the cities in the 14 th century the most important and resultful appearance. Rich by extended commerce, the body of citizens grew to become a proud separate class; its sense tended toward practical things; it was not puerile; yet ideal purposes were far removed from it. Thus the citizen class in the next centuries had a determining influence on the character of German culture.

The Church had also passed beyond the climax of its power. In the contests with the Empire, it had not concerned itself with the question of its existence; the authority of its powers was not contested on either side; only on its restriction turned the contests for a century, which according to mediaeval views of the divine order of the world, could end only with the victory of the Church. Frederic II was the last great opponent; by his death was the contest decided.

If the highest development of the power of the Church under

Innocent III was with comparative quickness followed by a relapse, this was not alone based on unfavorable external conditions, but there then appeared ideas, directed against the existence of the mediaeval Church itself. Perhaps the mystics of the 14 th century no longer entirely stood on the basis of the ancient Church. Schisms occurred by reason of Peter Waldus and the Albigenses, of Wiclif and Huss; the final rupture came by Luther.

An accompanying phenomenon of the religious, political and social conditions is the decadence of culture. To the degree in which the importance of the Empire and of the lay nobility decreased, to the degree in which the old orders of monks lost influence, disappeared the ideal and formal high culture of the 13 th century. Vanished is the high idealism, that the fanciful undertaking of the crusades had called forth, gone are the songs of the Nibelungen, of Parsifal, of Tristram and Isolde, lost is the monumental feeling, that created the Cathedrals of Limberg and Magdeburg, the statues of the Golden Portal, of the Bamberg and Naumberg Cathedrals.

The efforts of the 14 th century are directly practical, directed to real and limited aims. This disposition is common to all classes and furthers the appearance of a city and civic culture instead of the courtly and knightly one of the 13 th century. Civic remains German culture through the entire 16 th century, indeed even to the thirty years' war, which in general palsied all higher endeavors, and during which the Renaissance movement in Germany found its close. In the aspirations of the citizen class appeared much stern bravery, both in the internal government of the city republics, as well as in external undertakings. How grand is the organization of the Hansa, what importance had commerce with Italy and the Levant, as well as with both Indies! In the orders of the patricians engaged in commerce also prevailed the scientific sense, which was first devoted to the exact sciences. Mathematics, Geography and Astronomy found substantial support in these circles.

2. Character of German art in the later middle ages and in the Renaissance.

Wealth and power of the citizens must also benefit art; besi-

besides the church buildings there already arose in the 14 th and 15 th centuries stately public buildings for secular purposes, and the design and equipment of the citizen's house became more spacious and richer. In the 16 th and 17 th centuries the church architecture completely receded. Civic is the art of these centuries; few truly monumental works originated in Germany in these centuries, and scarcely one reaches the height of the art of the 13 th century. The term civic is required by the art of an allied nearer destination. It first contains a restriction, when it excludes the whole strong style of ideal art; it therefore does not signify the same as natural. This conception is also broader. A national art work may be ideal in the highest sense; a civic one is realistic or follows definite external aims. But the civic art work is natural, so far as it is intelligible to all. The shaping it for a definite purpose and the stopping in the work of formal development, when the aim is attained, is there no reproach to architecture; indeed certain advantages would result therefrom. Such works clearly express their purpose and have an innate truth, that is not infrequently lost in overstrained endeavor for monumentality.

The art of the late middle ages, like that of the Renaissance in Germany, corresponds to a medium height of development; it is true and sound, often dry and often warm hearted; but the lofty flight of the imagination, the extreme depth of design are wanting to it, as well as the last formal perfection. Therein the enjoyment is overrich and not always in connection with the ornament having organic motives, which especially in the 16 th century attained a beauty in internal architecture and in art industry, which is almost without exception referred to the high art of this period. It is the art of a rich and flourishing, not of a pretty civic class, and this is shown by its suitable, by its humanly beautiful side.

That likewise in this period originated here and there works of high monumentality scarcely requires mention; they are generally known. But it is here the object to determine the general character of the period.

Art assumed a higher flight in the 15 th century in Burgundy and in Flanders under Claux Sluter and the brothers Van Eyck.

But these masters were far in advance of their time, and the succeeding generation of artists were unable to hold the art heights, that they had won in one rush. The splendid episode of the Burgundian court quickly came to an end; its knightliness was yet almost a caricature of the old knighthood. The unusual and the striking pleased these; not massive beauty but conscious elegance. The influences could only produce perplexity, that from this court penetrated the people. From the Burgundian court proceeded the savagery of costume in the 15 th century, and if a correct study of the art in the later 15 th century finds far more variations, than we commonly assume, if much sh shows itself as conventional, which at first sight appears to us as deep design, then is perhaps the Burgundian court responsible therefor.

3. Predominance of the picturesque.

The civic character of the entire period is one preliminary condition for the nature of the German Renaissance; a second is the decided predominance of painting over the other formative arts after the appearance of the brothers Van Eyck; this causes the feeling for a severely architectural as well as for a purely relief composition to strongly recede. In any case and not least in architecture is visible the striving after picturesque effect. Gothic architecture finds its end in the 15 th century; like all architectural styles, it has its Barocco, which takes a direction toward the picturesque. More than the other periods does it play with handicraft subtleties, with wound repetitions, flamboyant tracery, and other art works of stonecutting. The formerly so animated foliage of the decoration has become schematic, but it presents a rich alternation of light and shade and fulfils its decorative purpose. But before all appears the turning away from the structural and organic ground principles of the style, in that no longer is the wall surface again a determining element in the esthetic appearance of the building. On the whole, the art character of that time makes itself perceptible on its unpleasant side in these late Gothic works.

4. Style of Sculpture and Painting.

Under the predominance of a picturesque conception of art, there was developed in the German sculpture of the 15 th century that wonderful style of carving, full of contradictions, which

especially in upper Germany, again injuriously reacted on Painting. Both arts were under the ban of a hard formalism, that all acuteness of observation was still devoted to details; invention finds in the face, as well as in the rude and angular movement of the mouldings a deep and true, but rarely a free expression. In the works of the great Netherlanders, and before all in those of Quentin Matsys, in those of the upper German sculptors, of the elder Syalin and of Riemenschneider, of the master of the Blumenberg apostle, and of the great Nurembergers Veit Stoss and Adam Kraft, we see the struggle for a conception of nature full of style; but these masters could not rise above the formal traditions of their time.

5. Beginning of the Renaissance in Painting and Sculpture.

Then about the turn (end ?) of the 15 th century comes the solution by contact with the Italian Renaissance. Its influence at first affected Painting and Sculpture more than Architecture.

Isolated Renaissance forms already occur with the Northern painters after the late period of the 15 th century; yet it cannot come thence; the question is much rather, when in place of the idealism of the later 15 th century, devoted to details, does there appear a freer conception of nature in general? For this era is the beginning of the 16 th century, and Hans Burgkmair and the elder Holbein are the first German masters, who made this conception their own.

6. Hans Burgkmair and Hans Holbein the Elder.

Burgkmair is in depth of invention inferior to Durer, and to the younger Holbein in free greatness of treatment; but he enjoys an important formal endowment, that permits him to gain without toil the transition to a new style. The influence of the Italians is evident; it must indeed be assumed that Burgkmair was in upper Italy before 1500. He was the first German, who also employed the decorative forms of the Renaissance in a comprehensive and consistent manner.

Almost at the same time Burgkmair's fellow citizen, the elder Holbein succeeds to a similarly refined conception of nature, and he likewise employs the ornamental forms of the Renaissance. A few years later, Augsburg is the first centre of the Renaissance in Germany.

7. Hans Holbein the Younger.

In Augsburg, on the father's works and under his direction, Hans Holbein the Younger also began the course of his life. Already at 18 years, he wandered to Basle, and probably from Lucerne in 1518, he visited upper Italy, at least Como and Milan. From this time onward, he adhered closely to the Italian Renaissance; but a fortunate temper kept him from passing into the Italian style. Among all German masters of the early 16th century is Holbein the only one, who has adopted the spirit of the Renaissance in full congeniality, also the only one, who opposes it with entire freedom. This is not alone true of his conception of nature, but just as much of his ornamentation. If the term Renaissance in its full extent be applicable to the German art of the 16th century in but rare cases, it finds application to Holbein's ornamental designs, and yet it is not Italian, but in full sense German Renaissance. Although essentially for art industries, these drawings permit us to anticipate, what under favorable conditions and in the hands of a generation of high-minded artists might have become of the German architecture of the 16th century. Such were not alone wanting, but at least in the first early period, there were also lacking givers of commissions; we meet here again the poverty of German conditions.

Holbein's forms are of royal nobility; he has not his equal therein in German art; desire and ability fully balance there.

8. Peter Vischer.

Next him comes Peter Vischer. He is likewise a perfectly clarified artistic individuality; yet his aims are less elevated, which is not only in the innate endowment of both artists, but is also based on their different courses of life. Holbein grew up in the views of the Renaissance; he saw Italy early and later in England moved in greater and wider conditions, than those of Germany of the early 16th century offered. Vischer remained in the sphere of an imperial city. His first works were entirely Gothic; yet he became versed in the treatment of figures in the new style, the striving after stylistic simplicity, already on the Tomb of Archbishop Ernst in the Cathedral of Magdeburg, completed in 1477. In his famous principal work, the Tomb of S. Sebaldus in Nuremberg, Gothic and Renaissance unite in a charming manner. Here prevails an inexhaustible wealth of

imagination; a multitude of the most seductive details adorn the work; but the full clarity of the structure is not attained. On the contrary, the figures of the apostles stand at a height, that German sculpture had never reached since the 13 th century; they fulfil the severest laws of the art of sculpture. Likewise there lives again in the reliefs from the legends of the saint the pure style of sculpture, lost for centuries. In Vischer's later works the overflowing wealth of invention gave place to a severe restraint. In the elevation as in the decoration were employed the forms of the early Renaissance in the most careful execution.

We know little of the course of Vischer's life. If we compare his youthful works with those of his riper years, then is the consistend development of a natural sculpture arrangement not to be mistaken. But where and how he became acquainted and imbued with the forms of the Renaissance, we know not. The Tomb of Sebaldus seems to me to indicate a contact with the early Renaissance of Burgundy or of Flanders; the analogies of the styles are numerous.

Be it now as one wills, Vischer's quiet clarity must have necessarily led him to the Renaissance, as soon as he came in nearer contact with it.

9. Albrecht Dürer.

Entirely different and in nowise as simple is Albrecht Dürer's relation to the Renaissance. Dürer is no doubt the mightiest personality of the entire history of German art. His glance comprised the entire world of phenomena and searched it with the most amiable thoroughness; but the reproduction is not objective with all acuteness of observation, as with Holbein, but it is strongly colored by personality; that coming to him is emphasized, and the characteristic is sometimes increased to rudeness; the traces of the most intensive mental labor, of the most vivid arousing of the imagination by the object come to light everywhere, and an unfathomable depth of invention is expressed in his works, most directly in the drawings by his own hand.

Dürer spent the time of training in the studio of Michel Wohlgemuth, and carried from the school pronounced impressions into

life. Certain formal and technical peculiarities of the school were never overcome by him, even in the time of his ripest mastery. His artistic invention was rooted in the Late German Gothic.

And yet he became a man of the Renaissance in this at least, that he made the most thorough study of nature the basis of his art, and that he sought by reflection to make himself clear as to the nature of art.

On nature as an instructress must his clear view have already fallen; the insight was required, that the artist must start from her and again return to her, by contact with the Italian Renaissance. Already about 1491, Dürer came to upper Italy and Venice, and he certainly not only saw the works of the great masters, above all those of Giovanni Bellini and of Andrea Mantegna, but likewise obtained an insight into the methods of study of the Italians. But full freedom and maturity was then first brought to him by the second Italian journey in 1505. The studies for Heller's altarpiece and other contemporary drawings make known a perfectly developed and ready conception of nature, and the composition of this altarpiece, as well as the picture of all the saints, correspond in the symmetrical distribution of their masses to the severe ground principles of the Italians. No German painter composed thus. Dürer did not then pursue this tendency further; drawings and copper engravings were produced in great numbers during the next years; but however great he shows himself in these small plates, however dear to us they are, we may still lament, that it was not permitted to him to execute monumental works. Even in these small works he incessantly developed further, and at about the end of his life, gave his highest work in the pictures of the four apostles.

Dürer was inclined toward the artistic ground principles of the Italians, but not to their treatment of form, he always remained independent. consistently true to himself, he struggled with restless industry through to the simple grandeur of the four apostles; everything pretty was completely overcome.

In the industrial domain he did not succeed equally; he cultivated this province only at the side. His industrial feeling is not as unflinching as that of Holbein; neither the proportions nor the sequence of the members move freely within the restraints

of fixed art principles. It indeed remains to be considered, that Dürer's designs (the Triumphal Arch, the Triumphal Chariot, etc.) were merely drawings, in which no regard is paid to the materials for execution, since moreover they were not intended for construction. But how differently did Holbein design in similar cases; he was entirely free from the rudeness and fantasies of Dürer. Thus Dürer writes in the instruction for measuring with the compasses and ruler:-- "But so I now take the learning to make a column or two as an exercise for the young apprentice, and then I think of the German disposition; for commonly all, who wish to build something new, may also have a new form therefor, that was never seen before," so that he thereby designates the reason for his industrial weakness, like that of his countrymen. They create charming things in details; but they do not see the forest on account of the trees. Dürer has likewise made but few concessions in his ornamental style of the Renaissance. His ornament in the prayer book of Maximilian, on the Landau altarpiece and elsewhere is entirely individual and of peculiar beauty; but it lacks the full freedom and elasticity of the lines.

10. Little Masters.

The generation of artists following the great masters of the beginning 16th century already stand on the floor of the Renaissance. Beside and after the younger Holbein work Manuel Deutsch and Urs Graf; Peter Vischer's sons carry their father's style further in a freer manner; Peter Flötner, of many-sided and mobile talents, is entirely imbued with the forms of the Renaissance; the little masters approach Dürer more in time than in nature. They were especially effective by their copper engravings. Their ornamentation is derived from the Renaissance of upper Italy and France, frequently very expressive, yet rarely as full of movement as the Italian. There is scarcely doubt, that these little plates determined the extension of the Renaissance, as well as for their similar form character in wide domains. In this indeed lies the importance of the little masters. They do not altogether equal their predecessors; with the deaths of Peter Vischer and of Albrecht Dürer, and with the departure of Holbein, the great style in sculpture and painting set for Germany. But that the great beginnings of the Renaissance in

these arts had no worthy successors does not change the fact, that the said masters had really introduced a new style. The conception of nature in northern art is a different and a higher one in the 16 th, than in the 15 th century.

11. Architecture.

The same is not true of architecture. It also makes a great change from the second decade of the 16 th century onward; but this first concerns only the formal treatment, not the composition and the construction. The decorative forms of the Renaissance penetrate from the South and the West; but the principles of composition, the clear obedience to law of the Italian Renaissance remains excluded from the German masters.

12. Relation to the Italian Renaissance.

We regard the Italian Renaissance as an internal style (kat egochen), and desire by this designation to express, that in it the treatment of interiors is less controlled by industrial than by esthetic impulses, divisions of masses and their relations. This internal style is already prefigured in the Italian Gothic; indeed the great cathedrals in Florence, Bologna and Como in their abstract beauty of interior belong to its most sublime creations. It is otherwise in Germany. Men desire to recognize in the hall church a precursor of the internal style of the German Renaissance; but if in the hall church, certainly a form derived from the organic Gothic church building, an internal style should have been announced, which is first to be proved, then may the German Renaissance still not be regarded as the further development of this germ; for if any style is not an internal style, this is it. Beautiful treatment of the interior according to masses and proportions is not the nature of this style, that troubles itself very little about proportions.

The architecture of the Italian Renaissance is an art in quiet clarity entirely concerned with itself and satisfied therein; it stands at the height of its development at the time, when in the North the first shoots of the new style germinate. The decoratively sportive is entirely stripped off, that adheres to so many works of the early Renaissance; it is architecture, pure and in the highest sense; it has become an internal architecture, as rarely attained in other periods, never surpassed. Whoever imbues himself with its best works, feels himself

removed from the littleness and worry of external life and elevated to a higher sphere; he experiences in himself the "catharsis", that is the effect of every sublime work of art.

Of all this is scarcely to be found a trace in the German Renaissance; the intellectual basis on which is based the artistic treatment is entirely different. While the Italian Renaissance sought to raise the individual work to typical importance, obedience to principle and simplicity contended, while in it the regard to practical needs receded behind the higher requirements of a severe art; the German Renaissance adhered closely to the needs of a strong and solid, but plain citizens' existence. Something generally available is not the aim; every particular case finds its special solution. Every problem is attacked with sound sense and is boldly carried out according to the requirements of the purpose, without special regard to formal obedience to principle. It is a realistic architecture; its artistic ground principle is the picturesque; this dominates the composition, the grouping of the masses, as well as the decorative completion. The German Renaissance is not greatest where it ends in symmetrical and strictly architectural composition -- the facades, composed according to the so-called orders, are weak with scarcely an exception --, but where masses of unequal value are placed beside each other. It does not distribute the ornament regularly over a surface, but concentrates it on certain parts; bay windows, portals, gables and the like, with greater simplicity of the remainder, and the ornament is effective, less by linear purity of form, than by skilful distribution of light and shade.

By this tendency to the picturesque the German Renaissance is directly joined to the late Gothic; the free grouping of the masses, the irregular distribution of the ornament become already the last steps of the development of Gothic architecture. The mode of decoration also does not change immediately. The forms of the Italian Renaissance are frequently misunderstood and are introduced in the multitude of late Gothic ornamental forms, being combined therewith into, not a strong stylistic, but a harmonious general effect in a decoratively picturesque sense. The masters were not conscious of the innate opposition. Thus the adoption of the Renaissance forms in nowise app-

appears as a break with the past, but rather as an enriching of the treasures of form. But besides such works, that only a adopt certain Renaissance motives, there are early such, that almost wholly belong to the new style and only exhibit some echoes of the Gothic. Yet they do not differ in their plans, but only in their form treatment from the late Gothic buildings. Thus the basal tendency of the German Renaissance shows itself to be entirely different from the Italian, and an innate relation does not exist, like that for German painting and sculpture of the early 16 th century.

By the preceding is characterized the position of the German Renaissance to the Italian on its negative side.

That an external connection in the adoption of forms exists scarcely requires mention. Prototypes are not the forms of the Florentine and the Roman, but those of the Renaissance of upper Italy, that are less severe than the former, have never been entirely overpowered by the ornamental, and therein advanced to meet the decorative sense of the German masters.

13. Impulses from upper Italy, Burgundy and France.

The most important starting points are Venice and Lombardy. Particularly far-reaching are the impulses, that started from the Certosa; they affect Germany, the Netherlands, France and especially Spain. This connection makes it difficult in many cases, if not impossible, to decide whether the former came directly from Lombardy or by the roundabout way through France; for by the naive manner of the art creations of the time and by the decorative conception, with which the Germans approached the Renaissance, the forms torn from their connections were sometimes more and sometimes less freely transformed. That the Renaissance came not alone from upper Italy but also from France, Burgundy and the Netherlands is beyond all doubt. I am too little acquainted with the Renaissance of northeast France and Burgundy to be able to state the route by which the transfer occurred. The intimate connection of the Netherlands with Burgundy was based on the political union in the 15 th century. I recognize here, as in France, the school of the Certosa. I cannot attribute to the school of Fontainebleau the importance, that is usually assigned to it; on the contrary, closer investigation must prove, that as in the 15 th, so in the 16 century mighty

impulses proceeded from Burgundy.

14. Mode and Manner of Introduction.

If we ask, how and by whom the forms of the Renaissance were brought to Germany, there are first to be mentioned artisans, stonecutters, as well as stonemasons, that in their wanderings came to Italy or France, like the master Hieronymus, that built the Fondaco de' Tedeschi in Venice. Their names only exceptionally remain to us. But the knowledge won in their travels by stonecutters and builders is not the only source, and perhaps not even the most important one for the introduction and extension of the new style. The works of painters and sculptors, particularly their epitaphs, the copper engravings and woodcuts of the little German masters, that found wide distribution, carried a perhaps defective view of the Renaissance forms into every district of the land. Italian and French woodcuts, that came to Germany separate or as illustrations of books and were there imitated, likewise contributed much to the extension of the Renaissance. The forms of the architecture and of the architectural decoration appear on the book titles, the borders, the tail-pieces, and even on architectural representations, as in the Vitruvius of Fra Giocondo and others, in simplified and enlarged form. The requirements of linear clearness demanded in these little outline drawings simplifying and transforming the figure to flat forms. The elastic acanthus scrolls of panels in relief and the grotesques were reduced; the structural elements were transformed into ornamental, so far as it did not concern the direct representation of architectural forms. These reduced forms were then again transformed into reliefs by persons, who had never seen the full Renaissance. Much awkwardness and much misunderstanding must slip in during this procedure; but there likewise appear much sound sense and rich skill in sculpture, that also understood how to produce strong effects with the little understood forms.

Finally wandering Italians contributed to the introduction of the Renaissance into Germany, who worked as masons and stonecutters in Germany, whether from foreign or from their own designs. Already from the earliest middle ages onward were Italian masters -- the Comacine masters -- engaged here here and there on this side of the Alps, and in the 16 th century we meet them e

everywhere in Germany beside the natives, the Italian masters. Some of them adhered to the German conception more or less, so that it is often not possible to distinguish their works from those of the Germans by any characteristics of style, while others strongly held fast to the Italian style.

15. Main Tendencies of the Renaissance in Germany.

According to whether the forms of the Renaissance experienced a transformation into the German, or retained their native character, there are now two streams to be distinguished in the Renaissance of Germany from the beginning, one of which we may term the "German Renaissance", while we designate the other as the "Italian Renaissance in Germany".

A second contrast exists between the North and the South of the country. It is based less on the difference race peculiarities of the upper and the lower Germans, than on the different starting points, from which the Renaissance spread in the south and the north. Indeed we also sometimes find in the north Italian masters; but the relations with Italy were long less intimate than in the south. From southern Germany the Renaissance penetrates but sporadically, and scarcely in a noticeable way in architecture into the low German country. The earliest Renaissance buildings of lower Saxony and of Westphalia appear to be dependent on the school of upper Saxony; on the contrary for the Rhine land there appear only relations with the Netherlandish Renaissance; from about 1550 onward, there goes from the Netherlands a mighty Renaissance stream through all north Germany, extending also to Denmark. The relation is therefore far simpler than in the south; the Renaissance of upper Saxony, like that of the Netherlands, is already transferred in the northern sense; its frequently hard and dry forms are already assimilated to the German, and particularly in the spirit of lower Germany; the formative work is absent, that cost the south so much toil. This required that the north did not know a starting of the style, an early Renaissance, or rather that this is to be sought for it in the Netherlands.

In considering the various ways by which the Renaissance penetrated south Germany, the great similarity of the forms

in the most different and most distant places is striking. If certain great masters, like Burgkmair, the two Holbeins, Peter Vischer and his sons, and Peter Flötner already exhibited the entire canon of forms of the first period of the Renaissance of upper Germany, and actually exercised wide-reaching influence, their works were yet not everywhere known, that the Renaissance was employed. Likewise connections of schools or of lodges, as we observe without difficulty in the German Gothic, are scarcely proved at first in the Renaissance. Evidently many masters have formed themselves after very imperfect models, as I have already briefly characterized them. And yet we find everywhere the same character of form.

The phenomenon may in some degree be explained by the common training in late Gothic forms. Eye and hand of the artist are restricted to fixed tendencies by training and custom; he sees more and with more acuteness, but also usually more one-sidedly than the layman; he can only reproduce the sides of the objects observed by his eye, whose course his hand may follow. This restriction is no defect; it alone makes possible the development of a definite individuality, whether as separate personalities or as entire schools; it alone renders possible for moderate talent to do work successfully in the arts.

To the German architecture of the 16th and 17th centuries were no leading spirits, such as were allotted to sculpture and painting. The younger Holbein, who could have become the leader, moved in an ideal world in his designs for facades. Shall we lament the lack of a great pathfinder? What became of German sculpture and painting altho the deaths of Dürer and Holbein and the departure of Holbein? And would these heroes have been able to maintain German art at their ideal height during a period, which was most strongly affected by interests other than artistic?

The German Renaissance lacks the very great geniuses; but it exhibits a great number of men of great and of average talents. Just the works of such masters most purely express the spirit of the time. Each wilfully proceeds according to his own inclinations; for it is the German nature to ever seek n

new forms, that were never seen before; yet in reality with all their wilfulness, they move in a limited circle, for enlarging which their individuality is not sufficiently strong. Few works rise above a medium height, and nearly all are inspired by the same spirit.

The German masters of the 16th century stand at the transition from artisans to artists; the restraint of the trade guild makes itself felt, and if even one or the other makes a study tour to Italy, like Heinrich Schickhardt or J. Wolf, they remain at bottom master artisans. This explains on the one hand their technical abilities, but also on the other, that in them the artistic individuality is not sufficiently developed for them to express themselves in art works with entire freedom. But with all restrictions, much original strength makes itself felt. What a naive joy in creating is expressed in the constantly varied compositions, what warmth of invention, what certainty in the decorative feeling! Few works are purely executed without objections; much remains unsolved in the composition, much in the details is awkward and misunderstood; but in any case is expressed strongly the comfortable joy in life.

16. Relation of the laity to art; secular character of the German Renaissance.

It would be important to know more intimately the relations of the people, or at least of some of its classes, to art; for the character of the art of a period is not alone determined by the artists, but also in no less degree by the classes, on which art is bestowed and who enjoy it. Unfortunately little has been done in this respect. The monuments themselves indeed afford information; but direct evidence in the literature has not yet been collected, but also cannot be abundant. I can only present some hasty notes.

In contrast to mediaeval architecture, the Renaissance is essentially secular. Indeed during all times of the middle ages stately and frequently important secular buildings originated; but the system of construction and the forms were developed in church architecture. In the German Renaissance, church buildings are not even numerous; most of them still

firmly adhere to the Gothic style; the secular architecture has the entire leadership.

17. The Citizen Class.

The mightiest impulses for adopting the Renaissance come from the cities. These had reached the height of their development in the later 15th century; . rich and well organized public life had been developed; great commercial undertakings brought prosperity and wealth; in the citizens was also concentrated the culture of the time; it is not very elevated, but is sound and respectable. It is a strong race, that places importance in the external appearance. With prosperity also increases the demands for comfort. The house is the pride of the man, the joy of the housewife, it is both externally and internally equipped by their best efforts. The rooms receive paneling and ornamental wooden ceilings; glazing of windows was common; brightly colored plates with historical, allegorical or heraldic representations were liked; in place of the fireplace appeared the tile stove, that was frequently brightly glazed; gay hangings adorned the walls; but above all the furniture was richer; paintings and ornamental vessels of metal or glass decorated the rooms, and the pure magnificence of a beautiful and appropriate costume corresponded to the stately furnishing of the dwelling.

12 The feeling for public life is still very active, and the citizens eligible for the council devoted themselves to the service of the community in counsel and in war. Even the artisans did not labor individually, but within their guilds. A great series of stately city halls, guild halls, commercial halls and other buildings are the monumental evidence of the common life of the city. Earnest and suitable, they almost always clearly correspond to their purpose, and this innate truth is one of the most enjoyable sides of the German Renaissance.

Thus is the joy in the beautifying of the surroundings by art and in the possession of art works generally extended; but it is rather the rich than the simply beautiful that pleases, and a high sense of art rarely occurs in Germany, such as we find everywhere in Italy.

18. Princes.

Powerful helpers of the new style were likewise the ambitious territorial princes. The magnificence of the imperial court was to be attained and surpassed if possible. A body of *Mæcenases* was not entirely lacking.

Maximilian, the favorite of humanists and of poets, in his many-sidedness is a man of the Renaissance, certainly only of the German; the higher culture is lacking in him. He employed the greatest masters on little works. Their drawings are indeed superior to the text they illustrate; but they have created so many charming things, that we must lament that these are merely woodcuts and not monumental paintings. The idea of his Tomb is great, and in spite of many defects in execution, the work has a grand and abiding effect.

Albrecht von Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz, gathered in his court a circle of humanistic cultured men, and for this was esteemed by Reuchlin. He was also devoted to the formative arts; Peter Vischer, Flötner and the remarkable painter Matthäus Grünewald worked for him. What he built in Halle belongs to the late Gothic.

A higher sense of architecture occupied the Wittelsbachers of the Palatinate, and before all Otto Heinrich. He began in the third decade the erection of Castle Neuburg, and he continued in Heidelberg in a splendid manner the buildings commenced by his predecessors. At the beginning of the 17th century, he found a worthy successor in Frederick IV. The Otto-Heinrichsbau and the Friedrichsbau are indeed the most monumental evidences of the German Renaissance.

The buildings of the Palatinate are worthily classed with those of the Bavarian Wittelsbachers. Here at first prevailed the Italian, and later the Italian-Netherlandish spirit; Wilhelm V and Maximilian I show themselves as high-minded patrons of the arts.

Not everywhere do we find this height of inclination for architecture; but genuine love of building inspired nearly all German princes of the 16th and 17th centuries, and everywhere arose stately palaces.

The Fuggers in Augsburg did similarly as the princes. Their Tomb-Chapel near S. Anna is the first Renaissance building

in Germany (1512), and a few years later (1515), they built their palatial house on the principal street, but unfortunately very few traces of its former magnificence still remain. Jacob Fugger called the painter Ponzano about 1570 from Venice to Augsburg for decorating some rooms of the palace, and this master later assisted in the artistic completion of the ducal buildings in Landshut and Munich.

19. Churches.

Less active was the Church; its architectural needs had been satisfied in the preceding centuries, and many great undertakings still lacked completion. The great church buildings of the Jesuits, as well as those of the Prince Bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, belong to the late time of the period. Protestantism had not attained higher independence in the domain of church architecture. -- The 16th century was filled by religious wars, and it was no time for the proper development of church architecture.

20. Humanism.

The great intellectual movements of the time, that humanism and the Reformation have not influenced the formative arts to the degree, that men have been inclined to assume.

The Italian Renaissance stands in direct connection with humanism, which in Italy pursued aims more esthetic than scientific. The Italian saw in the revival of classical antiquity, that was still merely a pleasant fiction, a return to the native hereditary views of art and life, but which were disturbed by the invasion of the barbarians. And there really lived in them so much of the antique spirit, that an art could blossom, allied to the ancient Roman in spirit and yet excelling it. What a purely esthetic view of the world, applied to all conditions of life, could produce in mastery, was at least attained in the formative arts; but in the life ethical weaknesses also clearly appear, which they bring with them. They, and not in the least the dark position of religion and of the Church, are to blame for the early end of the Renaissance and the thorough change in dispositions already soon after 1500.

The German humanism prospered differently from the beginning. It had a more philological-scientific, a pedagogical tendency. The older humanists still stood entirely on the basis of Chr-

Christian orthodoxy; but the increasing admiration for classical antiquity led many of the later humanists to an estrangement from the Church, and they placed themselves joyfully on the side of Luther, when the great intellectual combat began.

With all admiration, the relation to antiquity in Germany was still quite different from that in Italy. Men could not regard the Romans as their ancestors, nor their language and art as an inheritance lost and won again. Therefore humanism in Germany could not become truly national. It was unfruitful for the arts. We find enjoyment of the formative arts but seldom among the German humanists and in limited measure; direct furtherance of the Renaissance did not proceed from that circle. A direct influence cannot be ascribed to them. The Grecian and Roman legends and histories were translated and won a wider distribution. They could not fail to be represented artistically. In the works of the little masters, they occupy much space. Likewise the bulky allegories in secular representations may be referred to humanistic influences. That the humanists participated in making programmes for drawings and especially for monumental paintings is evident from literary evidence, as well as from the monuments.

From the general admiration for antiquity also resulted that for antique architecture. Without knowing it, men esteemed it as especially noble and were inclined to adopt the antique style. No German architect indeed went back to antique monuments; men already took the Italian Renaissance as the original source, and made further deviations from this changed art.

The early German Renaissance stands in no nearer relation to the antique; Vitruvius' handbook in the translation of Ruvius (1548) and Serlio's books on architecture (1542) first transmitted to the Germans in some degree the knowledge of the antique orders; but their influences on the practice was slight.

21. Reformation and Counterreformation.

The universal problem of the German nation in the 16th century lay in religious, and not in esthetic domains. Neither Erasmus nor Hutten, Dürer nor Hans Sachs is the man of the century, but Martin Luther. One may stand toward Luther, as

he will; that he showed the way to the religious perceptions of the greatest part of his people for centuries later, that the entire course of development of German intellectual life until our own time was perfected under the influence of his acts, cannot be contested; his overpowering greatness also appears in this, that we have not yet entered into objective relations to him, but we still today view him with enthusiastic love or bitter hate.

The storm release by him at once occupied and dominated all intellects; unfortunately some took part for and others against him. In presence of this combat for the highest good, all other intellectual interests receded. Unheard of compulsion of the spirit was employed by both sides; the decision of the sword was frequently called in, and only in complete exhaustion did the German peoples attain repose by the peace of Münster and Osnabrück.

The Reformation has no direct relation to the formative arts and did not further them, and least of all architecture. The Reformation and the Catholic Counterreformation rent an impassible chasm in the spiritual life of the nation; the Catholic South and the Protestant North hence took different ways, and the same was true for the Catholic, Flemish and Protestant Holland provinces of the Netherlands. But if Catholicism predominated in the South and Protestantism in the North, yet in both the domains of both faiths frequently intermingled, and the opposition of faiths suffice to explain the phenomena in artistic realms. They were very rude in the late 16th and the 17th centuries and yielded to a thorough toleration in the 18th; but their influence on science and art most perceptibly appeared in just the 18th century.

21. Introduction of the Italian Barocco.

The Counterreformation must have aided the adoption of the Italian Barocco style for external and internal reasons, while Protestantism favored adherence to the national style. But after in Catholic as well as in Protestant creations, larger or smaller domains belonged to one or the other faith, it could not fail, that these followed the general tendency of their surroundings.

The Counterreformation had as a result a closer connection

of the German Church with Rome; likewise the intercourse of the Catholic courts with Rome was very active at the time, in order to extirpate the teaching of Luther and to lead the people back to the Church. In consequence of the Counterreformation the Italian Barocco made its entry into Germany. Italians and Netherlanders trained in Italy came to the courts of Vienna, Munich, Salzburg, Brussels etc., and some of these many-sided masters had in hand the direction of all artistic undertakings of the princes. Their position was already quite different from that of the old German master artisans. There was indeed none like the cavalier and diplomat Rubens; but the esteemed positions, raised above the restrictions of the guilds, were occupied by the art directors of the German princes, Friedrich Sustris and Peter Candid in Munich, Bartholemew Spranger in Prague and others.

As the painters did earlier, now certain south German architects also made study tours in Italy. Heinrich Schickhardt in Stuttgart and Elias Holl of Augsburg have told us of their journeys in their autobiographical notes, that J. Wolf, the builder of Nuremburg City Hall, was in Italy is known from other sources.

What came in this way to Germany and the Netherlands was no native style. The tendencies of the Italian late Renaissance and of the Barocco were already very divergent, and if the splendid characteristics of the Barocco, which Wölfflin has given (Renaissance and Barocco), strictly taken only apply to the Roman Barocco, then must the different modes of transmission compel further differentiation. The earnest grandeur of the Italian Barocco is possessed only by some of the buildings designed and constructed by Italians. The architecture of the Netherlands of Italian tendencies is rather a belated Renaissance in its treatment of interiors, even if it also adheres more or less to the forms of the Barocco. Finally the Germans formed themselves, so far as this goes, on the dry art of Palladio. But in spite of all diversities, the transfer of Italian architecture to the North is still a common Renaissance, that places itself in opposition to the German; the tendency to architectural magnitude. The direction is

again transferred to church architecture.

23. German Barocco.

The North adheres to the national style. The factors that favored the broad stream of the Italian Barocco into south Germany vanished in the Protestant countries; but even in the Catholic provinces in Rhineland and its like was not disseminated; on the contrary occurred there the Renaissance in a phase of development, that may be designated as German Barocco. The nearer basis of this appellation follows in another place

The kinds of Italian-like and German Barocco denote the main currents of German architecture of the late 16 th and of the first half of the 17 th centuries; but in nowise do they comprise all of these. An exceptional position is taken by a series of very worthy buildings of the Palatinate and of Franconia, an exceptional place by the singular revival of Gothic architecture in the same period, not to mention sporadic appearances here and there.

24. End.

There was still much building in Germany until late in the thirty years' war. Gradually was exhausted the extraordinary wealth of the country. Only the second half of the war, when there was no mention of carrying on the war on a great scale, armies and people became more and more savage, did Germany truly fall; not the victory of one or the other party, but poverty, depopulation and exhaustion put an end to the miserable war.

After the war begins a new period of the history of German art. The formative arts become international and recede from the leading place, that they occupied during the period of the Renaissance. The disposition of the time has become lyric; the increased intimacy of Catholic religiosity, like the Protestant pietism, finds its adequate expression, not in the formative arts, but in music. In a remarkable parallel to Dürer and Holbein, the founders of the German Renaissance, stand on the threshold of the 18 th century two musicians;-- Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Friedrich Handel.

Chapter 2. Echoes of Gothic and Beginnings of Renaissance in the Netherlands.

25. Gothic Buildings with some Renaissance Forms.

Strictly taken, the Renaissance of the Netherlands must be treated in connection with the Burgundian. I know neither the one nor the other sufficiently and can only present some general remarks on the Renaissance of the Netherlands.

Renaissance buildings of the 15 th century do not exist. But indeed even in the 15 th century, certain Renaissance motives penetrated into the luxuriant late Gothic of the Netherlands. When this adoption of Renaissance forms began is therefore an immaterial question, since it indicates an addition to the stock of forms of the old style, rather than the beginning of the new one; yet it does not precede the last decades of the 15 th century, and only wins a greater extension in the early portion of the 16 th.

The most important master in this last phase of the Gothic style is Rombout Keldermans from Mechlin. How much of the work ascribed to him actually belongs to him is to be more fully investigated.

Keldermans preferred to employ on his houses a facade system, on which the narrow Netherlandish city hall with its crowded and tall windows is almost necessarily impressed, and whose origin is perhaps to be sought in wooden construction. Between the rectangular windows stand slender grouped columns, that receive the freely drawn arches. The tympanums are filled by ornament, the spandrels between the arch mouldings and the belt of the story above with tracery. The system is repeated in several stories. In the filling ornament, Keldermans adopts certain Renaissance motives in the second decade of the 16 th century. Fig. 1¹ exhibits a window from the Guild House of the Fishermen at Mechlin.

Note 1. After Ysendyck, J. J. Documents classees de l'Art dans les Pays-Bas du Xme au XVIIe Siecle. Brussels. 1880-1889.

The facade system does not proceed from a structural necessity, but gives an ideal apparent organism, that is justified where it serves for the expression of higher architectural ideas, the relations of the stories and the like, but which is

here employed in a purely decorative way. According to the same ground principles also proceeded the northern Renaissance, and just the ornamental character of both art tendencies is the reason, why they could exist so long beside each other. Keldermans does not give up the Gothic general design in adopting this ornamentation, although the system almost of itself verges on the Renaissance, and already in the lifetime of Keldermans was changed into Renaissance forms, yet in some of his works, as in the facade of the City Hall at Ghent (1518-1535) with entirely Gothic forms, the spirit of the Renaissance very perceptibly appears. See the canopy between the windows of the ground story in the work by Ysendyck.² Allied is the spire of the Tower of Antwerp (completed in 1518); not by Keldermans. The system of construction in the Bishop's Palace at Liege (1508-1540; Fig. 2²) is nothing more than a basilican system employed externally with a triforium; in the ground story are found wonderful columns in little understood Renaissance forms. The Bourse in Antwerp by Paul Snyderinx has a fanciful columnar court; it belongs to a similar tendency, if my recollection be not in error.

Note 2. After Ysendyck.

26. Renaissance Buildings.

Contemporary with these buildings originated such, on which the Renaissance had already found a tolerably pure development. Jan Borremans from Brussels built in 1519 the House of the Great Salmon in Mechlin (Fig. 3³); the gable is new; three orders are placed above each other, and the stories are separated by entablatures; but the columns extend only to the impostes of the arches, and in the spandrels are consoles, that bear the entablature. All surfaces are richly and gracefully ornamented.

Note 3. After Ysendyck; for details see Sculptures. Pls. 1 and 3 S.

The Chancellery in Bruges (1535-1537; Fig. 4⁴), built by Christian Sixdeniers after the plans of Johann Wallot, apparently has a more severe system, but the treatment of the cornices is defective; they are at the same time bases for the upper orders and have a heavy effect. On the fanciful gables recalling Venetian buildings are also found Gothic crockets.

The ornament is pure and very good. ⁹

Note 4. After Ysendyck.

The system frequently reappears later; but it is almost always treated decoratively and scarcely affords opportunity for a strong handling of the forms and proportions.

Rombout Keldermans was also employed on the oldest Renaissance building of Belgium, the Palace of Margaret of Austria. (Landholder of the Netherlands from 1506 to 1530). The latter was erected in the year 1517, retaining older portions in the court. The plan must have been by Guyot de Beauregard, who came with Margaret from Burgundy, the execution being by Keldermans. It is a tolerably simple building (Fig. 5⁵); it no longer bears a trace of Gothic, but is built in a simple and somewhat thin Renaissance. The story masonry is only animated by windows, portal and a small balcony; the gables and dormers have an architecture composed of graceful half columns and pilasters. One may recognize without difficulty the connection with the early French Renaissance. The principle is already genuinely French, to first permit a subdivided architecture to begin on the roof, and the detail forms are likewise taken from the French Renaissance.

Note 5. After Ysendyck.

But the composition in which the picturesque principle predominates has a Germanic attitude, if not German, and the good sides of the German Renaissance are clearly indicated in this expressionless work.

Thus we find where a stronger architectural system is the aim, a playing with forms and orders, and only where these conventional fetters are stripped off and the architect moves freely, the breaking forth of an independent and picturesque principle of composition. Analogous appearances are not met with in Germany.

27. Works of Decorative Sculpture.

A style with its centre of gravity lying so certainly on the side of decoration, must put forth its most luxuriant efforts in the domain of the architectural treatment of the interiors. One must now remember, that the late Gothic of the Netherlands was no organic style, but merely the ornamental

derivative of such, a derivative whose forms of ornament scarcely longer have a signification symbolizing construction, and therefore that the introduction of new forms, grown on another soil, is not objectionable, so long as they are only harmoniously wrought with the old style into an ornamental general effect. Such a working over of heterogeneous form elements has a necessary presumption of great naivety and of an extraordinary strength and sureness of decorative invention. In this intellectual power consists the greatness of the northern masters in the beginning of the 16th century.

The combination has not invariably succeeded; Gothic and Renaissance forms frequently extend beside each other without mediation; shrill dissonances are likewise here. Works, that support what is said, are very numerous in the Netherlands as well as on the lower Rhine. Ysendyck gives a considerable number of good examples in nearly every section of his work.

In churches are first of all the choir screens; S. Gertrude at Nivelles,¹² the Parish Church in Nieupoort,¹³ Dixmuyde (Fig. 6⁸), rood screens etc.; also altars; a reredos in S. Leonhard at Leau (Fig. 7¹⁰), a very interesting reredos at Oplinter from 1525¹⁵, another in the Collection Beaufort,¹⁶ another with the seven joys of Maria in S. Savior in Bruges,¹⁷ and then very beautiful examples in S. Victor at Xantes and in Kalkar.¹⁸

Note 6. See Ewerbeck, Die Renaissance in Belgien und Holland. Leipzig. 1891. XIII, XIV; Pls. 111 to 113.

Note 7. After Ysendyck. N. Plates 5; T, pl. 21.

Note 8. Same. T. pl. 32.

Note 9. Ewerbeck. Drawing of this building.

Note 10. Ewerbeck.

Note 11. Lambert & Stahl.

Note 12. Ewerbeck.

Note 13. Same; Stalls, pl. 6.

Note 14. Same.

Note 15. Same. Retable, Pl. 1.

Note 16. Same. pl. 23.

Note 17. Same. Pl. 5.

Note 18. Clemen, P. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz. Düsseldorf.

Further references may be made to the tombs; the motive is allied to that of the altar reredos and is also similarly treated. ¹⁹

Note 19. Ysendyck. monuments commémoratifs. pls. 2, 3.

An astonishing magnificence is sometimes displayed on mantels. Very early and still in the 15th century is the mantel from the Markiezenhof at Bergen-op-Zoom, on which may be observed the timid intersections of certain Renaissance motives.²⁰ Overrich with the finest execution in the forms of an early Renaissance is the mantel in the Hall des Franc of Bruges,²¹ after the design of Lancelot Blondeel in 1529, executed by G Ghyot de Beauregard. On the contrary, the rich and beautiful mantel in the hall of the City Hall in Courtrai²² is still almost entirely Gothic. The figures of Archduke Albrecht and of Isabella are later additions.

Note 20. Ysendyck. H. pl. 8.

Note 21. Same. Cheminees. pl. 4.

Note 22. Same. Pl. 3.

That on panelings and on furniture the same style occurs scarcely requires mention.

Nearly all these works belong to the first third of the 16th century. Besides the richness of imagination, which they present, the technical execution arouses admiration. for example, see the wood carving on the altar in Xantes by Clemen or in the journal mentioned below.²³

Note 23. Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. 1893. Pls. 48, 49.

Chapter 3. Penetration of Renaissance Motives in German Gothic.

28. Beginnings in Architecture.

The development of architecture, like that of architectural decoration in southern and middle Germany, proceeds parallel to that in the Netherlands, not only at the same time, but also in its style character. Here also the more or less abundant adoption of Renaissance motives makes no break with the past. But the formative power is less than these, and the result is often rather unsatisfactory. The first introduction of Renaissance forms occurred somewhere between 1480 and 1490. As the earliest building in which Renaissance forms are found with Gothic construction, passes the Wladislay Hall in Prague, built in 1493 by Benedict Rieth (Benesch von Laun); but it is questionable, whether these windows and portals belong to the date of erection.

On approximately a similar step of development stand the porticos of the court of the Palace in Freising of 1519. Supports of different forms bear the segmental arches of the upper portico, covered by a netted vault. The forms make an impression, that awkward woodcuts were the model.²⁵ The wonderful window of the Cathedral cloister of Regensburg by Ulrich Heidenreich (Fig. 8¹¹) may be contemporary, or a little later.

Note 24. From Kunst- und Altertumsdenkmäler im Königreich Württemberg. Stuttgart.

Note 25. Illustrations of this architectural monument are to be found in:-- Lambert & Stahl. Motive der deutschen Renaissance Architektur des 16, 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts in historischer arrangement. Text by E. Perlepsch. Stuttgart. 1891-1893. Also in Kunstdenkmäler des Königreich Bayern. Vol. 1. pl. 45, 46.

Far more important, and indeed one of the most original works of the entire German Renaissance, is the octagon of the tower of S. Kilian in Heilbronn, built in 1512 by Hans Schweiner from Weinsberg. (Fig. 9²⁴). The general form recalls Lombard towers over crossings, as on Chiaravalle or the Certosa, and perhaps Neumann remembered it in the elevation of the cathedral tower of Mentz. Romanesque forms are echoed in certain parts; Gothic also occur; all treated with small understanding of form, but naive and of pleasing effect as a

whole.

A notable transition building in the new parish church, the Church zur schönen Maria in Regensburg (1519). Gothic and Renaissance forms are mingled, but clarified into a beautiful general effect, as shown by the City Hall at Ensisheim in Alsace from 1595. (Fig. 10²⁶). Also the Cloth House at Nuremberg, that I shall describe in connection with the buildings of the Renaissance there, is to be mentioned here. Further examples are found here and there.

Note 26. After Lambert & Stahl.

The mixture of forms lessens about the middle of the 16th century, but it was never entirely abandoned. The Nuremberg courts of the 17th century have Gothic tracery in the balustrades of their porticos; likewise Gothic forms of vaults were long retained; particularly church architecture held firmly to the late Gothic style.

29. Beginnings in Decorative Sculpture.

Among the works of decorative sculpture is again to be recalled first of all the Tomb of S. Sebald by Peter Vischer, that in unified handling of the different style forms equals the best Netherlandish works, but few excel them in originality of composition.

The form of monumental tomb most employed is that of a shrine in relief, on which is placed a representation from the sacred story or the figure of the deceased. Among the works of the early period, that stand in the transition from Gothic to Renaissance, the Tomb of Archbishop Uriel von Gemmingen in the Cathedral of Mentz from 1514 (Fig. 11²⁷) is indeed the best; the style is an early Renaissance, only mixed with Gothic forms in the canopy and finials, and firmly adhering to the Gothic style in the very picturesque treatment of the figures.

Note 27. After Mitt. aus dem Germ. Museum. 1887.

The motive of the shrine was also applied early for the redoses of altars, thus on the altar of the canon Kaspar Martolt at Freising²⁸, which was executed in red marble, is imperfect in the handling of the motive and by its low relief has little effect; beside the shrine are rudimentary side wings, also of stone.

*Note 28. A representation of this altar is found in Die K
Kunstdenkmale des Konigreich Bayern, from 12 th to end of 18 th
century. Vol. 1. pl. 43. Munich. 1892-1895.*

In general, wood remained the material for the altar reredos; men knew how to work with more freedom in that material. Dürer took the shrine motive in the altar of Landau Chapel (1511), which formerly contained the figures of all saints. The proportions tell little and therefore the ornament tells more. Free from everything conventional, it is the master's most peculiar creation; neither Gothic nor Renaissance. Precious is the representation of the Last Judgement on the frieze, executed in a very pure style of relief. The execution must have been by Veit Stoss.

Generally, men held fast during the early period to the traditional from the altar with side wings. On the altar of miners in Annaberg are only to be found Gothic motives clothed in Renaissance forms.²⁹ The high altar of the Chapel of S. Rochus in Nuremberg (Fig. 12³⁰) is indeed likewise an altar with wings; yet the composition of the shrine as well as the upper addition is kept within the spirit of the early Renaissance, and to this also correspond the forms. The wings, on which Gothic ornament also occurs, appear as superfluous additions.

Note 29. For a representation of this altar, see Andrae, K. Die Kunst im sächsische Erzgebirge. Pl. 21. Dresden.

Note 30. After Deutsche Renaissance. Edited by A. Ortwein. Leipzig. 1871-1875. New series edited by Scheffers. Abt. 1. Leipzig. 1876-1888.

Chapter 4. The direct Influence of the Renaissance of upper Italy in Germany.

30. Influence of upper Italy.

Besides the productions of the transition period varying between Gothic and Renaissance, there occur at the same time such, in which the ground principles of the Renaissance are expressed in purer works. These works belong to the most charming, that the early Renaissance has created in Germany. If also far removed from the severe sublimity of Tuscan art, their close connection with Italy cannot be denied.

The earliest example is the Fugger Chapel at S. Anna in Augsburg (Fig. 13 ³¹), erected at the order of Johann Jacob Fugger II between the years 1509 and 1512. Excepting the netted vault, it is pure Venetian Renaissance with a simplicity of formal development, that scarcely occurs elsewhere in Germany. Only to the organ is applied beautifully designed ornament in rich abundance. Weinbrenner, who has well published this Chapel in the work mentioned below, ³¹ assumes that it was executed by the German master Hieronymus, who built in 1505-1508 the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice. The designs for the internal treatment probably were by Peter Flötner. Further information is wanting.

Note 31. According to Weinbrenner, E. Entwürfe und Aufnahmen von Bauschülern der Technische Hochschule zu Karlsruhe 1884.

Note 32. On the Tombs of the Fuggers, also see; Vischer, R. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte. p. 588 et seq. Stuttgart. 1886. -- On Peter Flötner's part in the design, see Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen. Vol. 26. p. 122 et seq.

The adoption of the Renaissance was prepared for in Augsburg by the activity of the painters Hans Burgkmair and the elder Holbein. Whether Burgkmair, as Julius Gröschel ³³ assumes, also practised as architect, and whether the court with porticos of the Fugger Palace in Augsburg was built by him, remains questionable. Bad fantasies of picturesque composition--the windows in the upper story are treated as piers, from which extend arches, through which one sees a sky painted on the wall, and from which a jolly society look down into the

court etc., rather speak for this assumption. The conjecture is probable, that the painting was by Jörg Breu. The whole is youthfully pleasing, though not important, and originated between 1512 and 1515.

Note 33. In Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft. Vol. 11. p. 240 et seq.

A very graceful work in this Venetian art tendency is the porch before the Court Church in Innsbruck.(Fig. 14 ²⁵).

Richer fruits were borne by the impulses of the masters mentioned in the domain of the minor architectural arts. The high altar in Annaberg (1522) by Adolf Daucher from Augsburg (Fig. 15 ³¹) exhibits Venetian forms, even if the treatment of the capitals and the mouldings there are notably weakened.

22 To Hans Daucher, son of the master, from whom we have a number of small works and reliefs executed with extreme care, has recently been ascribed the beautiful Tomb of Wolfgang Peisser in the Garrison Church at Ingoldstadt.(Fig. 16 ³⁵)

From Augsburg, likewise came the Eichstätt sculptor Loy Hering, who there developed an extensive activity. His altars and tombs please by their simple and clear elevations, by the good handling of the reliefs and by the careful execution. Hans Daucher and Loy Hering are chiefly talented in forms; they attain in their limited circle a high perfection. They had no followers.

Note 34. After Andrae.

Note 35. After Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreich Bayern, from the 11 th to the end of the 18 th centuries. Munich. 1892-1895.

The tendency continued until 1560. It may be seen on the later works, that a certain school tradition existed, that retained its original hold, without requiring new impulses directly from Italy. But there are but one or few studios.

Allied works were undertaken in Nuremberg by the foundry of Peter Vischer. After the transition from Gothic to Renaissance was completed, and to which we owe the Tomb of S. Sebaldus, the master moved with quiet certainty within the form world of the Renaissance. The chief works were the grilles in the hall of the City Hall in Nuremberg, originally intended

for the Fugger Chapel in Augsburg and perhaps designed by Flötner. The representations of the grilles, however inaccessible they are, permit the recognition that in them a principal work of the Renaissance in Germany has disappeared. In Vischer's Tomb, the treatment of the figures is plain and truthful, the architectural enclosure being in the purest harmony with them. They are characterized by clear simplicity of the structure, by pure and careful modeling of the ornament. Cort Meade in Lübeck must have worked in Vischer's foundry. A beautiful tomb by him is found in the Cathedral cloister at Hildesheim. Perhaps to him is to be attributed also the epitaph of the family Wiegerinck at Hildesheim.

There are scattered works of this Italian tendency in different countries of Germany. In the southeast, Castle Porzia near Spital on the Drav, a shoot of Venetian Renaissance, may scarcely be reckoned among German monuments.

²⁹ The thoughtful grace of youth, that characterizes these works, could not be long retained; development must either lead to higher aims in forms, or to a bolder expression of form.

Chapter 5. Early Renaissance in Saxony and Silesia.

31. School of the Certosa.

Venice was the starting point for the Augsburg Renaissance. More extended and continuous were the influences of the Lombard Renaissance, particularly the school of decoration proceeding from the Certosa. The purposes of this school are directed toward great richness and magnificence of decoration. Wherever any decorative ornament is added, they apply it and transform even architectural forms in a decorative sense, so that columns become candelabras, the pediment cap of the window is a volute, and the cornices are often shaped in a decorative sense instead of an architectural one. They decorated surfaces by pilasters, friezes and archivolts with ornament in bold relief. On the pilasters, besides the great scrolls developing in a series of ascending stalks or a single one, there frequently appear ornaments, composed of a series of vases placed on each other, while the ground left between them is filled with plant ornament, cupids or animals. In scroll ornament, the scrolls begin with plant forms and frequently terminate in banded volutes.

Such a predominating decorative art can only undertake something actually important, when beside it stands a high architectural sense. It requires a rich measure of artistic tact and great care in the execution. Where these are wanting, the effect already in Italy easily became little and unquiet, as for example on the facade of S. Maria de' Miracoli in Brescia.

32. Beginning of the Renaissance in Saxony.

In Germany Hans Holbein the younger starts from Lombard art. (Art. 7). His works are scattered here and there, which presume the knowledge of the Lombard Renaissance. Enduring and extended are their influences in Saxony and Silesia. While elsewhere the development rapidly leads from these tumid works like the Italian to the dryer German style, Saxon and Silesian architecture retained the character of the early Renaissance until after the middle of the century. The general treatment and certain motives and forms remain so constant, that one may there speak of a school.

The derivation of this school from the late Gothic Church in Annaberg arouses thought. The altar of Adolf Daucher (Art. 30) and the balustrades of the galleries are not works, that are in position to determine the art tendency of extensive provinces and to lead it into new paths. Besides Daucher's altar is Venetian, and the Saxon Renaissance is Lombard. conditions actually occur in the late Gothic of upper Saxony similar to those in the Netherlands, and they lead to similar results. I do not mean by this, that in these late Gothic hall churches an internal architecture is pursued in the sense of the Italian Renaissance; they are indeed scarcely equal in regard to beauty of interiors to other German hall churches, like the Cathedral at Minden, the Wieson Church at Soest, or 30 the Parish Church at Laufen on the Salzach. Nothing is gained thereby, even if the internal art in the higher sense might be actually mentioned for these Saxon hall churches; for the Saxon Renaissance is no inferior art. But on the contrary, the formal development of the late Saxon Gothic leads to similar results, as we have found in the Netherlands, and makes them suited for the adoption of Renaissance motives and the transition into the Renaissance. The buttresses of the Maria Church at Zwickau or the portal of the Castle Church in Chemoitz stand on the same step of development with the City Hall in Ghent.

In the second decade of the 16 th century, besides the works in Annaberg, there indeed originated here and there some works in the new style, such as the portal of Fortress Stolpe ³⁷, or the still half Gothic portal of the City Hall in Zwickau; yet could only a greater Renaissance building become typical and guide the further distribution of the style.

Note 36. After a photograph.

Note 37. See Steche, R. Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreich Sachsen. Vol. 1. Appendix 9. Dresden.

38. Palace in Dresden.

Such a building was the George's wing of the Palace in Dresden, built after 1530 by Hans Schickentantz. Through the building leads the drive from the city toward the Elbe and the Elbe bridge. The small remains of the portal on the city side,

3/ the drive with Gothic vaults and the portal on the Elbe side (George Gate ³⁸) were torn down at the rebuilding of the Palace, being again rebuilt, partly in the stable court, partly opposite the Catholic Church.

Note 38. A representation of this building is to be found in Weck, A. Der Chur-Fürstlicher Sächsischen weltberühmten Residenz und Haupt-Vestung Dresden. Beschreibung und Verstellung. Reproduced in Deutsche Renaissance. Abth. 15. Pl. 21. (Insufficient).

It was a narrow building with two stories and high gables above the ground story. On the city side two unsymmetrically placed portals with rich relief ornament led into the passage corridor. In the upper stories a bay window occupied the middle; two axes were beside this on each side. Pilasters and cornices subdivided these parts. The gable appears to have already been changed in 1680. On the Elbe side was found the George Gate, whose axis was at the left of the middle of the building. The upper part of the portal extended into the second story; in the third story began a bay window on the axis of the portal, and which extended into the gable. High friezes with reliefs separated the stones. Pilasters were first inserted in the gable, and its steps were filled by volutes of the form of reversed consoles.

The building is very immature in its composition; but it gives the programme of the entire school and comprises most of the motives employed by it; on the north side being a free facade. Composition without continued axes and without symmetry, on the city side in the upper stories with the attempt of a stronger subdivision according to the middle axis by pilasters and cornices. Gothic forms occur on the vaults of the driveway, but not on the facades.

Information concerning the formal treatment is now afforded only by the portals. Those lying on the city side are built up and are but partially visible; the forms are early, but are already somewhat dry. The George Gate (Fig. 17 ³⁶) on the Elbe side, on the contrary, is well preserved up to the frieze. The gateway arch is flanked by an arrangement of pilasters with columns set before them; above these is a cornice. All surfaces are richly decorated. The ornament does

³²₃₃ not allow in its composition a denial of close connection with the Lombard. The characteristics previously given for Lombard ornament are all again found here. Likewise the columns have the candelabra form. A comparison of the Porta della Rana on the Cathedral at Como (Fig. 17 ³⁶) with the George Gate will confirm what is said.

It cannot be exactly proved, that the George wing of the P Palace at Dresden is the earliest great Renaissance building in Saxony; yet the intimate relation to Italian prototypes proves, that it belongs to the earliest.

34. Tendencies of the Saxon School.

The different treatment of the two facades makes known to a certain degree the two tendencies, that proceed together in the Saxon-Silesian Renaissance.

One retains the free principles of composition of the late Gothic, as well as certain Gothic forms, for example the so-called "curtain" window (Fig. 18 ³⁹) and employs besides Renaissance motives on portals, gables and bay windows. To this tendency corresponds the Elbe facade.

Note 39. After Gerlitt, C. Kunst und Künstler am Vorabend der Reformation. Halle. 1890.

The other tendency strives for an apparent organism of facade architecture by a system of pilasters and cornices.

The former corresponds in its picturesque ground principles more to the art genius of the German people and to the humor of the time. Therefore it has also produced more important works than the second, whose justification substantially depends on the treatment of the proportions. The ideal system of architecture requires an extremely pure harmony of proportions in order to have an imposing effect. It is here treated merely decoratively. One enjoys the rich and pleasing effect without troubling himself much about the proportions or even concerning the symbolism of the architectural members. We found similar things in the Netherlands.

35. Design of Facades according to the Orders.

In this manner was treated the system of the south facade of the George building at Dresden. Another early example is the court facade of Palace at Dippoldiswalde (Fig. 19 ⁴⁰) even if mistaken in the proportions of the pilasters to the

cornice, yet on the whole not without a sense of proportion. Of about the same time is the court facade of the City Hall in Görlitz.⁴² More mature is the House No. 29 on the Neisse-gasse in Görlitz.⁴³ In the use of architectural members still slips in much awkwardness; but on some the treatment is very good and the intended effect is fully attained. Highest stands the magnificent portal of the Palace at Brieg (Fig. 20⁴¹), which was erected in 1552. Italians were engaged on this building; where and how the design for it was obtained cannot be decided.⁴⁵ A connection with the school of Lombardy appears to exist. The orders are used with freedom and intelligence; the graduation upwards is well considered, even the neglect of symmetry in the ground story has a striking effect. I believe that in this building may be recognized motives from Palace Municipio at Brescia. But in spite of the Italian master and of Italian prototypes, it is German Renaissance. In harmony of proportions and in perfection of form, not many equal it. The excellencies of this building are not in the least based on its small dimensions. The system in the decorative conception of the Germans is in general only applicable to small buildings.

Note 40. After Steche. Vol. 2.

Note 41. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abth. 11.

Note 42. See an illustration of this City Hall in Fritzsche, K. E. O. Denkmäler deutscher Renaissance. Pl. 91. Berlin. 18 1880-1891.

Note 43. Same. Pl. 95.

Note 44. After Blätt. für Arch. und Kunsthandwerk. 1890. Pl. 64.

Note 45. See Czihak, C von. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance Baukunst in Schlesien. Early period in Silesia in text and illustration. VI. 4.

36. Design with free Grouping.

Free from the fetters of the architectural orders, the German masters act with greater security. With correct tact they have not employed the system of pilasters and cornices on great structures, but there continued with the transferred Gothic manner of treating the facade, and they merely modified the forms more or less.

More important is the east wing of Palace Hartenfels near Torgau, built in 1533-1535 by Conrad Krebs. The four stories with late Gothic "curtain" windows do not themselves tell much; the court facade only receives an energetic subdivision by the staircase tower, by the galleries corbelled out at mid-height, and by the arched porticos arranged in two stories around the angle of the palace tower. The projecting pentagonal staircase tower ⁴⁷ rests on a rectangular substructure, to which lead two flights of steps. The angles are marked by piers, that are beset by ornamented bands. Between these piers ascends the open flight of steps. For an explanation of the design, the stairway of the Albrechtsburg in Meissen suffices; yet the master may also have known and utilized the magnificent stairway of the Palace of Blois. The connection with the George wing of the Palace in Dresden in details is very evident.

The Gothic forms, that have remained in Hartenfels beside those of the Renaissance, are excelled in the Palace at Dresden. The main building of the Palace was erected in 1547 by Caspar Vogt of Wierandt. Only the great court is preserved, whose monumental effect, besides the happy ratio of the heights to the ground area, is compelled by the well graduated contrast of the simply treated wall surfaces and the stairway towers, richly supplied with pilasters, the open portico in the middle of the north side and the high tower. The southern stairway towers with inclined cornices are the older, and the more monumental northern (Fig. 21 ⁴¹) are the later; on the northwest stairway tower may be seen the date 1550. On this building were Italians engaged. The beautiful portal of the Chapel is illustrated in Chapter 16; it exhibits direct connection with the Italian Renaissance. Renewed Italian influence may also be recognized in the ornamentation of the northern stairway tower.

Private buildings of the time from 1520 to 1560 are numerous; few have come down to us unchanged. Illustrations of plans are lacking, which would permit the recognition of the city style of architecture as related to the national house architecture.

For the enclosed architectural style, the gable did not usually stand on the street side, but above the party wall. This had as a result, that not rarely a wall was set back from the facade wall with a series of windows and projects from the surface of the roof, a style of building, that occurs in upper Franconia and Vogtland, as well as farther east, and frequently in the country, thus permitting the assumption of a connection of the city with the country house architecture. If the roof is animated by gabled projections, then these have no near relation to the facade architecture. Yet some city houses with gables occur.

37. Details.

Renaissance portals are numerous. The arch is usually enclosed by a shrine form with columns or pilasters, which is crowned by a freely designed cap. As the forms of the early period were retained in details, the composition also did not develop itself further organically, but it remains standing on a puerile step (Fig. 22 ⁴⁶), and more mature compositions are rare, like the beautiful double portal of the City Hall at Pagan.

Note 46. After Steche.

Besides the Gothic curtain windows, there early occur windows, kept within the forms of the Renaissance (Fig. 23 ⁴⁸). It is characteristic of the school, that on the window enclosure the mouldings do not extend to the end of the window, but stop or are returned at about one-third the height.

Note 47. See the corresponding illustration in Chapter 17.

Note 48. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abth. 15.

Besides the candelabra form of columns, there manifestly occur also the normal form of the shaft. The column is more common than the decorated pilaster. The basis of the form of capital is usually the corinthian volute capital of the Italian Renaissance in a rather rude transformation. There is rarely found any except the shape elsewhere employed in the early period with cylindrical heavy volutes, supported by rude acanthus leaves.

36 The sections of the cornices are almost without exception dry and heavy. For complete entablatures, the lower portion

is seldom formed like an architrave, but most are composed of a cavetto and ogee, like the cornice itself. Fixed relative heights for the different parts of the entablature are wanting.

In ornament, the characteristics of the Lombard ornament mentioned in Art. 31 are found for the most part. The execution is conceivably variable; yet in general the sense for the true decorative effect of the forms was long vividly retained, and ornaments not satisfactory in respect to form, are frequently enjoyable by the happy treatment of the relief.

About 1560 the Renaissance assumed a different tendency even in these regions.

Chapter 6. The German Renaissance in South and Middle Germany.

38. Survey.

In the broad domain from the Alps to the Harz mountains, the Renaissance won a more general employment from about 1530.

The currents are in manifold variations; but neither their origin nor their course may be clearly recognized at first, and the common predominates. Only exceptionally, for example in Nuremberg, does the style win an impressed local stamp. In any case there is apparently developed independently a rather similar conception of the forms of peculiar German character. The form treatment does not pass beyond a pleasing sturdiness. The style is complete about 1550. Its decorative nature permitted no organic development; the treatment of forms rather remained tolerably constant for decades. A closer study of the forms may also here permit an advance to be recognized; yet this does not proceed in the direction of power development, but in that of an increasing wildness of the forms. The innate tendency of the style from the beginning toward the irrational always appears more plainly.

Besides stone construction, wooden construction is distributed in many regions.

48. Some architecture of Nuremberg.
For upper Germany, Nuremberg is the most important starting point of the German Renaissance; but even there in the city of Albrecht Dürer and of Peter Vischer, the architecture breaks forth relatively late, and it is not free from Gothic reminiscences until in the 17th century. The beginning lies in the realm of ornamentation. The models given by the little masters exert their influence, and as elsewhere, Renaissance motives penetrate into late Gothic decoration. Peter Flötner, the most important among the little masters, was then and thenceforth busied in the execution of architectural decoration, indeed in perhaps a limited degree as architect; the Hirschvogel Hall at Nuremberg and the beautiful Market Fountain at Mentz of 1526 (Fig. 24 ⁴⁹) must be attributed to him. Some panelings in Nuremberg bear his stamp; but one should beware of referring too much to him, and of making the name of Flötner the appellation of a species, like Veit Stoss etc. In the

domain of architectural decoration, in which so much has been worked out, according to the pattern books and other examples, ascriptions to definite masters are more difficult than to those of the other arts.

Note 49. After Fritsch.

Simple festoons on the north bay window of the Parsonage of S. Sebaldus with the date 1514 are the earliest vestiges of the Renaissance on Nuremberg buildings. The Renaissance panels on the piers of the balustrade of the Gothic court with porticos in Winklergasse No. 15 (Fig. 25 ⁵⁰) bear the date 1516. The first Renaissance buildings originated in the third decade; the Tucher House in the Hirschgasse and the Hirschvogel Hall in the same street.

Note 50. After Brede. Nürnberger Motive. Nuremberg. 1894.

The Tucher or Cloth House (Fig. 26 ⁵¹) stands entirely at the transition from Gothic to Renaissance. The very remarkable court facade with its peculiar stairway tower and the bold subdivision of the upper story by columns recalls the French transitional buildings, without my being able to name a particular prototype. The builder, Lorenz Tucher, lived for a long time in Lyons; the forms are predominantly Gothic. Very peculiar is the portal, whose arch is supported at the centre by a Tuscan column. In the interior is a Gothic portico in the ground story. The Renaissance prevails in the panelings of the upper stories, particularly distinguished in that of a room in the second story. In the great hall of the third story, a portion of the paneling was probably executed by Peter Flötner. The Tucher House is preserved almost entirely in its original condition and is one of the most precious monuments of the early German Renaissance; it bears the full charm of a germinating youthful art. The new forms are applied in the internal decoration with evident enjoyment, and are developed with unusual care. The rooms are comfortable, rather small, yet are not oppressive.

Note 51. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abth. 1.

If much on the Tucher House reminds one of the French Renaissance, then at the neighboring Hirschvogel Hall -- at least on the exterior -- the representation of the Italian Renaissance cannot be denied. It is a garden hall, that was added

to an older building in 1534. The building has a prominent subdivision into stories and terminates with a bold main cornice; composition and treatment of forms indicate studies at Bologna. I shall not here contest the possibility, that it is a design of Peter Flötner. The clear and pleasing subdivision has further something interesting. The interior is less satisfying; the proportions of the rooms are not happy and are not improved by the decoration. But considering this by itself, it has great beauty and is very peculiar. An agreeable and still dignified general effect is not to be denied to the hall. The forms are those of an early, yet entirely developed Renaissance, free from Gothic echoes; the execution is very careful and beautiful. Flötner's authorship is not to be doubted here. The two Renaissance buildings in the Hirschgasse hold out interest by their expressed artistic individuality; they are not typical of the Nuremberg architecture of the succeeding period, and strong influences scarcely proceeded from them.

The Nuremberg citizen's dwelling found its typical form already in the 15 th century. One wing on the street and a second at the rear of the court are in several houses connected by porticos along one or both sides. The ground plans of the Peller House (Fig. 27 ⁵²) may illustrate the design. It is self-evident that this ground form is not the only one; it frequently suffers thorough alterations under the compulsion of local conditions, and with a limited area, the court sometimes entirely disappears.

Note 52. After Deutsche Renaissance Abth. 2.

In the formal treatment, the Gothic never entirely vanished during the entire period; net vaults, tracery panels, window mouldings resembling Gothic and other things even occur in the 17 th century.

The external architecture is very simple, almost without exception. The facades in the 16 th century have no subdivision into stories or merely light moulded bands. Windows and doorways have reentrant mouldings. Very common is a form of window, in which the vertical forms show a cylindrical rounding, against which stop the coves and rounds of the segmental

arch. The portals are similarly treated. The later favorite little apses (bay windows) are not yet common in the 16 th century. The street front frequently has a considerable width, and in such cases the ridge of the roof runs parallel to it. The surface of the roof is then animated by stately and richly treated roof bay windows, to which, as in the courts with porticos, are transferred to the wooden construction the forms of stone construction in a pleasing manner.(Fig. 28 ⁵³). The stories generally remain very simple, but there is developed on the gables greater richness of form; still these also remain massive and are free from bombastic Barocco of the north German gable. Only in the 17 th century appears here also a richer and heavier treatment of form, as on the gable of the Peller House or on the Scheckenbach House on the Karlstrasse.

Note 53. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abth. 1.

The artistic importance of the Nuremberg citizen's house in its external appearance depends not on richer or even more careful treatment of details, but on the simple and pure harmony between purpose and form, and on the masterly adaptation of the individual building to the entire street view. No city in Germany equals Nuremberg in the latter respect; proofs are found anywhere; it suffices to refer to a few. The Toppler, now Peterson, House on Panier Place (Fig. 29 ⁵⁴) terminates in an exemplary way the acute angle in which two streets intersect. On the opposite Hertelshof, Panier Place No. 9, the garden facade with the projecting stairway and the adjacent wide windows have a particularly excellent effect. The tall Fembo House at the ascent to the citadel is indeed in no wise exemplary in details, yet like the House No. 12 Konigstrasse, it has an imposing effect in its location. Perhaps the best of all is the massive facade of the Heidegen House on Carolinenstrasse (Fig. 30 ⁵⁴) of unassuming dignity and unusually sympathetic, which before the erection of the adjacent Post Office dominated far the long row of houses. On the famous facade of the Peller House from 1605, that on Aegidienplatz, a stronger architectural subdivision by rusticated pilasters and cornices is the aim, and if these cannot stand criticism in all parts, yet on the whole an imposing effect is produced.

The building stands at the transition to the Barocco.

Note 54. After a photograph.

Greater richness than on the facades is developed in the courts. The typical form of the Nuremberg court is that with porticos, which found its development already in the Gothic period. The court of the former Imhoff House on the Tucherstrasse, like the beautiful court of the Krafft House on Thesenstrasse are still entirely Gothic.

In the Renaissance courts the ground story is usually built of stone construction; the porticos of the upper stories are of wood, on the contrary, yet in the forms of stone construction. Either purely column and architrave construction, naturally not with the strength of the columnar orders, or piers with segmental arches and attached half columns, the motive of Roman theatre construction in a free transformation. The balustrades during the entire period continue filled with tracery; only for simpler construction do light balusters occur in its place. By varied graduation of the heights of the stories as well as of the projections of the columns and cornices, by changes in the location of the stairway towers, an extremely rich diversity of the constantly recurring ground motive is obtained. As one example of many may be named the beautiful court of the Funk House on Tucherstrasse. Very independently is the motive varied in the noble court of the Peller House.

The ground story of the houses contain housekeeping and store rooms. As tracery is characteristic for the panels in the balustrades of the court porticos, so is the net vault for the vaulted rooms of the houses. Here as there will the Gothic forms be retained until in the 17th century; the vestibule and the beautiful rooms in the ground story of the Peller House of 1605 are still covered by net vaults.

The living rooms are in the upper stories, the third being that most richly treated. From a spacious anteroom are accessible the rooms next the street. Walls and ceilings of the good rooms were paneled, and many beautiful paintings are still preserved. In refinement of execution scarcely anything equals the beautiful works in the Tucher House. Good examples

are presented by the hall of the Fembo House, the beautiful paneling from the Bibra House in the Germanic Museum (Fig. 32 ⁵⁴), the dignified and rich rooms of the Peller House, and the rich rooms of the Peller House and the hall of the Merkel House on Karlstrasse.

The Nuremberg patricians had in the vicinity of the city t their country seats, chateaus or fishing houses, surrounded by walls and moat. The main building is almost invariably a rectangular house with structures like bay windows projecting from the roof beside the gable, that animate the simple outline. Of the gardens that formerly surrounded the houses, none remains in its ancient form. The simple designs cannot be compared with Italian villas; but in their unassuming appearance, they are not without artistic charm. In the immediate and more distant vicinity of Nuremberg are preserved many such small castles. A pretty example is that in Lichtenhof. (Fig. 33 ⁵⁴)

40. House Architecture in Swabia and Franconia.

The form of city dwelling described above is not limited to Nuremberg; it is found in all Germany. In Rothenburg the Geiselbach and the Haffner Houses, and in Ulm the Schad House, are good examples of the like type. But nowhere are the form treatment of the early period and even Gothic motives so consistently retained as in Nuremberg; nowhere else in south Germany has such a distinctly local character of the style been developed as there. It is therefore of no more general historical interest to pursue further the private architecture of other cities, even if it likewise presents much, that is beautiful; the description must then become a mere enumeration of individual buildings.

48 In the smaller Franconian cities are found numerous buildings of the later 16 th century, frequently charming in design, but seldom carefully worked out. Among the best is reckoned the old Palace of the Bishops of Bamberg of 1591 (Fig. 165), where the grouping of the different structural masses is particularly happy. Also the distribution of simpler and more richly ornamented parts evidences its artistic feeling, and the execution is proportionally good. The building remained

unfinished. In Rothenburg the private buildings nearly equal the public ones. The Barocco facade of the Geiselbrecht House (1596) is incomplete in design and execution. Some courts are picturesque, more by lighting and color than by their form t treatment. In Marktbreit two bay windows arranged at the corner of a street give to the street view an approach to monumentality, that unfortunately disappears on closer examination.

41. Thuringia and Hesse.

Manifold style tendencies are found in Thouringia and Hesse. In the eastern part of the country is perceptible the influence of the Saxon school. Very great cities are wanting; Merseburg, Halle and Erfurth in the northeast and Marburg in the west are the most important; but they neither approach the Hansa cities nor the great commercial places in south Germany. There are wanting architectural representations, particularly ground plans, for technically judging the private architecture of these provinces. In composition and development, it seldom rises above a proper mediocrity.

In Erfurth is the facade of the House zum roten Uchsen (to the red oxen) (1562), with an Ionic order of pilasters in the second story placed over a Doric entablature; the third story is plain; the great gable of the transverse building is already Barocco. The lack of all feeling for the organic in architecture seldom appears more clearly than on this facade, which is nowise ineffective in ornamental respects. Better is the House No. 13 in the Fischmarkt (1584). The ground story is modernized; the upper story and the gable of the transverse building are subdivided by hermes and pilaster orders, which exhibit a good feeling for proportions. Likewise the relief of the members and ornaments is suitably treated. The House zum Stockfisch (to the codfish) (1607) belongs more to the north German series of houses. A House in the Herren-gasse in Coburg has a comfortable appearance, high ground story and two low upper stories; but the forms are coarse. Of no importance are also some dwellings in Saalfeld.

42. Cities on the upper Rhine; Facade painting.

In the broad domains from western Thuringia and Hesse to southern Swabia wooden construction predominates; first on t

the upper Rhine are again found important stone buildings. In Strasburg no important structure from the early period has remained; also few may have existed.⁵⁵ Colmar possesses some interesting facades. On the so-called Kopf House, the windows with pilasters and cornices, as well as the volute gables, recall northern buildings. Peculiar is a House on Johannisplatz, whose court is enclosed by a wall below with open porticos next the street in the two upper stories. Very particularly picturesque however is a small corner House with stairway tower and bay window, whose uppermost story is surrounded by a gallery resting on strongly projecting stone corbels.

The wall surfaces on this House were adorned by paintings. This mode of decoration was a favorite in all south Germany, especially extended on the upper Rhine. That it took its origin from upper Italy may be assumed with tolerable certainty. The considerations of style, which oppose a painted sham architecture, and especially if treated in perspective, do not come into consideration for the German Renaissance. The appearance of simple buildings was yet pleasingly animated and enhanced by the painting. Holbein had already given unsurpassed models in his talented designs. There already originated in Augsburg in 1515 the frescos of the Fugger court, which were recently attributed to Jörg Breu, and Burgkmair painted the facade of the Gewerbehalle (Trades Hall) in St. Annastrasse. The nearly obliterated frescos of the Weber House must have been painted by Mathias Kager in the early part of the 17th century, and still in the late 17th century painted facades in Augsburg were not rare. To the early 16th century belong the very much injured paintings in the City Hall in Ulm, which still exhibit Gothic motives in the architecture. But the particular home of facade painting is on the upper Rhine. To the best belongs the painted architecture on the City Hall in Muhlhausen by Christian Vackensterffer from Colmar (1552). Stein-o-Rh. shows several pretty facades, of which that of the House zum weissen Adler (to the white eagle) is the most noteworthy. (Fig. 34⁵⁶). In Schaffhausen, Tobias Stimmer painted the House zum Ritter (to the knight) in 1570 in a very skilful manner. Likewise in Switzerland, facade painting was extended.

Note 55. Stüttgen, K. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Renaissance in Strassburg. Strassburg. 1906.

Note 56. After Lambert & Stahl.

43. Switzerland.

The Renaissance of Switzerland partly stands in close connection with the Italian; yet the ground form of the House is German, and the artistic treatment frequently takes its own course. Thus a beautiful House in Sursee near Lucerne (Fig. 35⁵⁷) has an entirely local toning of the motive, that also occurs elsewhere. Beautiful interiors with rich paneling are nowise scarce in Switzerland. A series of the best is preserved in the Landes Museum. Among them the famous room from the Seidenhof in Zürich excels all others in the richness of composition and care in execution; but the heart-rejoicing gracefulness of many simpler works of the earlier period no longer belongs to it.

Note 56. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abth. 17.

44. Southeast German and Tyrol.

Likewise in Bavaria, in Austria and especially in the Tyrol is the relation to Italy like that in Switzerland. The pergolas, which here surround the market-places of many cities and frequently extend into the adjacent streets, are an antique motive, that originated from the forums of the Roman colonies. Under rain as under hot sunshine, traffic withdrew from the place into the pergolas. We find in grand development the places surrounded by porticos in some Italian cities, and if this be not alone peculiar to Italy, but likewise occurs in north Germany, in France and Spain, then must its wide extension in southeast Germany be still referred to the intimate connection with Italy. It has continued in these provinces until our days. Pergolas are still a motive not belonging exclusively to the Renaissance; but in southeast Germany, they are in great part from the 14th and 15th centuries. On the other hand, the appearance of the Tyrolean and Bavarian cities on the Inn and the Salzach changed in the late period of the Renaissance in so far, that chiefly in the 17th century horizontal terminations of the facades were introduced instead of the high gables. This motive and the way in

which it was introduced and distributed in Bavaria points toward Italy. Certainly the blind walls, that mark the gable, are but a miserable substitute for the mighty cornices of the Italian houses.

If we must recognize in the southeast German architectural style of the late 16 th and the 17 th centuries the weakende shoots of the Italian Renaissance, still into the Bavarian ancestral provinces, the Renaissance did not find entrance from the South. The porticos in the court of the Palace at Freising (1519) and those in the Bishopshof at Regensburg belong to the early German Renaissance. This commencement had no successful development. A flourishing political existence, like other parts of Germany, Bavaria has never known, and only the residence cities of Bavarian dukes and of bishops enjoyed a certain prosperity. But the princes, like the bishops, soon turned toward the Italian and the Netherlandish - Italian art tendencies. In the broad domains from the Lech to the Salzach is no work of the German Renaissance, that would be of importance for the general history of architecture. Likewise in Austria is lacking a developed political existence. A gateway of the Hofburg in Vienna and a court with porticos on the Graben are the only noteworthy remains of the German Renaissance. The painted House in Eggenburg from 1547 is noteworthy for its sgraffito drawings. More numerous than the city buildings appear to be the castles of the nobility. Some of the best are mentioned on page 65 . As in Bavaria, the German tendency of the Renaissance was early supplanted by the Italian.

Richer and more individual was the development of the Renaissance in the Tyrol. The Tyrolese Renaissance takes a middle position between those of upper Italy and of Germany , but it is by nature German. Great problems were not proposed to it, and it is not monumental, though rich in charming little motives and is full of its course.

The design of the city house, frequently points to Italy; the motive of the court with porticos as a central point, about which are grouped the rooms of the house, is an ancient Italian one; it is found in many larger houses of citizens on

the Brennerstrasse. It is also a favorite for castles. It is gracefully developed in three stories in the court of Castle Kampmann near Kaltern.(Fig. 36⁵⁸). If the space be too limited for the plan of an open court, then at least is a higher middle room arranged, that receives its light through the so-called monitor. Bozen is rich in such houses.

Note 58. From a photograph.

Likewise the motive of the pergolas on the ground story is common, and the upper termination of the facade is not seldom a shady cornice, projecting strongly in a great cavetto. But the preference for bay windows is German. They are usually polygonal, of moderate projection, and extend through all upper stories. A characteristic example from Brixen is the House represented here.(Fig. 37⁵⁸).

In Vintschgau and in Etschthal, south from Bozen, occur as other Italian motives, the open stairways on the exteriors of houses and open porticos instead of bay windows.

The form treatment in details also sometimes employed Italian motives, but handled then in a freer way. The decisive point is the treatment of the cornice. The entablature in three divisions of the antique orders; that is everywhere employed in Italy, scarcely occurs in the Tyrol, and thereby results a fundamental difference in the general appearance of the facades.

The equipment of the interiors by paintings and ceilings in wood entirely follows the Italian style. the work of Ortwein⁵⁹ mentioned below gives a rich selection of these beautiful works. Picturesque interiors are in Castle Tratzberg; but the best are the works in Velthurns from the late period of the 16th century. (1577-1586).

Note 59. After Deutsche Renaissance. Vol. 9.

With the active participation of the citizens in public life it cannot fail, that careful attention be devoted to city architecture. Its administrative organization is more an object of the history of civilization than of the history of art, for which it is of but medium importance. Some brief remarks, in which I follow the labors of Mummenhof⁶⁰, may here suffice.

Note 60. Mummenhof, E. Das Rathaus in Nürnberg etc. p. 159 et seq. Nuremberg. 1892.

45. City Architecture.

Since the beginning of the 14 th century, some members of the Smaller Council had charge of architecture in Nuremberg and in other imperial cities. Their duty consisted of the control and accounting for the erection of city buildings. About 100 years later the city had yet but one architect. HE was still a deputy of the Council. In the course of the 15 th century, he became a salaried official, but at the same time remained a member of the Council. We learn of his duties by means of the architect's books of Lutz Steinlinger (1452 ⁶¹) and of Endres Tucher (1464-1475 ⁶²). They consisted of oversight of existing buildings, the control of the erection of new city buildings in its entire extent, in the direction of extinguishing fires, and in the representation of his office before the Council.

Note 61. See Mitt. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Stadt Nürnberg. Heft. 2. p. 15 et seq.

Note 62. See Publ. d. Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart. Vol. 64.

Technically director of the building office is the "preparer" on the Peunt; since the beginning of the 17 th century, there labor under him three city and work masters, two master stonecutters and one master carpenter. The preparer and the masters under him design and construct the buildings; only for fortifications were foreign engineers sometimes called.

The Nuremberg conditions are also typical for other cities. Magisterial regulations also applead early to private architecture. The oldest building ordinance, of which I have knowledge, was issued by Louis the Bavarian after the burning of the city of Munich in 1327; it may have been quite imperfect, but those of the year 1370, as well as the building ordinances from the 15 th century contained in the Red Book of Ulm, give rules entering into details.

46. City Halls.

The first rank among city and public buildings is assumed by the city halls. Their number is great. Just the 16 th century is extremely rich in new city hall structures. The requirements were still simple; the ground story usually contained a large hall, broad porches or other sale rooms and some subordinate rooms. That or the upper story contained t

the great hall, the room for the sittings of the Great and the Small Councils, some clerks' rooms, and the rooms for administration of justice. Sometimes besides the City Halls, there existed separate chancellery buildings. In solving the programme, a wide room was assigned to the representatives, at least in the great and rich cities. The hall with its vestibules and entrances predominated. The broad corridors in the ground story sometimes served as store rooms, and the spacious porticos before the halls and chancelleries had also the practical purpose of serving waiting persons as a place for remaining, like the *sall de pas perdus* (waiting hall) of the French buildings for justice.

5) The City Hall at Schweinfurt scarcely contains anything but porticos and halls, like the Palladian-academic City Hall at Augsburg; on the contrary, the number of office rooms in the City Hall at Nuremberg is already quite considerable.

Likewise in the superstructure of the city halls is shown an endeavor to treat in an earnest and dignified manner the seat of the city government. If we look aside from the great and splendid structures in Nuremberg, Augsburg and Strasburg, which belong to a different style tendency, then the city Hall at Rothenburg-a-T (after 1572, by the Nuremberg master J. Wolf) stands superior among south German city halls. Before a Gothic wing with a fine and slender tower, that contains in the main story the ~~great~~ hall and some side rooms, is placed the new building of almost the same size. Both together compose a mighty group. (Fig. 38⁶³). Much is not worked out in detail; but what unconstrained power is expressed in not only the general design, but also in the many details, in the great external stairs, in the dimensions and the form treatment of the vestibule, in the naive arrangement of the stairway tower, in the grouping of the windows etc. The forms of the vestibule and of the southern portal betray a more intimate knowledge of the Italian Renaissance, than we find elsewhere among German masters.

Note 63. After a photograph.

Of the same time as the Rothenburg City Hall, even if smaller in dimensions, is that at Schweinfurt (Fig. 39⁶³), built in 1570 by Nicolaus Hofmann from Halle. The building pleases

by its boldly clear grouping and the elevated dignity of its proportions, in which it excels most works of the German Renaissance. The builder was indeed acquainted with the City Hall at Altenburg, which was erected in 1562-1564 after the designs of Nicolaus Gromann. It is astonishing at this building, that is allied to the Saxon school in its details, with what simple means the great mass is animated and subdivided. In the elevation of the tower are perhaps to be found recollections of the stairway tower of Castle Hartenfels near Torgau.

Note 64. After Fritsch.

The City Hall in Heilbronn was slowly built after a fire (1535). The simple facade is preceded by a ramp supported by Ionic arcades, up to which lead steps at both sides. Before the middle of the third story and rising above the roof cornice are arranged the dials of an astronomical clock within a graceful architecture of columns and pilasters. To the end of the century belong the rear wing of the City Hall and of the adjacent Syndics' Building. On these also the window mouldings are still Gothic; only on the beautiful gables is developed a greater richness of form. In the contrast of the richly subdivided gables to the simply treated facades, these buildings are particularly characteristic examples of the developed south German Renaissance. In Baden, the little City Hall at Gernsbach (of 1617) still belongs to the good Renaissance according to the spirit of the composition, in spite of its Barocco treatment of the details. On the City Hall (Chancellery Building) at Constance, the court with open porticos and the remains of painting is as pleasing on few works of the German Renaissance. Only an insufficient representation of the intimate charm of this court is given by Fig. 41.⁶⁵

Note 65. After a photograph.

The City Hall at Lucerne, located on the sloping bank of the Reuss, rises above an open portico. The second story is a ground story above. The composition is clear, and the treatment of the forms is unusually careful. The effect is substantially based on the good graduation of the heights of the stories.

47. Other Public Buildings.

For the judgement of other public buildings, few of which

I know from my own observation, it is especially doubtful, since almost no good plans have been published. Just here would knowledge of the ground plans be of importance, in order to clearly reach the basal questions, the requirements that these buildings had to fulfil in internal respects.

48. Buildings for Higher Instruction.

In artistic importance the buildings for higher instruction precede. They are not only city institutions, but in part are also foundations by princes.

For the plan of the universities, the intimate relation in which they stood to the Church was a determining influence. It is to be more fully investigated, what relations existed between the universities of the Renaissance and the Jesuit colleges, and how both were developed out of the plan of the mediaeval monastery. At the University of Würzburg, (Fig. 42⁶⁶), a foundation of the Prince Bishop Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, the analogy is striking at once. The buildings surround an approximately square court. On the south side of the court lies the Church. The University with its stately corridors and high stories must make an important impression, and it is still imposing by its earnest dignity. The forms on the exterior are those of the Renaissance. The rusticated arcades of the court already stand at the transition to the Barocco. I shall return to the Church in Chapter 11. The University at Würzburg was begun in 1582; the design was by A. Kal, the erection by W. Beringer from Freiburg-i-E.

Note 66. Courteously furnished by University Inspector von Horsig.

We find a similar treatment of forms on the Renaissance facade of the City Hall (Fig. 43⁶²), as on the arcades of this university court. The former University at Altdorf is unimportant.

Note 67. After Fritsch.

Among the gymnasiums, that at Ansbach (1563) is the most important. The four wings are grouped around a simple court with porticos. The southern adjoins the Church of S. Gumpertus. The internal subdivision is no longer the original one, since the building is now transformed for judicial purposes.

On the other hand, the exterior has retained its original form. The ground story is separated from the two upper stories by a bold cornice, thereby producing a very distinct subdivision of the heights. The surfaces are otherwise animated by ashlar-work in plaster and by sgraffito friezes. Barocco transverse gables project from the surfaces of the roof and crown the building, that forms an interesting group with the adjacent S. Gumpertus' Church.

The Gymnasium in Rothenburg is similar in composition and treatment of form to the City Hall there. That at Coburg, (Fig. 44 ⁶⁷), a foundation of Duke Johann Casimir, whose statue adorns the angle, was built in 1600 and is pleasing by the good distribution of windows and wall surfaces. Gables and transverse gables are ornamented by pilasters, volutes and obelisks. A simple and dignified structure.

49. Hospitals.

Hospitals already existed in great numbers during the middle ages; the 14 th century is particular exhibits many foundations. Among those of the Renaissance period, the Julius Hospital in Würzburg is the greatest. However the buildings were rebuilt at about the end of the 17 th and the course of the 18 th centuries, so that nothing now remains of the foundation buildings. The Hospital at Rothenburg is a great and simple building, stately, yet without pretension.

50. Buildings for Commerce and Traffic.

Buildings for commerce and traffic were not lacking in the commercial cities of upper Germany already in the later middle ages. In Schongau on the Lech existed from 1420 a bale or storehouse, wherein the goods passing between Italy and Augsburg were deposited for payment. The buildings were at the same time a weigh-house and a granary. In Nördlingen, the Paradies is an old wooden structure from the 14 th century, intended for use by butchers, and especially for trade in hides, and which is still in use. The Granary in Nuremberg is a stately Late Gothic building erected in 1498; it contains in the lower story a great hall for traffic, with storerooms in the upper stories. The building was rebuilt in recent years. This arrangement, resulting from the purpose

of the building and from the manner in which traffic in country products was carried on until our time, we likewise find in the granaries of the 16 th and 17 th centuries. The most important are indeed those at Ulm, built in 1591-1594 by George Buchmüller, and those in the city of Steyr in upper Austria (1,12). They are simple and suitable structures; the few decorative accessories are plaster ashlar-work and sgraffito. The Abattoir in Nuremberg, a building of the ending 15 th century, has a great portico of wooden construction in its ground story; its artistic importance is not great.

Concerning guild halls and rooms for the sexes, I cannot speak from my own observations. Indeed but few have remained unchanged. The same is true for the old inns. Under the commercial conditions very different from our own, the requirements for great rooms were far less than now; but there must be spacious courts, stables, and sheds for protection of wagons. Such designs may still be seen in the smaller cities; but I know none of artistic importance. This entire domain belongs rather to the history of civilization, than to the history of architecture.

51. Fortifications.

All cities were still fortified in the 16 th and 17 th centuries, and the larger ones had their arsenals. This realm also but partially concerns the history of architecture.

The fortifications during the later middle ages consisted of wall and ditch; as a higher expression, the casemate was inserted between the two. The side protection was by the semicircular or angular projecting towers. For the city gates was still common the form of a gate tower with forecourt and drawbridge, but besides which the form of the tower fort already occurs early, where the gateway leads through a greater preceding work (barbican), and within which this leads, not through the tower itself, but beside it into the city. Of the last kind are the Nuremberg tower forts. The walls with their towers and the high tower forts of the middle ages frequently have a massive architectural effect. But when in the course of the 16 th century, artillery was systematically developed, there appeared instead of the old walls and barbicans, the system of low bastions and curtains with their earth emb-

embankments. Architecturally noteworthy general fortifications of the time of the Renaissance therefore scarcely exist; but there still arose important detached works.

The fortifications of the city of Nuremburg were completed by the four gate towers built in 1554-1568 after the plans of George Unger. The towers stand on the axes of the streets, and the gateway leads through the forecourt at the side. The four famous towers of the Laufer, Frauen, Spittler and Newen gates are not complete rebuildings of the 16th century, but are merely new exteriors of the ancient rectangular towers. They may be compared to great columns. In their rounded form as entirely isolated, they happily contribute to the total view of the Nuremburg tower forts, none of which has unfortunately remained entirely unchanged. Their notable individualized form already made them typical of the city, soon after their erection; they assume a predominating place in the view and perspectives of the city from the late 16th century, and they indeed combine definitely, if not in the view of the city, yet in certain parts of it.

In Nördlingen are the slender round towers of the Deininger and Eopsinger gates, even if far removed from the grandeur of the Nuremburg towers, yet they are distinguished by good proportions and by suitable outlines, and the Reimlinger Gate with defensive projection and protecting roof has at least a picturesque effect. The Nördlingen gate towers were built by Gideon Backer toward the end of the 16th century. The Powder Tower of Castle Burghausen, projecting toward the ^{"Weber"} a small lake, surpasses in dry massiveness the Nuremburg gate towers, but it is cast far into the shade by the mighty bulwark of the Munot in Schaffhausen.

52. Arsenals.

Among the city arsenals, that of Nuremburg was indeed the greatest. At the entrance stands a small administration building with thick angle towers; beyond are found courts and great magazines. The very extensive design presents nothing of artistic interest, except in the administration building and the graceful little stairway towers of the single portico. The Arsenal in Schaffhausen was built in 1617 by Johann Jacob Meyer. On the stately building, the use of forms and motives

of the early Renaissance is striking. The Arsenal in Coburg is a simple dry building of the beginning of the 16 th century. The beautiful facade of the Augsburg Arsenal belongs to a different series.

53. Castles in general.

The highest problems placed before the German architecture of the 16 th and 17 th centuries, however, were by the nobility with their castles and palaces.

The castle of the Renaissance was derived from the fortified building. The mediaeval castle was entirely a defensive structure. Reasons of fortification determined the choice of location, and thus fixed the form of the fortress. To convenience of arrangement as a dwelling and to artistic equipment, very little attention was paid, and in general the castles were hard and uncomfortable, according to our ideas of habitation. Some splendid examples and exceptions cannot neutralize this general impression. From the fortress placed on a lofty hill or in a lake is to be distinguished the city citadel. There the middle ages already sometimes had to satisfy high needs as habitations, even in splendid treatment. Like the capitol of the Roman cities was it a part of the city fortifications. It is not only enclosed and capable of defence on the outer side, but also toward the city, not merely where it has an elevated location and towers above the city, as in Nuremberg or Burghausen on the Salzach, but also where it lies no higher than the city, as in Munich or Stuttgart. As the seats of rulers like princes or bishops, already in the 15 th century were they more richly equipped than the isolated knight's castle. The Albrechtsburg at Meissen, the Castle at Ingolstadt etc. are splendid examples; their great vaulted rooms still make a stately impression.

The transition from the castle to the palace appears in the 15 th century; it was in full career in the 16 th; but even in the first half of the 17 th century, it was not entirely completed, and but few palaces are entirely free from defensive constructions. This is on the one hand based on the fact, that the palaces were seldom erected as entirely new structures, but were chiefly extensions and reconstructions of older

castles, on the other hand, that the French chateau architecture, which was more or less a prototype of the German, still permits its derivation from the castle to be seen plainly in even the 16 th century. The outer and inner castle is transferred to the "lower court" and the "court of honor"; a regular plan predominates, without strict symmetry being an object in all cases. Angle towers and dormers at least retain the animated outlines of the ancient castle. For smaller chateaus men were satisfied with one court, around which were grouped the buildings on three or four sides. The angles were externally marked by raised walls or by towers. The motive of the single court with porticos, that was so widely distributed in the Italian palace, is rarely found in France. If space is lacking for an internal court, then even for the smaller buildings, the grouping of the masses of the structure is animated by four bold angle projections. In the treatment of the facade, the subdivision by pilaster orders predominates. The ornament is fine and graceful, though frequently somewhat austere. In the early period the connection with the school of the Certosa is not to be denied.

We likewise meet with these basal tendencies of the French chateau architecture in the German. Yet it is to be more fully investigated, how far an independent development produced similarity of plan under the compulsion of like conditions. In Germany also in the 16 th century were lessened the requirements for defensibility. The possibility of defending the city citadel against the city was reduced or entirely omitted, and the country seats of the nobles were not built exclusively on the heights, but also on the plains. A wet ditch was regarded as sufficient for the defense of the dwelling; this was even lacking here and there, as on the old Chateau of Schleissheim, built by Wilhelm V.

For new designs, a regular ground form was the aim for the general plan. The buildings enclosed a rectangular court.

52 Likewise to the regular arrangement of the ground plan in detail was greater attention paid than in the middle ages. The mediaeval castle was an uninhabitable structure; passage within the dwelling occurred entirely through the rooms. Now corridors were arranged. In the Palace at Eaden (Fig. 45 ⁶³),

begun in 1569 by Caspar Weinhart from Benedictbeuren, a corridor extends through the entire length of the building. On both sides are arranged the rooms, and nearly every one has its own entrance. If the buildings surround a court with porticos, then these open porticos take the place of corridors; thus in the Palace at Stuttgart (Fig. 48⁶⁹). In upper Bavaria, in Austria and the Tyrol, the grouping of the buildings around a rectangular court with porticos is the normal form of the seat of the rural noble.

Note 68. From Lübke, W. Geschichte der deutschen Renaissance. Stuttgart. 1872-1873.

Note 69. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 37.

But the corridors in nowise find general acceptance, and especially in princely palaces, the adoption of Spanish etiquette seems to have stood in the way of the common execution of the system. Access to the apartments of the princes must lead through several anterooms guarded by halberdiers. Interesting information is afforded by Philipp Hainhofer's familiar Relation of the year 1611.⁷⁰

Note 70. See Zeits. d. Hist. Verein f. Schwaben u. Neuburg. Vol. 8. p. 66 et seq.

The requirements concerning number and size of the living apartments of the princes were still moderate; but numerous and large rooms were necessary for the numerous courtiers and servants. Also the number of guest rooms was considerable. The highest demands were those of the state apartments. Besides the audience rooms with their anterooms, almost every palace contained a stately festal hall. Furthermore the palace chapel is an essential part of the great castles. It is generally placed in the main building, rarely in a separate structure. Already before the middle of the 16th century, the stairway with a straight flight finds acceptance from Italy elsewhere; but the most widely distributed form of stairway during the entire century continues to be the winding.

For the distribution of the rooms in the separate stories, there indeed existed no entirely fixed rules; yet it passed as normal, that in the ground story should be placed official and housekeeping rooms, in the second story being the living and state apartments, with the rooms for servants in the upper.

The internal treatment of the rooms was rich and splendid; of all this magnificence, but little has been preserved. Vestibules and corridors, as well as porticos were mostly vaulted; the usual forms of vaults are the net vault and the groined cross vault; the latter only from the late 16th century onward. The treatment of the living rooms did not substantially differ from those of the rooms of citizens. Painting of the walls and ceilings is the most common form of artistic treatment; there further occurs stucco-work, Gobelins tapestry and mural painting.

To the early period belong the simple and beautiful rooms in the third story of the Trausnitz near Landshut (about 1535) with ornamental paneling, sober coffered ceiling and beautiful stoves. Overrich and already somewhat Barocco is the paneling and ceiling of the master's room in the fortress of Coburg; its beauty consists more in details than in the general effect. More than in Germany remains in the Tyrol--I mention later the palaces of Tratzberg, Velthurns near Brixen, Ambras and others.

54. Larger Halls.

The highest, that the architectural ornamentation of the Merger Renaissance could produce, it undertook in the great state halls of the princely palaces. The proportions of these halls have become foreign to us; they are long and low; the length is usually about three times the breadth, and this is important, about one-half greater than their height. In the Spanish Hall of the Palace of Ambras in the Tyrol, the style of the wooden ceiling is German, that of the walls with stucco-work, grotesques and the life-size statues of Hapsburg princes being Italian. The great hall of the Palace Hohenlohe at Weikersheim (about 1605) is adorned by painting and hunting trophies; the ornament is already very Barocco and the general impression is fanciful. Of the most appropriate magnificence is the hall of Palace Furstenberg at Heiligenberg (1534; Fig. 47⁷¹). The rather Barocco forms indicate Netherlandish influences.

Note 71. From a photograph.

In the palace chapels, men frequently adhered to Gothic forms, that were retained in the church architecture of the Ren-

Renaissance until in the 17 th century. The Palace Chapel in Stuttgart has a Gothic net vault, and further the Chapel of the Friedrichsbau at Heidelberg, as well as those of the Palace at Aschaffenberg from the early 17 th century, is Gothic.

61 55. Most important monuments.

But few of the great palaces were entirely rebuilt anew in the 16 th and 17 th centuries; generally only certain parts were built new; this frequently concerned merely additions to existing buildings. In the latter respect, nothing higher was indeed attained than in the splendid palace court at Merseburg. The stately Gothic building was erected by Bishop Thilo von Trotha in the years 1480-1489, and it encloses on three sides the great court, that adjoins the north side of the Cathedral. From 1605 onward this Palace was transformed under Duke George von Sachsen by the architect Melchior Brunner. The forms of this transformation are those of a developed Renaissance tending toward Barocco, bold and still not bombastic, of excellent execution. Whatever new is added is indeed not very much, and yet the whole has the character of the late Renaissance. There is nothing puerile in the old or in the new; the simple rectangular design is beautifully animated by the high gables of the roof; bay windows, portals, and by the stairway tower (winding in stone); very happily added is the beautiful bay window, that breaks the symmetry of the long facade without entirely destroying it. Now the ivy and wild vine even heighten the picturesque impression of the court.

Among the buildings entirely belonging to the Renaissance, are reckoned the portions of the Palace at Neuburg on the Donau built by Otto Heinrich and his hunting Castle Grunau, as the earliest. I saw Palace Neuburg a number of years since and am unable to state in detail, how much of the extended and stately buildings belong to the early period. On the oldest parts occur Renaissance forms in a very immature conception beside those of the late Gothic; only the decoration of the vault over the gateway (1545) is executed in pure and beautiful Renaissance forms indeed by Italian stucco-workers.

About contemporary is the Palace at Tübingen, built by Duke Ulrich. In the late 16 th century it was considerably trans-

transformed and enlarged. On the Palace, which I have never seen, the fortress character appears to preponderate; it is still substantially Gothic; the Renaissance forms on the porch and other places are mostly decorative additions with imperfect treatment of forms. The portal to the inner court of the Palace ⁷² indeed likewise belongs to the time of Ulrich and was merely restored in 1579; on the contrary, the outer portal ⁷³ only originated about 1610, with its Barocco upper portion as well as the entire wide gateway.

Note 72. See Fritsch. Vol. 4. p. 270.

Note 73. See the same. Pl. 289.

The old Palace at Stuttgart (Fig. 46), a design of the 15th century, was from 1533 rebuilt anew in great part; Aberlin Tretsch is named as the architect. Of the older building only the eastern wing remains. The exterior has yet an appearance entirely like a castle; entirely plain, it is only effective by its mighty and simply subdivided masses. Three sides of the court are surrounded by porticos. Ever new charm is won by the motive and its effect is always assured. Here is obtained a particularly piquant effect by the interruption of the uppermost portico above the middle of the south side and the extension upwards beside the interruption. The general effect is here principal; much in details remains incomplete. Of the formerly splendid internal treatment only remain some portals and the Palace Chapel, restored some years since. The rich net vault is still Gothic. On the former treatment and the garden, see the work mentioned below.⁷⁴ To the subordinate structures of the Palace also belongs the Casino (Lusthaus), built by George Beer in 1575-1590, torn down in 1846. It is dangerous to judge of a building no longer existing. But the attempt must here be made; for scarcely elsewhere originated a structure of similar importance within the narrow domain of the style of the German Renaissance of the 16th century, in which the artist could so purely embody his ideal, as in the Casino. The building was not intended for daily use, but only for recreation and for greater festivals at the court. Likewise in it as in most works of the German Renaissance is the purpose expressed more appropriately in the internal and external appearance. The German Renaissance has

produced more important works, but none that bears a gay and more festal stamp than this peculiar building. And by what simple motives is this expression attained! A great rectangular structure without any groupings is surrounded on all sides by a portico, at the angles being round towers; open stairways at the middle of the longer sides lead to the upper story; over the landings are the upper stories of the porticos; great and richly grouped windows and rich mables animate the nucleus structure. In the interior (Fig. 48⁷⁵), the ground story contains a hall in 4 aisles with water basins, and the upper story is one great hall. The lower halls may be charming, though somewhat heavy; on the contrary, the great hall doubtless had a grand effect. Before all the proportions of height are freer than for most other great halls.

Note 74. Lübke. Vol. 1. p. 358.

Note 75. From Fritz.

The main building of the Palace at Baden was built after 1559 by Gaspar Weinhart from Benedictbeuern. It is connected by porticos with an older portion of the Palace. The lower portico has wide arched openings on Doric columns; in the upper portico occur two arches over one in the lower one; the columns are Ionic. The forms are bold and of rare beauty in drawing, permitting the recognition of the study of Serlio's books on architecture. Particularly charming is the small domed structure on the garden terrace, that the stairs cover as a prison.

Farther northward is the Plassenburg near Culmbach, to be mentioned as a castle of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth. After it was restored in 1552, it was rebuilt anew under Margrave George Friedrich between 1559 and 1569. Gaspar Vischer is mentioned as architect; Aberlin Tretsch and Blasius Berwart also participated. The Plassenburg was first of all a strong fortress, and it is imposing as such, even after the partial refurbishing by the Bavarians in 1808. The court has artistic importance. Its effect is based on the contrast between the upper **and richly** decorated porticos and the plain ground story. In this contrast is also the division in height expressive, while the proportions of the porticos in themselves are made small. In a naive way, all surfaces of the upper story

are too richly adorned by ornamental reliefs and medallions. The contrasting of simply and richly treated parts, by which the Renaissance masters attain such great effects, is here carried out in a happy and even imposing way, so that we gladly overlook the weakness, that the composition undeniably possesses.

In Palace Heldburg in Meiningen, the new (French) building was erected in 1530 by Nicolaus Gromann. The two-story structure is animated by bay windows, but is not important; only the bay windows ascending from below have a rich, though somewhat dry ornamental treatment. Their orders of pilasters and the low gables indicate Italian or French prototypes. The ducal architect Gromann came from the Saxon school and worked on the Palace of Torgau in 1543-1545. He sought here to free himself from the school. What grounds determined him thereto are unknown. I am unable to state what style tendency the numerous buildings of Gromann followed, that Gröschel has enumerated in his essay mentioned below.⁷⁸ On the City Hall at Altenburg, that he designed but did not erect, he again stands within the school.

Note 76. After Ewerbeck. Abt. 20. Pl. 15.

Note 77. After Ewerbeck.

Note 78. After Gröschel, J. Nikolaus Gromann und der Ausbau der Feste Heldburg etc. Meiningen. 1892.

After Wilhelm V the Bavarian court favored Italian and Italian-Netherlandish art. Of the older buildings in Munich may be mentioned the Court of the Stables built under Albrecht V, now the Mint, a court with porticos of depressed proportions and heavy detail forms, erected by court architect Heinrich Egkel in 1563-1567. Of the palaces of the Bavarian nobility little is preserved, the best being in Palace Ortenburg; the ceiling of its hall is one of the most beautiful in all Germany. What arose after the thirty years' war -- houses in lakes with angle towers and courts with porticos, like Palaces Hohenkammer, Tüßling, Schwindegg and others -- is in part quite beautiful, but not important and with simple treatment of forms. The Tyrolese castle has already been considered in Art. 44. In Austria are to be named the stately and richly

treated court of Palace Schalaburg, the defensible Castle of Michelstätten, with its rich court with porticos, and Castle Schleinitz near Eggenburg. In Schalaburg the details of the composition are in part something wonderful, but the ornaments are of great beauty.

Chapter 7. The Renaissance in the Netherlands.

58. Preliminary Remarks.

The succeeding monuments may scarcely lay claim to a higher individual importance. Some years since I hastily traveled over a part of the Netherlands, devoting my attention chiefly to churches. I have only retained general, though tolerably definite impressions concerning secular buildings. What I may present here is based on the frequently mentioned works of Ewerbeck and Ysendyck, as well as the work of Galland ⁷⁹ mentioned below, which is unfortunately limited to Holland. Contrary to the endeavors of Galland to separate the different tendencies within the Renaissance of Holland, I must in a comprehensive representation rather emphasize what is common to the entire Netherlandish Renaissance.

Note 79. Galland, G. Geschichte der Holländische Baukunst und Bildnerel in Zeitalter der Renaissance etc. Berlin. 1882.

^{57. General.} The secular architecture of the Netherlands attained a height in the public buildings of the 14 th and 15 th centuries, that it never surpassed later. But also in the period of the Renaissance the public buildings continued to be the most important monuments, the structures in which the tendencies of the Netherlandish Renaissance are most clearly expressed. The city houses never have an importance similar to that in upper Germany. The citizen's dwelling in the Netherlands, whose narrow and deep ground plan was neither favorable to architectural development in the interior nor on the facade, had already found its typical form in the middle ages. The Renaissance sometimes changed the external dress, though often not notably, and besides facades subdivided according to the orders, there still occur in the 17 th century those with Gothic motives in composition.

Already in Chapter 2, I have already shown in the Renaissance of the Netherlands, that the adoption of decorative motives of the Renaissance denoted no break with the traditional principles of composition, and that the antique orders were employed in the treatment of facades in merely a decorative sense. This did not entirely change later: yet an advance to a severer conception is likewise not to be denied. It may be connected therewith, that the theorists in architecture early

acquired influence over its practice. Already in 1539, Pieter Koek von Aelft worked on Vitruvius, and a little later translated the Architecture of Sebastian Serlio. He was followed about the middle of the century by Hans Vredemann de Vries, a man of rich and well trained talents, who unfortunately lacked grace, with his numerous technical works and an edition of Vitruvius, not to mention other writers on architecture and pattern designers. An architecture, that in great part derives its motives from pattern books, must necessarily become eclectic; but in spite of Serlio and of Vitruvius, the Renaissance of the Netherlands remains national. For the treatment of forms in detail are injured by the fact, that the forms were not developed from the conditions of the materials, but were sketched with pencil on paper. They exhibit the method of their design only too frequently.

58. Architecture of Houses.

As in all Northern countries, wood was also in the Netherlands the original building material. Pure wooden construction scarcely occurs again in the 16th century; but half-timber buildings covered with wood are found here and there. Purely Netherlandish is a form of dwelling, in which the ground story and a low intermediate story are in wooden construction, the upper stories being executed in massive stone construction, mostly corbelled out on consoles. Examples from Zalt Bommel may be found in Ewerbeck's work.⁸² The reason for this singular construction is indeed, that in this manner was it possible to introduce sufficient light in the ground story, even in narrow streets. The same form also occurs constructed in stone. A house in the Voorstraet at Utrecht (1619; Fig. 49⁷⁸) is a good example of this type, which never can have a monumental effect.

Note 80. From Ysendyck.

Note 81. From Ewerbeck. The gable is restored according to old drawings.

Note 82. From Ewerbeck. Abt. 17 and 18. Pl. 18.

Yet even when executed in stone, not only a monumental, but even a simple and stately effect is refused on account of its narrow and deep ground plan. The narrow facade with its three

windows prevents enhancement to greatness, an effect entirely by surfaces; charm can only consist in the graceful development of small motives.

A favorite subdivision of house facades, Gothic in its nature, is by blind arches over the rectangular windows. They are either recessed in the surface of the wall, as in the old Latin School at Nymwegen,⁸³ or they project from it. The latter form is most used. It is found in numerous examples in Delft and Dordrecht (Fig. 50⁷⁷). The supports for the arches are often charmingly treated in the style of the early Renaissance. These Gothic-like facades are usually crowned by a single stepped gable. The material is brick or brick combined with cut stone. The mixture of the materials is characteristic for the Netherlands; it makes possible a rich treatment in relief and bold color effects, but it frequently detracts from a quiet general effect.

Note 83. See Ysendyck. Portes. Pl. 8.

59. Elevation according to the Orders.

That the columnar orders were also employed during the early period on narrow facades has already been mentioned.

The House zum grossen Salm (to the great salmon) in Mechlin (Fig. 3) is one of the earliest examples. A similarly free use of the orders is found on the House der Tuchmacher (of the weaver) on the Great Place in Antwerp⁸⁵ and on a small house in Oudenarde.⁸⁶ On these three examples are found blind arches over the windows. Yet more freely handled are the orders -- half columns and human figures -- on the noteworthy House der Schützengilde (of the Archers' Guild) at Antwerp (Fig. 51⁸⁰); the derivation from wooden construction is not to be denied there. To the late period of the style (1644) belongs the House of the Gerber and Schüstergild (Tanners' and Shoemakers' Guild) in Antwerp; a bold effect is attempted, not without result. But with the small width of this facade and with the proportions fixed by the axial division and the heights of the stories, a monumental effect could never be produced, indeed only a really free treatment of the orders. A successor in this direction is shown by a charming House in Utrecht (Fig. 52⁸¹), that was built about the middle of

the 16 th century.

Note 84. Ysendyck. Portes. Pl. 6.

Note 85. The same. Pl. 26.

Note 86. Ewerbeck. Abt. 9 and 10. Pl. 24.

Note 87. The same. Pl. 24.

60. Public Buildings.

Far higher stand many public buildings, on which the same system is employed. A handsome example was the central building of the City Hall at Utrecht, built in 1545-1547 by Wilhelm van Noorts; it is only preserved in drawings.⁸⁸ The facade was 5 axial divisions in width and was built with three pilaster orders. On the decorated surfaces of the friezes and the pilasters, there prevails the joy in ornamentation of the early Renaissance; but the proportions are not free and are crowded. From the opposite defects suffers the system of a House in Amsterdam, given by Galland.⁸⁹ Narrow pilasters are set much too far apart, and the architectural subdivision in construction with some horizontal bands of cut stone, that cross the surfaces without regard to the orders, compose a framework in a sense, whose interspaces are filled with bricks. Even if in a manner differing from the House of the Archers' Guild in Antwerp, this building likewise reminds one of wooden architecture. The City Hall at Delft⁹¹ has no continuous cornice over the separate pilasters of the two orders. Still quite late was built (1612-1628) the beautiful Court House at Farnes (Fig. 53⁸⁴), after this type, though in a more developed form.

Note 88. See Ewerbeck. Abt. 21 and 22. Pl. 19.

Note 89. See the same. Pl. 66.

Note 90. After Ewerbeck.

The feeling for the value of proportions, that could alone lend worth to this architecture, was not developed after the middle of the 16 th century.

The system of three, or sometimes of two orders, however frequently it was employed, still did not correspond to the art spirit of the Netherlands, and it never found an increase to true greatness in the Netherlands. Far more important are some facades, that above an undivided ground story have an upper story with a corbelled order of pilasters or of columns.

The earliest must be that of the City Hall at the Hague (1564-1575); a representation is found in Ewerbeck's work mentioned below.⁹² A low upper story here stands above a high ground story; the contrast is enhanced by the treatment; below is ashlar work with low relief; above is a mixed construction and bold subdivision in relief. Further developed is the system on the beautiful City Hall at Bolsward (1614-1616; Fig. 54⁸⁷). The facade in its rich effect of relief and color--entirely developed from the internal design -- is a masterly composition for picturesque effect, carefree and filled with free grandeur. Besides these principal works occur others with less distinctive peculiarities, like the Käsewage (Cheese Weighhouse) at Alkmaar,⁹³ or the stately castle-like City Hall at Venloo,⁹⁴ which scarcely come into consideration for the general history of architecture.

Note 91. Ewerbeck. Abt. 15 and 16. Pl. 12.

Note 92. The same. Abt. 7 and 8. Pls. 15-17.

Note 93. Galland. p. 482.

Note 94. Ewerbeck. Abt. 21 and 22. Pl. 7.

Entirely by itself stands the City Hall at Antwerp (1561-1565; see the adjacent plate), built by Cornelis de Vriendt and Paul Snyderinx. Here are found two orders above a rusticated arcade, crowned by an open portico with low piers and architrave; the middle of the long building is characterized by richer treatment and a high gable. There are in the northern Renaissance few buildings, that equal this in clear strength of subdivision. Italian studies are not to be denied; the general effect is entirely Netherlandish.

61. Free Facade Compositions.

It is self-evident that buildings likewise occur, on which Gothic reminiscences have vanished, yet without effecting the subdivision of the facade by orders placed thereon. A few examples may be mentioned.

The facade of S. John's Hospital in Hoorn (1563; Fig. 55⁹⁰), besides the mixture of bricks and cut stone, exhibits a further ornamental motive in the varied brick mosaic, by which the upper story is covered. The City Hall at Franeker (1591; Fig. 56⁹⁴), where the subdivision of the wall was derived from the

Gothic-like blind arch system, is effective in small dimensions by the gables skilfully placed on the angles and the tower, that rises between these. Far more important is the Fleischhalle (Meat Hall) at Harlem, built in 1602-1603 by Lieven de Key from Ghent (see the corresponding illustration under B), a skilful eclectic architect, who in his early works developed into an entirely individual personality. His chief work, the Fleischhalle at Harlem, is filled with rude strength. The classical forms were foreign to his nature and have entirely disappeared; he has found his own language of form; this is indeed without grace but earnest and impressive, without any wavering. Allied is the facade of a House at Galgewater in Leyden (Fig. 57⁹⁵); without symmetry, yet the balance of the two sides is assured. The details are still harder than on the Fleischhalle at Harlem. The plain earnestness of the art spirit of the Netherlands has seldom found purer expression than in these two works. How tasteless, on the contrary, is Hendrick de Keyser's Ostindischer Hof (East Indian Court) in Amsterdam or the Mint at Enkhuyzen.⁹⁷ But just this tendency has found wide extension in Holland. Varied in manifold ways, it also extends toward East Friesland. Civically brave, it seldom rises above a dry Philistinism. The singular feeling of restraint, which we frequently feel in reading Netherlandish literature, we likewise experience at sight of these buildings.

Note 95. Ewerdeck. Abt. 15 and 16. Pl. 1.

Note 96. See the correspond illustration in Galland. p. 469.

Note 97. See the same. p. 502.

In the early period of the 17th century, the Renaissance of the Netherlands passes into the Barocco. A predisposition toward Barocco degeneracy exists here from the beginning, like the German; it was furthered by the fact, that not only the ornaments but nearly all architectural details were designed by the draftsmen and not by the stonecutters. Accurate regard to the material of the construction is wanting. All these designs, aside from the charming ornament of the early Renaissance in Flanders, suffer from a rude restraint of the feeling for form, and where the imagination desires to work more

richly, as on the gables, there does it hit upon hypertropes.

If we seek to attain to a final estimate of the Renaissance of the Netherlands, it is not to be denied, that the monumentality of a high architectural style is lacking in it; its advantages lie in the domain of picturesque architecture, in which the color effect produced by alternation of the materials, in proportion to the lack of symmetry to the balance of the masses, in outlines, in grouping, and these are great enough to ensure to it a permanent value in the history of architecture.

Chapter 8. The Renaissance in Lower Germany and Denmark.

62. Beginnings.

Opposed to the gay diversity of the Renaissance of upper Germany, that of lower Germany affords a far more uniform and unified appearance. The beginnings of the Renaissance in this domain appear to have come from the school of upper Saxony, particularly from Halle. In the time from 1540-1560 buildings with stepped gables were erected in various places, whose separate steps are crowned by semecircular caps. The semicircular endings first occur on the Palace in Halle, according to my knowledge; we then find them on the Palace at Wolbeck (1533), on the Palace at Bückeburg, and on those at Stadthagen, in Bremen, in Münster and elsewhere.

The semicircular **surface** of the cap is often filled by shell or fan-shaped ornaments, the external surface being beset by spheres. The gable surfaces are subdivided by projecting bands and light cornices. The Renaissance forms on portals and windows are very abundant.

63. Netherlandish Influences.

This tendency was interrupted in its further development by the Netherlandish Renaissance, penetrating in a broad current soon after the middle of the century. The architecture of the north German coast provinces may almost be counted directly with the Netherlandish Renaissance. In the Interior provinces the Netherlandish impulses cannot be denied; but there always prevails a greater individuality.

The ground tendency of the Netherlandish Renaissance toward overloading and oddities is even increased in the lower German, and the mildness of the style already occurs chiefly in the early period of the 17th century so strongly, that one may speak of a Barocco of the German Renaissance.

73 64. General Design of Buildings.

As in Germany, the palaces of the princes and nobles and the public buildings are the most important structures. For them the grouping around a court is the most common form of ground plan, as it was developed in France and also found acceptance in the Netherlands, the court either being enclosed

by four wings or left free on one side. The stairs are usually winding; communication in the interior is through the rooms; corridors are exceptional. Very large halls, the state apartments of so many south German palaces, do not appear to have been common. For city halls a general system of ground plan was just as little developed as in upper Germany; in both were still moderate the requirements for chanceries and writing rooms; on the contrary, halls for the council and festal halls for the citizens were required. The solution is different in each case. Frequently on a mediaeval building only certain parts or merely the decorative treatment was restored in the Renaissance style.

On the other hand, the citizen's dwelling is of a type far more fixed than in upper Germany; it was developed in the middle ages from the peasant's house of lower Saxony, and since that is more firmly organized than that of upper Germany, the transformation, experienced by it in the city house, is truer to the original ground type. The gable is generally turned toward the street; a doorway leads into the high vestibule; the hall. In place of the stable beside the vestibule occur business offices. Since the hall is higher than the side rooms, a half story is interstred over it. The proper living rooms lie in the upper stories. The intermediate story soon became a separate story. For the narrow houses with three windows, such as extended from the Netherlands into Bremen, Emden, Lübeck and Danzig, there is not sufficient space in the width for vestibule and side rooms; one room, the entrance hall, occupies the entire breadth; at the rear or in a separate stairway are found the dark stairs to the upper stories; a spacious room follows; it receives its light from a small light court: beyond the court and entirely at the end lies a rear addition, that contains storerooms, below and living rooms above. The house was poor in air and light. Compensation was afforded by the flight of steps and terraces enclosed by balustrades, raised some steps above the street, where the family might gather at evening after the toil of the day. Beneath the steps lay the entrances to the cellars; they were indeed nothing else than an artistic transformation of the mediaeval cellar doors. Flights of steps are only now

preserved in Danzig in large numbers. The architectural importance of the flights of steps in detail is not great; but they are one of the picturesque motives provided by the German Renaissance, and they substantially contribute to the animation of the street view.

65. Coast Provinces.

Among the cities that directly adopted the Renaissance of the Netherlands, Danzig stands first. The city is for lower Germany, what Nuremburg is for upper Germany. Here as there are combined and enhanced whatever determines the appearance of the city, and if the view of Nuremburg is richer and more varied, then is that of Danzig stronger and more unified; but both are monuments of the greatness of the German citizens in the late middle ages.

In Danzeg worked Vredemann de Vries, Anthonis van Obbergen and other Netherlanders. What they introduced is entirely 1 late Renaissance. Vredemann labored on the City Hall. He worked beside Wilhelm Barth and other native masters on the internal architecture, the design must indeed be attributed to him. The Red Hall (Fig. 53⁹⁴) is reckoned among the most splendid works of the German Renaissance. In spite of a certain overloading, the general effect is harmonious and has great color charm. Not everything bears out this on closer examination.

Greater importance for the architectural history of the city has Anthonis van Obbergen from Mechlin; he was city architect from 1594 to 1612. His earliest work is the City Hall of the Old City (1587), a very simple building of good proportions; the outline is animated by angle turrets, a gable on the roof over the centre and a beautifully treated roof turret, but it lacks a firm movement of the lines. The Netherlandish school is not to be denied in general and in details. Architecturally more important is the High Gate (1588), Sanmicheli's Porta Stuppa translated into Netherlandish; whether directly or by way of Antwerp (George Tower) remains uncertain. The classical perfection of the Italian prototype is lacking; but it is full of true grandeur.

Anthonis van Obbergen built the Arsenal in 1605. The facade

on the Kohlmarkt is imposing by the simple grandeur of the composition. More boldly subdivided and enclosed is the facade on the Jopengasse (Fig. 59⁹⁸), which is flanked by two towers. The Arsenal belongs to the Renaissance of Holland by its treatment of forms (portals, windows and gables), as well by the manner in which brick and stone are combined. It stands yet nearer to the Danish royal palaces, that were built a little later. Anthonis van Obbergen entered the service of King Christian V after leaving Danzig.

Note 98. After a photograph.

The Holland style of brickwork mixed with cut stone was also employed on various houses in the city; thus on a stately House on the Mottlau with tower and gable picturesquely grouped (Fig. 60⁹⁸) and on the House No. 22 Heiligengeistgasse, which bears the late date of 1695.

Besides the brick and mixed architecture, there likewise appeared in Danzig the classic tendency of the Renaissance of the Netherlands. The Langgasse Gate at the western end of the Langgasse is the work of a Hollander, Abraham van den Block. The attempt to combine the facades of a gate and of a palace is executed with skill; but the gate falls short somewhat, and the light orders of columns lack power and greatness.

House facades, which are built after the orders in the Netherlands way, likewise occur. What is said of the house architecture of Danzig is likewise true of the other coast cities, for example of Bremen and of Emden; the narrow two-story dwellings predominate. It is not necessary to enumerate any; on the contrary, I must mention the City Halls in Emden and in Lübeck.

The City Hall at Emden was built in 1574-1576 by Marten Ardens from Delft. The very stately building contains in its lower part dwellings and saloons. The rooms intended for the council and the citizens, only five in number, lay in the principal story and in the uppermost story, surrounded by an open gallery. There were the reception, writing and servants' rooms in the principal story, which further contained a great hall and the citizens' hall, that occupied the uppermost story and served as an assembly hall for the entire body of the

citizens. The facade (Fig. 61⁹⁹) is simple, but is well subdivided. The ground story and an intermediate story are arranged together and are separated from the high main story by a cornice with consoles. Over this succeeds another low upper story with a corbelled open gallery. The window axes are set near each other, so that only main piers remain between the windows. The facade has a movement of simple greatness, that does not commonly appear in the German Renaissance.

An addition to the City Hall in Lübeck was made on its southern side in 1570, an open portico below with enclosed pilaster architecture in the upper story, the whole crowned by Gables. The forms are Netherlandish. The portico is a good work in itself, but it is not in harmony with the massive earnestness of the mediaeval structure. The like is true of the flight of steps added in 1590, whose composition is similar to that of the portico, but whose forms are already Barocco.

Note 99. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 50.

66. Denmark.

To the countries dependent on the Netherlands also belongs Denmark. The Renaissance appears late in this country. The chief works are extensive palaces. The formal treatment is entirely Netherlandish; the brick construction mixed with cut stone is Netherlandish; the great windows subdivided by stone courses are also netherlandish, together with the modest gabled lintels, from which look out heads etc. But these are forms likewise adopted in the Renaissance of the cities on the Baltic Sea, and it is questionable, whether the transmission to Denmark occurred from them or from the Netherlands. The buildings have much in common, and if one may not speak of a Danish style, yet it has so much individuality, that it shows the existence of a Danish school within the northern Renaissance.

The architects are partly from the Netherlands (Anthonis v van Obbergen from Mechlin), partly natives (Hans von Steenwinckel, the elder and the younger), and partly German. King Christian IV himself exercised a direct influence on the treatment of his buildings.

The first great Renaissance structure of the country is the

Palace Kronborg near Helsingør, built by Friedrich II in 1574-1585. A widely extended ashlar structure with few large windows, Kronborg has a massive and individual character, especially by its great wall surfaces. The architect is unknown, that designed the plan; the elder Hans von Steenwinkel or Anthonis van Obbergen has been named. I might rather think of a German master; for the form treatment is still purely German and scarcely permits Netherlandish touches to appear.

In the buildings of Christian IV, the style attains its individuality. The buildings are characterized by good grouping and distribution of the masses, the treatment of the external forms is somewhat tasteless; beside forms of the developed style appear those of the early period; the connection with the style of the Netherlands is undeniable; the internal treatment is rich, but not rarely bizarre.

Palace Frederiksborg was built by Christian IV in 1602-1625 and lies on three small islands; on the first are grouped the housekeeping rooms around a court. A bridge leads through a gate tower into the second court, that corresponds to the French lower court; this court is flanked by two-story structures. Another bridge leads on the third island, which bears the palace, that again surrounds the court of honor (Fig. 62 100). A low gallery forms the front enclosure and permits a free view of the buildings and towers of the rear wing. The approximate symmetry of the plan of the court is already broken by the great tower. The palace was manifestly erected after a unified plan, which indeed was not retained in details, but it characterizes the general design. The master is unknown, that made the design. One would scarcely err in ascribing to the King a great influence on the plan in general; in the execution participated the younger Hans von Steenwinkel, Lorenz Peitersen Sweis from Amsterdam, and probably also Anthonis van Obbergen. Very much injured by fire in 1859, the palace has been restored under Nehldahl's direction; the exterior very well, but the decoration of the interior is questionable.

Note 100. From Neckelmann, *F. S. Denkmäler der Renaissance in Dänemark*. Descriptive text by F. Nehldahl. Berlin, 1888.

Among the interior rooms, the Knights' Hall and the Chapel are splendid examples of the capricious decorative style of the earlier 17 th century in the northern Renaissance. Likewise the Rose, a two-aisled phallos of low and broad proportions, is a beautiful and peculiar room.

To the same style tendency belongs the elevated Palace Rosenborg near Copenhagen (1610-1625), and as a citizen's dwelling, the House on the Amagertorv in Copenhagen, known under the name of the Dyvekes House, and built in 1616 by Borgomaster Mathias Hansen.

The Bourse in Copenhagen was erected in 1620-1623, probably by the younger Steenwinkel, with later additions. Two stories subdivided by hermes figures, the roof animated by a number of gables, and a tower with a singular spire of the tails of four dragons twisted together, a massive and boldly subdivided structure.

The Danish buildings have their chief importance in that they express their purposes in their appearance with unusual clearness. Just as the palaces of Christian IV appear as princely residences, so does the Bourse seem to be the public building of a strong citizen class.

Among the churches of Denmark is the Trinitatis Church in Copenhagen (1637-1656), earnest and grand, a three-aisled hall church. The Tomb Chapel of Christian IV at the Cathedral of Roeskilde, built by Wans van Steenwinkel in 1617, is an earnest and beautiful interior.

The best period of the Danish Renaissance is brief; it does not extend much beyond the middle of the 17 th century.

67. Northwestern Interior Provinces.

The northwestern provinces in the interior of Germany are peculiarly opposed to the Netherlands, as stated in the beginning. Beside masonry construction, wood construction has remained alive and has attained to a high grade of artistic perfection. We first have to occupy ourselves with merely the stone construction.

The citizen's dwelling has been developed in a very stately manner in these provinces. The starting point is the peasant's house of lower Saxony. The ground type has already been des-

described in Art. 64. A more or less richly treated portal leads to the entrance hall; at the side rises from the bottom a projection like a bay window, that extends through the second story and is crowned by a gable or bears a balcony. On houses of peculiarly stately form we indeed find two such bay windows, and thus on the Hexenburgermeister's House at Lemgo from 1571. ¹⁰⁴

Note 101. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 12. Also see Fritsch. Pls. 107-110.

Note 102. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 12.

Note 103. From the same. Abt. 28. Pl. 1.

Note 104. See Fritsch. Pl. 166.

2 Nearest the Netherlands stands a small group of buildings, that already belong to the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, thus in nowise reckoned with the earliest; the Hämelscheburg and some houses in Hameln, perhaps the works of a single master. The horizontal bands of decorated ashlar bring a certain unrest into these earnest facades, and they are particularly bad, where they cross over the vertical members. The facade of the Fattenfanger (Fatcatchers) House in Hameln, the climax of the group (1602; Fig. 63 ¹⁰¹), may illustrate this character. If we overlook the doubtful ornamentation of the ashlar, we then recognize the excellent arrangement of the facade. It is a very good example of the facades with bay windows rising from the ground. This compels a slight diversion of the portal from the middle of the entire front, together with the window on its axis, while the middle axis assumes its proper place in the gable. Just in the slight variation from symmetry and balance rests the charm of this and of similar compositions. Hameln still possesses several facades of the same type.

A beautiful House in the Osterstrasse (Fig. 34 ¹⁰²) has but two axes. With its unbalanced motives in the first and third stories, but with balanced motives in the second are contrasted, while full symmetry prevails in the gable. On the House No. 16 Bäckerstrasse (from 1568-1569 ¹⁰³), the middle axis is retained for the portal and the window above it, at one side being a great window and at the other the bay window; the mas-

massive and simple gable dominates the whole; corresponding to its inclination, the axes of the side windows draw nearer together upwards. The stately façade of the Leibnitz House in Hanover (1652) belongs here by its composition.

Note 105. After Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 28.

Note 106. After the same. Abt. 12. Pl. 21.

The same style, applied to somewhat different motives, prevails also in Münster. The main street of this city, the Fr. Prinzipalmarkt, is one of the most beautiful streets of Germany. Almost all the houses have porticos (Fig. 65¹⁰³). This motive always ensures a great uniformity to the view, but is not favorable to the individual development of the façades; the porticos of the ground story are with difficulty connected with the upper stories of the narrow gabled houses; the axes of the arcades are not retained in the windows of the upper stories; the windows are rectangular openings without relief; only in the gable prevails a somewhat richer individuality. What we observed in Nuremberg and in Danzig, that the beauty of the street view is produced much less by the rich treatment of the separate buildings, than by their correct participation in the general effect, we likewise find to be proved in Münster. For further examples, see the places mentioned below.¹⁰⁸ Higher results are attained, where the restraint of the porticos vanishes. The broad façade of the former Stadtweinhaus (City Wine House) (About 1615; Fig. 66¹⁰⁵) with its massive gable and the richly treated balcony, the so-called sentence arch, is an earnest and skilful work, that exhibits the Renaissance in Münster on its best side. The contrast of simple and of richly treated parts and the distribution of the latter are executed with sure tact.

Note 107. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 28.

Note 108. The same. Abt. 28. Pls. 1-3.

Besides the buildings in which the Renaissance in Münster succeeded in a certain individuality, we also see those there in which a direct connection with the Netherlands may be recognized. Entirely Netherlandish are the rear façades of the City Hall and of the Stadtkeller.¹¹² The beautiful façade of the Kramerants House (1612; Fig. 67¹⁰⁷) bears a Netherland-

Netherlandish character, if it also bears on its gable steps the semicircular caps, which first occur in that province on Palace Wolbeck, built in 1564.

Note 109. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 22.

Note 110. From a photograph.

Note 111. From Fritsch.

Note 112. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 28. Pl. 30.

In Cologne the portico of the City Hall (Fig. 68 ¹⁰⁹) is one of the most graceful and charming works of the Renaissance in Germany. The proportions taken are particularly happy; the details are beautifully drawn and splendidly executed. The building is the work of a native master, Wilhelm Vernicke, and it was begun in 1559. Vernicke doubtless had his training in Belgium. Near to the Belgian prototypes is likewise an addition to the City Hall in Jülich, which permits one to think of the study of Serlio's work on architecture.

Greater individuality and richer variety was developed by the Renaissance in Brunswick. Wooden construction predominates; yet we also find some good stone facades. The most important is that of the Gewand (Cloth) House (Fig. 69 ¹¹⁰); it was erected in 1590 by Magnus Klinge and Balzer Kircher. With great skill and with a feeling for harmony and proportion rare among German masters, it was adapted to the low stories of a mediæval building. Richness and clearness in composition are combined here in an unusual manner. On the facade of the Gymnasium, built in 1592 (Fig. 70 ¹¹¹), the rows of windows and of niches of the two upper stories are treated as broad horizontal bands, whose animated subdivision is placed in effective contrast to the plain wall surfaces. The windows of the ground story have recently been enlarged and extended downwards, whereby the proportions have sensibly suffered.

In the other cities north of the Harz Mountains the relations of wooden and of stone construction are similar to those in Brunswick. In all cases is the style more German than Netherlandish, even if motives occur on windows and gables, that spring from the Renaissance of the Netherlands. Centres of schools, like Münster and Hameln, do not seem to have existed for stone construction. Whether Halle may serve as such for

the early period requires closer investigation. I therefore restrict myself to mentioning here a few of the most important buildings.

Imposing is the facade of the City Hall at Paderborn (1612-1616; Fig. 71 ¹¹¹), whose energetic and clear subdivision is made especially strong and symmetrical. The facade of the City Hall of Münden (1605; Fig. 72 ¹¹¹) recovers in its three gables the symmetry lacking in the lower parts. In spite of the Netherlandish gables, it is primitive German, awkward, but with small skilfulness.

68. Palaces.

Among the palaces of northern Germany, Horst near Alten-Essen, from the fifties of the 16th century, is one of the earliest. So far as the representations ¹¹³ permit judgement, its importance depends only on the very carefully treated details. The composition after Netherlandish or French prototypes tells little; the two orders in which it is constructed are only decoratively treated and are of slight proportions.

Note 113. Dohme, R. Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst. Vol. 1. Die Baukunst. Berlin. 1887. p. 356, 359.

The Münchausen Palaces Schwöbber near Hameln (1574-1602 ¹¹⁴) and Bevern (1603-1612 ¹¹⁵) are allied in the formal treatment to the buildings in Hameln and to the Hämelschenburg. Palace Bevern is both in its general design as well as in the careful treatment of the details the more important. It encloses a square court and is surrounded by a moat. The principal facade is made almost symmetrical; four projections with the well known ashlar pilaster architecture, but with plain wall surfaces, are crowned by gables, that exhibit the lower Saxon type in a peculiarly happy way. The internal decoration is destroyed.

Note 114. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 12. Pls. 27-30.

Note 115. The Same. Abt. 4.

Reitzkau in the Altmark, between Magdeburg and Zerbst, is also a Münchausen palace, built 1566-1595, has a plan less enclosed and is more freely grouped in its outlines. At the southwest wing of the court is found a charming portico in four stories (Fig. 73 ¹¹⁶). The influences of the Netherlands

are here much less than in the possessions of the family lying farther west.

Note 116. After Fritsch.

Entirely for picturesque effect is arranged the court of P Palace Broke near Lemgo (fig. 74 ¹¹⁶). Netherlandish influences are crossed with those from middle Germany, the latter predominating.

The Palace at Bemburg and the older parts of the Palace in Celle exhibit motives, which first occur in Halle.

Entirely by itself in its individuality stands the Palace at Güstrow in Magdeburg, built under Duke Ulrich by Franciscus Parr (1508-1565 ¹¹⁷). It is the work of a much traveled man, who has seen and adopted much. It stands alone in the German Renaissance. But what makes it particularly remarkable is less its individuality than the entirely modern treatment. On cursory observation, one might take it for a work of the later 19th century.

Note 117. See Fritsch.

69. Terra Cotta Architecture.

The German terra cotta architecture is yet to be considered. Brick construction, that in the middle ages determined the character of north German architecture, does not possess the same importance for the Renaissance; on the contrary, shortly before the middle of the 16th century, there appears in a limited domain a rich style of ornamentation in terra cotta. Its starting point seems to be Lübeck. The workshop of Gert Rüter and Statius von Düren before the Holstein Gate in Lübeck, the partnership of a merchant with a brick burner, afforded the ornamental materials for a wide circle. Statius is no ordinary brick burner; he is a sculptor and was employed as such at the court of the prince at Wismar, as well as on the Palace at Schwerin. Whether others existed besides the workshop of Statius, whose extended business must have required other artistic powers than the master's, is an open question of small importance; for Statius is the leading master.

57 The style of these terra cottas is Netherlandish. Slabs with antique copies or with portrait medallions, that are in part transformed from older models, surrounded by garlands a

and with simple ornamental filling of the angles (Fig. 75 ¹¹⁸), slabs with purely decorative representations, grotesques and cupids (Fig. 76 ¹¹⁸), and slabs with ascending ornaments form the chief portion of this series of forms, in which it is self-evident that cornice mouldings, bases and capitals are not wanting. The formal treatment is still that of the early Renaissance. The foliage is a stumpy echinus, beside which occurs the stalked three-lobed leaf with semicircular cut at the points (Fig. 77 ¹¹⁸). But there also occur cartouches in the developed Floris style (Fig. 78 ¹¹⁸). Purely figure representations are naive and expressive, but are executed with insufficient abilities.

Note 118. From Sarre, F. Der Fürstenhof in Wismar und d. norddeutsche Terrakotta-Architektur im Zeitalter der Renaissance. Berlin. 1890.

From these elements is composed the entire external and also sometimes the internal decoration of the buildings. The medallions were arranged in bands; the aspiring ornaments produce pilasters, combined together and furnished with bases and capitals. Entire architectural parts, window enclosures and portals were combined from differently treated relief slabs. (Fig. 79 ¹¹⁸). If the treatment of the forms leaves much to be desired in details, it then perfectly fulfils the decorative purpose at the place for which it is intended.

The province for the extension of these terra cottas is Mecklenburg; but it does not coincide with the borders of the country, since Lübeck itself lies outside them. The southern limit goes from Lüneberg to Freyenstein in Prießnitz; the eastern point is Stralsund; detached examples occur in Holstein.

At the transition from Gothic to Renaissance stands a House in Lüneberg of the year 1546 (Fig. 80 ¹¹⁹). The type is that of the city house of lower Saxony. Over the entrance hall rise two stories and a high stepped gable. These stories and the gable are subdivided by blind arcades, which are surrounded by twisted fluted rounds. Horizontal bands are bordered by such rounds and separate the stories. In the spandrels of the arches are found medallions with heads and cupids riding on dolphins, that likewise occur on the Fürstenhof in Wismar. An earnest and dignified building.

Note 119. After a photograph.

The chief work of the entire group is the Fürstenhof at Wismar. It was built by Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg in the years 1553 and 1554; yet the decorative treatment continued longer. The composition of the facade indicates Italian models, and Schlie¹²⁰ has with justice placed in a parallel Palace Roverella in Ferrara to the garden facade of the Fürstenhof in Wismar. It is scarcely to be doubted, that the Duke himself exercised a determining influence on the composition of the building; but who was the real architect exceeds our knowledge. The relief works in terra cotta as well as in sandstone are in great part by Statius von Düren.

Note 120. Schlie, F. Die Kunst- und Geschichts - Denkmäler des Grossherzogtums Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Vol. 2. p. 193, 194. Schwerin. 1898.

In the consideration of the building, one does not commence with testing the details, that were not always restored in accordance with the style, but he should first obtain a general impression, in spite of many weaknesses, this will be found very imposing. The widely extended structure rises in three stories separated by high bands, and it is terminated now by a cornice with consoles, while it formerly bore a high roof decorated by transverse gables. The axes are not uniformly distributed; they are not even carried up vertically for the entire height; yet the architectural impression of the building is scarcely injured by these irregularities. On the street side the windows are single and are placed beside each other; on the court side (Fig. 81¹²¹), they are separated in the two upper stories by slender pilasters; the pilasters of the ground story are not even happy additions in the restoration. The system is especially clear and beautiful on the side, and even if the attempt at a stronger subdivision according to the Italian model is also not perfectly fortunate, yet still a very distinguished effect is attained. But the facade is also very imposing and is particularly excellent in its perspective view. A criticism of the restoration is given by Schlie.¹²²

Note 121. After a photograph.

Note 122. Schlie. p. 194 et seq.

The system of the Fürstenhof is employed in an allied way on the Palace at Gadebusch. (1571 ¹²³). It also recurs on a part of the Palace at Schwerin. The moulded bricks from the workshop of Statius von Düren were a convenient ornamental material, that also found use on a series of other palaces, whose composition was a little less severe. Sarre ¹²⁴ gives a list. In a very peculiar way, the hermes figures and relief slabs of the Fürstenhof were employed on a facade in Lübeck. ¹²⁵ Another facade in Lübeck, No. 276 Holsteinstrasse, has the twisted round in the vertical subdivision on the gable and in the enclosures of the windows, with the well known portrait medallions in the horizontal band.

Note 123. Schlie. p. 482 et seq.

Note 124. Sarre. p. 24 et seq.

Note 125. The same. Pl. 13.

The weakness of this terra cotta architecture consists in this, that it works with ornamental elements, which were manufactured, but not for the particular case. Consequently it frequently has an inorganic basal movement and therein stands in sharp contrast to the mediaeval brickwork.

70. Ornamentation of the Interior.

As in the decorative treatment of the exterior, the north German Renaissance likewise in the decoration of the interiors strives for greater richness than that of upper Germany. Here as there is wood the chief material for the artistic decoration of halls and rooms; we find paintings and wooden ceilings in nearly all richly treated rooms. Really monumental effects were scarcely produced thereby, but indeed very important decorative results.

One of the earliest and most beautiful wainscotings is that of the Chapter Hall in Münster-i-W. (Fig. 258) ¹²⁶. It was executed by Johann Kupper between the 30 th and 50 th years of the 16 th century, in elevation being almost purely framed work, in which architectural motives are only timidly introduced in ornamental transformations. The surfaces are adorned by coats of arms and ornament in rich and masterly execution.

Note 126. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 28. Pls. 21-27, 31-37.

The most widely extended motive in composition for panelings

is the order of pilasters or of half columns, as in south Germany, frequently in rich or indeed overrich treatment.

A beautiful example, still in the formal character of the early period, is the wainscoting of the Peace Hall in the City Hall at Münster-i-W (1587 ¹²⁷). The hall by its dimensions, as well as by its rich and skilful treatment, belongs to the most stately interiors of the north German Renaissance.

Note 127. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 28. Pls. 55-58.

Beautiful examples of the richest development of the motive are the Kriegstube (War Office) in the City Hall (1575-1608¹²⁸), and the Fredenhagen room in the Kaufhaus (Guild Hall) at Lübeck (1572-1578), in spite of the overloaded richness of the composition being quiet in effect and one of the most beautiful works of German decoration in wood. The Council Hall in Lüneberg (1566-1583), erected by Albert von Soest, has a wainscoting, that is at bottom rather dry in treatment, but in which certain parts, doors etc., fall into fanciful overloading. The massive splendor of the Red Hall (Summer Council Room) in the City Hall at Danzig has already been considered.

Note 128. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 43. Pls. 1-10.

Among wooden ceilings, that of the Palace at Jever in East Friesland is the most magnificent.¹²⁹ It comprises in 4 rows 28 square coffers with bold mouldings and rich ornamentation approximating to the Floris style. More common than paneled ceilings are the beam ceilings; they hold out until in the 17 th century.

Note 129. Boschen, H & F. von Alten. Die Renaissance Decke im Schlosse zu Jever. Leipzig. 1883.

71. Entrance Hall and Stairs.

Retaining the entrance hall in city dwellings brings with it relatively early picturesque designs of stairways. The hall was the height of the ground and intermediate stories, and to make accessible the living rooms placed in the latter, open stairways and galleries were arranged in the rear part of the entrance hall. The stairways are partly winding, partly with straight flights. They end at the intermediate story; separate stairs lead to the rooms of the upper stories. Beautiful entrance halls are yet found in Bremen, in Lübeck (that

of the Semaens' Guild), in Hildesheim, and indeed also in other cities. How far the stately interior of the Leibnitz House in Hanover is original, I am unable to state.

Chapter 9. The late German Renaissance and the Barocco.

72. End of the German Renaissance.

The upper German Renaissance was complete about 1550, and it maintained itself for several decades on the same step of development. But certain works originally from 1560 onwards already followed other aims. They permit foreign influence to be plainly recognized; but their general treatment in style is German. The condition is the same as in the transition buildings of the 13th century. Yet the invention of the artists is so strong, that it is regulated and fertilized by foreign styles, though not dominated. These masters recognize in the works of foreign countries, in Italy and France, that a higher principle of composition is in architecture than the purely picturesque one of the German Renaissance, and they strive for a stronger and purer subdivision of their facades. In this, far more than in the treatment of forms, their works differ from those of the German Renaissance in a restricted sense.

However individual and independent these buildings are, one cannot be mistaken, in that they offered an impulse toward the invasion of the Italian Renaissance. The dry and capricious forms of the German Renaissance are in good harmony with the free style of composition in the style; but they must be quickly abandoned, when a stronger and more regular composition was the purpose. At **bottom** the palaces at Heidelberg, Mentz etc. are yet merely attempts to solve a problem independently, already solved otherwise. But while here the detail forms added to the general system are only opposed to it, In France and Italy they even grew and were developed with it. It was not only more convenient but also more consistent to take over from Italy the system and its detail forms. Already while the Friedrichsbau originated in Heidelberg, works in Prague and Munich were carried on in the Italian style, and with the English Building a similar style also penetrated into Heidelberg. The very promising beginnings of a monumental tendency in the German Renaissance were not allowed a further development.

With this change in style, that introduces the end of the

German Renaissance, cooperate more general causes. Reference should only be made here to the fact, that also innate reasons denied to some primitive works of the German Renaissance a determining influence upon the succeeding period. But the worth of an art work will finally be measured, not by a historical but by an esthetic scale, and not only the Palace at Heidelberg but likewise some other works of this group will always be reckoned among the most important creations of the Renaissance in Germany.

73. Barocco Style.

At about the end of the century, the German Renaissance everywhere passes over into the Barocco.

It may appear questionable, whether for a style, that from the beginning contains so many irrational things, one should in general speak of the Barocco. The conception of the Barocco is not entirely fixed. Heinrich Wölfflin has indeed distinctly defined it, but has also limited it at the same time. Now the Roman Barocco, to which Wölfflin's investigations apply, is certainly an individual appearance, that should demand its own name; but similar phenomena appear at the end of each style period, and just that common to them is more than the specific character of the Roman Barocco, and what men have heretofore understood by the word barocco. It is the endeavor for enhanced effect by heaping and overloading the forms, the impressiveness of the expression of form on the whole, the seeking for originality everywhere, even at the cost of clearness of expression in details, the capriciousness, the picturesque, and the lack in frankness. The Barocco never has the ability to invent its own symbolism of form; it works with the forms of the older styles; but it changes these as altered esthetic views demand. An elevated movement is expressed in many and great works.

In this sense Barocco is in general no distinct style, but a phase of the development of a style; one may speak of a Barocco of the antique, or of one of the Gothic.

In the Florentine and Roman Renaissance, the change to Barocco is complete and perfected in entire clearness. Renaissance and Barocco in Italy are two distinct styles, in spite

of the common basis of antique forms. For the German Renaissance such a thorough difference is excluded by the entire nature of the style. The ground element of the composition is the picturesque, and the forms from the very beginning onward are not free from caprice and eccentricities. Both could enhance the late period, but they added nothing new.

15 This enhancement then actually occurred; the forms were heightened and made more complicated; they were swelled and overloaded. But the essential fact is the changed views and temper of the time. Ulrich von Hutten greeter his age with the words:-- "Sciences bloom; spirits rise; it is a pleasure to live." Such an exclamation could not be uttered at the end of the century by one knowing the signs of the times. The greatest spiritual contest had filled the century without coming to an end, and what was worse, its continuation corresponded less and less to the great beginnings. To this was added increasing bitterness on both sides. The contrast between the feelings and modes of expression at the time clearly appears in the language of the two most elegant writers of the century:-- Luther and Fischart. Luther speaks with direct power, always and everywhere finding at once the striking expression of his ideas; Fischart disposes of a wealth of words, such as after him perhaps only Rückert possessed; but he does not know how to manage them. The endless abundance of expression flows from him, and a conception is repeated in many synonyms without choice and taste. There is certainly no artistic purpose in Fischart's language; but the reader plainly feels the joy, which he has in his labored exaggerations. The simplicity that pleases us in the writings of Luther, in Peter Vischer's and many other works of the early Renaissance, 20 become foreign to the late 16th century. A taste for heaped and overloaded forms makes itself felt everywhere, and an artist that might seek to fill these swelled forms with full life, like Rubens or Shakspeare, could not arise in wearied Germany.

97 Beside Fischart directly stands his countryman Wendel Dietterlin, whose "Architecture" is a worthy counterpart to Fischart's "Gargantue". Whoever takes the trouble to compare both

works will be astonished by the parallelism of the imagination. Wendel Dietterlin also provides a surprising array of forms, which he scatters throughout his designs without choice. He is one of the richest spirits of the German Renaissance, but he never freed himself from the rule of this art, which remained fettered in the minor arts; he indeed did not design it as such, but with pleasure combined art and art industry. In his designs he pays no regard to the material and execution; thus as here sketched out, a great architecture could never be produced. He even returns to Gothic and adds what men had dropped a century before. But if one takes him as he is, then must one wonder at his inexhaustible imagination and the power of relief, by which he knew how to combine the most opposed forms into a united effect. (Fig. 82 130).

Note 130. From Architectura. Von Austellung, Symmetria und Proportion der Fünf Seulen. By Wendel Dietterlin. Nuremberg. 1598.

Wendel Dietterlin did not remain without influence on his countrymen; Strasburg is the home of the Barocco of upper Germany. Fortunately the Strasburg masters Daniel Specklin and Johannes Schoch in contrast to Dietterlin had a higher esthetic sense than most of their contemporaries in Germany. They took a substantial part in the endeavors for a stronger regularity in architectural composition, mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter. It is due to them, that the Barocco in southwest Germany did not merely run into an enlargement and wildness of detail forms, but even indicated the arising of a specific architectural feeling.

Here is to be considered first the Heidelberg Palace. I treat it together, although certain of its parts belong to the early Renaissance and others to the Palladian tendency of the 17th century.

74. Palace at Heidelberg.

The Heidelberg Palace is located high above the city on a projection of the Königsstuhl, and it was built in the course of about 200 years, from the 15th to until in the early part of the 17th century. On its history may be compared the refined Essay by K. E. Stark¹³³ mentioned below, the thorough

investigation of Julius Koch and Fritz Seitz,¹³⁴ the essay by Alt,¹³⁵ and the researches of Rott.¹³⁶ We merely have to occupy ourselves with those portions, that originated in the 16 th and 17 th centuries and belong to the Renaissance series of forms.

Note 131. After Koch, J. & F. Seitz. Das Heidelberger Schloss. Darmstadt. 1891.

Note 132. After Fritsch.

Note 133. Stark, K. B. Das Heidelberger Schloss in seiner kunst- und historischer Bedeutung. Hist. Zeits. Vol. 6. p. 93 et seq.

Note 134. Koch & Seitz.

Note 135. Alt, Th. Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Otto-Heinrichsbau zu Heidelberg. -- In this Essay are also to be found the necessary references to further literature.

Note 136. Mittheilungen des Heidelberger Schlossvereins. 5.

The beginnings of Ludvig V are still Gothic; in the Palace of Friedrich II located on the north side of the palace court between the Otto-Heinrichsbau and the Friedrichsbau, the glazed Saalbau (hall) (Fig. 83 ¹³¹) are employed the forms of the early German Renaissance. It is a small and inviting composition, but a projecting wing and the stairway tower have
99 between them columnar porticos in three stories. What is today visible from the court is little more than half the facade. The part lying eastward from the stairway tower is now concealed by the Otto-Heinrichsbau. The building was erected about 1550; between the monumental structures that adjoin it at the right and left, it has less effect than it deserves. Whether it should be described as a youthful work of Hans Englehart is uncertain.

Friedrich's successor, Otto Heinrich, who had also begun the erection of Palace Neuburg on the Danube, built in the years 1556-1559 the structure on the south side of the palace court, named after him; it was completed in 1563, four years after Otto Heinrich's early death. Since its destruction by Melac, merely the facade comes under consideration for its value in the history of art, which was doubtless excelled by the subdivision of the interior, and also probably by the dec-

100 decoration of the interior. The famous work is frequently and fully described. A new and thorough estimation is scarcely necessary; I might give it, but a few suggestions may suffice.

The idea of subdividing and animating a facade by a system of orders or half columns is not foreign to the German and the Netherlandish Renaissance; we already meet with such facades repeatedly; these orders were almost without exception nothing more than a favorite means of ornamentation. It is here recognized for the first time, that the orders have a higher importance, taken in the sense of the Italian Renaissance, that they form an ideal organism, whose artistic importance is based on the proportions. The facade (see the adjacent plate) rises in three stories above a high basement. It was crowned by a double gable, that is now destroyed. The width of the facade is divided into five double bays, each of which contains two windows, between which is a niche with a statue. The composition is rich, yet clear and massive. The principal ornament of the subdivision in height is formed by the Doric cornice above the ground story; it places this in contrast to the two upper stories. In this succession the stories diminish in height upwards. Both divisions are very carefully worked out.

Like the gradation of the stories in general, that of the supports, of the cornices, of the window openings and the relief ornament is extremely refined.

The form treatment stands in a similar relation to the Italian Renaissance, as the forms of the Burgundian Romanesque architecture to the antique Roman. Even the spirit is allied; here as there the classical design is an overture expressed in the general composition and above all defects and awkwardness, from which the details are not free, with all their charm. But no important work attains to academic correctness of all forms, yet it is born from the same spirit in all its parts, is animated by a ground harmony, and this condition is satisfied in full measure by the Otto-Heinrichsbau.

The controversy, that has occurred in recent years on the question of securing or restoring the Otto-Heinrichsbau, has led to a thorough investigation of the style. The first ques-

question is that of the ideal basis of composition. That Italian impulses were active in it is proved by the gradation of the proportions of heights of the three stories, that approximately corresponds to Serlio's rules. As a special prototype has been mentioned Palace Rovarella in Ferrara. The analogy is limited to this, that in the system three windows stand between two pilasters. Whether this suffices to establish a dependent relation, I am unable to decide; but it is 101 clear that the spirit of the Otto-Heinrichsbau is one entirely different from that of the Palace. I recognize a Netherlandish motive in the windows of the ground story. But if several art tendencies are also combined in the composition of the facade, then are the different elements wrought into uniformity with assured power, and the great work stands entirely for itself. What the northern Renaissance, under its living conditions, could attain in the harmonious treatment of a facade built in accordance with the orders, is here reached.

The classical expression of the facade depends on its horizontal termination; its organism is opposed to being crowned by gables. And yet a double gable once existed. The question whether it belonged to the original composition or was a later addition is contested. It cannot and should not be decided according to an artistic feeling, which the possibility of the controversy shows to be not homogeneous and to be very different from that of the nobles and the architects of the 16th century. Thus the assumption, that no gable was originally intended, only has a basis if it be supported by objective characteristics. Kossmann has shown, that the uppermost cornice of the facade is actually arranged for a straight termination. Thereby is the question decided for that, which is outside the controversy. The further interesting investigation of the controversy does not belong here.¹³⁹

Note 137. After a photograph.

Note 138. After Fritsch.

Note 139. The materials for deciding it has been collected by Alt in his Essay on the Entstehungsgeschichte des Otto-Heinrichsbau zu Heidelberg. Heidelberg. 1905. (History of the origin of the Otto-Heinrichsbau).

Surprising was the evidence produced by Haupt, that in the details of the Otto-Heinrichsbau not only appear different style tendencies, but even that different parts of the building are composed of blocks in different styles. One would do well to simply accept these facts without connecting them to far-reaching consequences. It is possible, that dressed blocks of a somewhat older structure have been utilized, or that once a change of design occurred -- which still must have come from a completely uniform development of the composition -- or also of the artistic direction, but the observation, that different stonecutters worked on the building at the same time, each after his manner, is made on so many mediaeval buildings, and such a procedure is also not excluded for the 16th century. The harmony of the building has in nowise suffered thereby.

For such an extraordinary work, the question of its creator is imminent and justifiable. It is not yet solved; but it has been carried to a new stage by the work of Rott. According to this, the electoral upper architect Hans Englehart was the master of the Otto-Heinrichsbau, who under the spirited impulse of the views of his princely master created and executed the building. The complete proof is not afforded by the material so far found in the archives; but of all mentioned so far, Engelhart has most right to the honor of the title of master of the Otto-Heinrichsbau. But the spectre of Peter Flötner, the error of German art research, may at last be exorcised.

When Friedrich IV built the Palace named after him on the north side of the palace court, more than thirty years after the completion of the Otto-Heinrichsbau, the times had changed. The master of the Friedrichsbau is known; he was the Strasburg architect Johannes Schoch.¹⁴¹ He has transferred the motive of the composition of the Otto-Heinrichsbau to the court facade, but he has changed the proportions of the heights. Although the building stands on the lowest side of the court, the base only serves to equalize the irregularities of the ground. The lower order occupies one half the entire height; the two upper ones are graded by themselves. On the

exterior toward the valley is required a high substructure; but it does not appear in the view, being concealed by the terrace before it. On this external facade (see the adjacent Plate), the system of the double bays is dropped, and a single pilaster system is carried out. It is the more imposing.

Note 140. After Blätter für Arch. und Kunsthandw. 6 th Year.

Note 141. See Koch & Seitz on this, p. 114; further, Strasburg und seine Bauten. Strasburg. 1894.

What is first striking on the Friedrichsbau is the overpowering strength of the subdivision in general and detail; there is something very turbulent in the building, a singular heaviness of the structural framework, against which the detail presses everywhere. The conflicts are not solved in all places; in the returns of the cornices, in the swelling and the reduction of the pilasters prevails great restlessness. The windows are closely pressed between the pilasters, and still more compressed is the the court facade. Yet from the abundance of forms, the ground dividing lines of the system plainly appear. Excellent is the contrast of the massive lower a with the lighter and upper orders. The treatment of the details is graduated in a masterly way upward into greater quiet.

23 If we look back at the Otto-Heinrichsbau, we recognize in general as in detail the changed feeling of the time. The sense for the esthetically great is aroused; the building is Barocco. Differing from the geometrically and flatly subdivided facade of the Otto-Heinrichsbau, the Friedrichsbau is conceived and executed for the perspective effect from a definite and near point of view.

The termination of the buildings of the Heidelberg Palace is formed by the Englischebau built by Friedrich V, that was completed in 1615. It is the work of a German, who adheres to Palladio's tendency. The design of the Palace was completed by splendid garden designs, of which only slight vestiges now remain. Of this is the truly regal location. It has remained to the Palace as an inalienable estate, even in the dreary desolation, that has fallen on it in the unfortunate period of two hundred years. If we look from the valley toward the Palace or enter the palace court, picturesque views

everywhere charm us. The picturesque expression is now predominant; it was so from the very beginning. The picturesque general effect unites the structures so different in style. These are so imposing, that one must select them from the overpowering general effect, in order to enjoy them as separate art works. There will one then perceive, that for the effect of the separate buildings far less stress is laid upon the beauty of the ruins, than one assumes at the first glance, and that this is still essentially architectural.

75. Old City Hall at Strasburg.

In a free application of the motive of the composition of the Otto-Heinrichsbau, Daniel Specklin designed the facade of the Old City Hall in Strasburg, built about 1535. (Fig. 84 132). The system of double bays is there altered, so that on the porticos of the ground story a pilaster is placed before each second pier, and that in the upper stories pilasters occur instead of niches, which are certainly weaker and of different form from those over the lower pilasters. The double bay is retained; but its rhythm is indeterminate. The like is true of the gradation of the stories. In details appears the form treatment of the Friedrichsbau, which was indeed executed by a Strasburg master.

124 76. Palace at Aschaffenburg.

Another Strasburg master, George Ridinger,¹⁴⁴ we meet with at the Palace in Aschaffenburg, built in the years 1605-1614 for Archbishop Johann Schweikard (See Fig. 85,¹³⁷ and the adjacent Plate). The Palace is located on a height above the city, and is a regular and nearly square plan enclosing a court and with four angle towers. An older tower in the court is taken into the building, which interrupts but does not entirely destroy the symmetry of the general design. The form of the ground plan occurs frequently in France and appears to be derived from thence. The elevation is not developed in orders of columns or of pilasters; but the stories are separated by bold cornices. On the towers are somewhat too many horizontal lines. The geometrical elevation scarcely presages the effect of the stately building. The grouping is good on all sides, but is very imposing on the side of the river.

(Fig. 85). The court is likewise very beautiful; the stairway towers in the angles, the transverse gable in the middle of the front and the tall external angle towers compose a rich and effective group. The detail is allied to that of the City Hall at Strasburg and that of the Friedrichsbau at Heidelberg. To the German forms are added Netherlandish motives, faceted ashlar etc. All details are carefully and beautifully wrought.

Note 142. After Fritsch.

Note 143. After a photograph.

Note 144. On Rüdinger and the Palace at Aschaffenburg, see Schulz.-Kolbitz, O. Das Schloss zu Aschaffenburg. Strasburg. 1905. -- Heusler, E. George Rüdinger. Strasburg. 1906. -- Schneider, F. Das Schloss zu Aschaffenburg und sein Erbauer. M. Mentz. 1906. -- Baum, J. Das Schloss in Aschaffenburg. Beil. z. Allg. Zeit. No. 25. -- Same, zur Rüdinger Frage. 1906. No. 326

To the same tendency belongs the Palace Gottesau near Karlsruhe, built in 1588; then the wing of the City Hall at Würzburg (Fig. 43), grand with small dimensions, perhaps the work of the Freiburger, W. Beringer, who was also engaged on the erection of the University.

77. Palace at Mentz.

A special position is occupied by the electoral Palace at Mentz (Fig. 86.¹³⁸). It was begun under Archbishop George Christian von Greifenklau (1626-1629) as an extension of the old Martinsburg. The south wing commenced by Archbishop von Greifenklau was completed only between 1675 and 1678 under Damian Hartard von der Leyen and by the Capuchin Father Mathias von Saarburg, not entirely according to the original plan. For the years 1630-1632, Friedrich Schneider took charge of the building for Elias Holl. Yet about the middle of the 18th century, another wing was built adjoining the existing structure.

The building followed similar aims as the Otto-Heinrichsbau in Heidelberg and the City Hall in Strasburg; it possessed a great clearness of treatment of the facade and a calm dignity in design. These peculiarities likewise indicate French stu-

studies, like much in the details. The name of the master is unknown.

In the building just described is introduced a new principle of composition in the German Renaissance; the importance of the proportions for the subdivision of ~~fa~~acades is recognized, perhaps from personal observations in Italy, more probably from the textbooks of Scamozzi and of Serlio. They lead out of the German Renaissance; but this transition occurred at a time, when in Italy the Barocco had already generally come into use, and some of the buildings are already Barocco themselves. On this ground, the movement could have no increasing development, in spite of the high beauty of certain works. This has already been referred to. An innate relationship of all these buildings is not to be mistaken; but they do not stand so near each other, that one should speak of a school.

For the later period the centre of the movement lay in Strasburg. There Daniel Specklin and Johannes Schoch worked; George Ridinger came from there; and that W. Beringer had relations to Strasburg is at least to be assumed.

78. Barocco in lower Germany.

Likewise in lower Germany occurred the change to Barocco toward the end of the 16 th century. Composition is scarcely concerned therein; it relates only to a change in the style of decoration. Herein were the contrasts also less than in upper Germany; for the lower German Renaissance from the beginning contained more Barocco elements than that of upper Germany, and these developed in the course of the later 16 th century into a wild style, though consistent to itself. The purpose here was a general impression produced by a rich alternation of light and shade, opposed to which was clearness and purity of lines. It is as if the forms were crushed by the compressed location and were squeezed out of the surface. This is particularly true of all volutes, which no longer are developed in special lines, but are compressed in width and sometimes become almost angular. The ribs of the loose acanthus leaves were beset by warty projections; the cartouches always suggest a material like leather and become ugly masses of surfaces swelling up and down; which have the appearance

as if they were formed of soft and fresh skins. This is the so-called "Knorpel" (leather or gristle) work. Rutger Kassmann, a particular admirer of this art, published in 1659 in Cologne a pattern book of this leather style under the title of "Architektur nach antiquitetischer Lehre und geometrische Austeilung" (Architecture according to ancient theory and geometrical subdivision). His designs (Fig. 81) appear to be fanciful productions, that scorn all execution; but whoever takes the pains to examine the memorials of 1640-1660 in the north German churches, finds that Kassmann only gives forms, that were already common in a wide range. Indeed the most confused of the great tombs is that of Duke August von Lauenburg and his wife Katherina (1649) in the Cathedral at Katzeburg. Generally the decoration of churches is the peculiar domain of the north German Barocco. Quite individual and with a beautiful general effect is the decoration of the Jesuit Church in Cologne (1627), one of the earliest works of the leather style. Separate decorative works are found in all the larger churches of north Germany from the Rhine to Prussia. If collected and systematically arranged, they would give a very complete representation of the development of the style.

79. Monuments.

On the other hand, the number of the Barocco buildings is not great. If in southwest Germany the appearance of the Barocco is in connection with the elevation of architectural conception, the same is not true for lower Germany to the same extent; men generally adhered firmly to the Renaissance mode of composition. Certain exceptions are to be noted. In the service of the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was employed Paul Franke (1538-1615), a very great and independent artist. His two chief works, the University at Helmstadt (1592-1597) and the Church of S. Maria at Wolfenbüttel (begun in 1608 and only completed in 1660 after many interruptions), are simply and grandly conceived, and are characterized by imposing proportions. The University at Helmstadt is a rectangular structure; it has two high stories with great windows and richly treated gables at the ends; at the sides three tr-

transverse gables project from the roof; to one is attached an octagonal stairway tower. The Church S. Maria in Wolfenbüttel is a three-aisled hall church (Chap. 11 and Figs. 109, 110); the interior has an earnest beauty, formly and securely treated; less satisfactory is the exterior. The transverse gables from the last period of work on the structure (1657); (Fig. 88 ¹⁴⁰) well designed in proportions and in the relief of the members, but are in detail examples of the wildest leather style.

A contemporary of Paul Franke is Lüder von Bentheim ¹⁵⁰ in Bremen. He worked from 1609 on the rebuilding of the City Hall (see the adjacent Plate), whose present appearance is ascribed to him, even if not in the entire execution. The building is of the 15 th century; likewise a portico on the south side already existed originally. Lüder von Bentheim replaced it by an arcade supported by Tuscan columns, and this was crowned by a high frieze and a balustrade. All surfaces are filled by the richest relief ornament in Barocco forms (Fig. 89 ¹⁴²). Over the three middle arches rises a projection crowned by a high gable. Two smaller gables stand beside it. A bold cornice surrounds the entire building. These upper parts differ from the lower portico in their form treatment. The composition is excellent as in detail. It is surprising, how by Lüder's additions the simple mediaeval building becomes vividly grouped. This becomes plainer than on our Plate, if the building is viewed more diagonally. (Fig. 163). Moreover the difference between geometrical and perspective views becomes especially clear on this building.

Note 145. After Fritsch.

Note 146. See Schneider, F. Denkschrift zur Herstellung des ehemaligen kurfürstlichen Schloss zu Mainz. Mentz. 1897. --After this, Elias Holl von Augsburg am Bau des kurfürstlichen Schlosses in Mainz. 1630-1632. Zeits. f. Bauw. 1904. p. 561.

Note 147. After a photograph.

Note 148. After Gurlitt, C. Geschichte des Barockstils und des Rokoko in Deutschland. Stuttgart. 1899. Vol. 2.

Note 149. After Ewerbeck.

Note 150. More on this matter in Focke, J. Die werkmeister

des Rathausumbaus. Bremisches Jahrbuch. Vol. 14. p. 129 et seq. -- Further, Pauli, G. Die Renaissancebauten Bremens in Zusammenhänge mit der Renaissance in Nordwestdeutschland. Göttingen. 1888. p. 55 et seq.

The hall in the upper story is one of the most stately interiors. Its plan mediaeval, furnished with accessories at different times, it received its present character substantially at the beginning of the 17th century. The rooms arranged in both stories of the front projection are separated from the hall by wooden partitions; a winding stairway leads to the upper one, the golden chamber. The execution of the walls and of the stairway is rich and extremely effective, even if not free from Barocco overloading. Unusually charming are the small decorative figures. ¹⁵²

Note 151. After Ewerbeck.

Note 152. See the drawings in Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 34. Pls. 22-23.

109 The style of the City Hall we find again on the beautiful facade of the Krameramtshaus (Mercantile Office), (1619-1621), on which the Netherlandish and German motives in decoration are blended, as on the City Hall. Likewise the Essighaus (Vinegar House) in the Langengasse, begun in 1618 and not quite consistently completed, belongs to a similar tendency. Quite near and at No. 16 Langengasse stands another Barocco House. Like the Essighaus, it has three axes in width and extends upward with four orders and a gable. The doorway (Fig. 90) is extremely capricious. Far more stately than these narrow houses with three windows is the Leibniz' House in Hanover (1652). The motive of the composition is that derived from the wooden architecture of lower Saxony and Westphalia; but it is here enlarged to unusual size. The detail is entirely Barocco.

In the Palace at Bückeburg is to be mentioned the doorway of the golden hall with its enclosure (Fig. 91 ¹⁴⁵). The most luxuriant Barocco caprices here hold a truly bacchanal festival. Wendel Dietterlin's wildest designs are executed in relief.

The City Church in Bückeburg has a beautiful and dignified

interior; its very Barocco facade is quite Netherlandish. The Barocco buildings of Danzig are likewise Netherlandish. The high gateway has already been mentioned in Art. 35. The beautiful House on the Langgasse (Fig. 92 ¹⁴⁷) has its nearest analogy in Brussels.

80. Netherlandish Barocco.

Concerning the Barocco of the Netherlands, I must again limit myself to a few remarks. The Netherlandish, and especially the Flemish Barocco was not directly divided from the Renaissance of the country. This indeed contains many gems of the Barocco, as previously noted. The style of Floris, like the art tendency of Vredemann de Vries, swarms with peculiarities of every kind, so that if but formally regarded, it might be counted almost as well with the Barocco as the Renaissance; but the Flemish Barocco is yet primarily the result of renewed and stronger influences from Italy. Some monuments are very near their Italian models; but usually the Italian motive is still so independently treated, that an art of decidedly local coloring arises. How far this Italianizing tendency of Flemish art, that we also find in the painting and sculpture, is connected with the counter-reformation is to be further investigated; that it was furthered by the numerous and important buildings of the Jesuits is scarcely to be doubted; but the Jesuits are not the leaders in the style movement, yet adhere to it. As the proper leaders of the Flemish Barocco are to be considered Jacques Franquart and Peter Paul Rubens. Rubens was active in but a slight degree as an executing architect; he shows himself in architecture also as an entirely independent artist (Fig. 93 ¹⁴⁸). By his drawing of the Genoese Palace, that appeared in Antwerp in 1822, he at least theoretically influenced the acceptance of the Italian Barocco. Other Netherlandish masters must also have made studies in Genoa and Milan. In church architecture the connection with Italy remained closer, in spite of diversity in form, since the chief motives of the composition are the same in both countries. (See Chapter 11). In secular architecture the typical forms of the narrow and high gabled houses, as they had already developed in the late Gothic per-

period, were retained until in the 17th century. The House of Gerber (tanner) in Antwerp (1644) differs only in the treatment of the details, especially of the upper part, from the buildings illustrated in Figs. 3 and 51. Also the collegienhaus in Hoorn (Fig. 94 ¹⁴⁹) varies more by the formal treatment of the orders and the labored handling of the gable than by the general elevation from the older buildings. Here may again be reference made to the House in Danzig represented in Fig. 92. Quite late, 1697-1699, are the Guild Houses on the Grand Place at Brussels, on which influences of French art are not to be denied.

Characteristic of the Netherlandish Barocco remains the preference for the combination of bricks and cut stone. The treatment always retains a certain gracefulness and seldom becomes heavy and massive. In the outlines of the enclosures of windows and doors, as well as on the gables pedantic sports are favored; the ornamental filling usually has the form of cartouches, indeed being derived from the Italian Barocco. Fig. 95 ¹⁵¹, a House in Ghent of the year 1675 and Fig. 96 ¹⁵³, the system of the court of the Bourse in Lille, that was erected in 1651 by the city master of works Julian Destre, may personify what is not made clear in words.

Note 153. After Ysendyck.

Chapter 10. The Italian Renaissance and the Italian Barocco in Germany and in the Netherlands.

81. General.

During the entire period of the Renaissance, there arose in Germany buildings, that must be credited to the Italian Renaissance, as well as those at least standing nearer to it than to the northern. They are not connected together, or are but exceptionally so, and their influence on the local style is usually not large. Yet their historical signification is not small; they introduce into German lands the international period of the Barocco and Rococo, in which the regional differences in architecture more and more disappear. They are certainly not to be measured by the scale of the Italian high Renaissance. Their origin lies on this side of the climax of the Renaissance movement in Italy, and the Italians, who came to Germany at the call of ecclesiastical and secular princes, were not the highest masters. Still much extends to average undertakings of Italian art. The late date of the origin of most of these works sufficiently explains, that we seldom find in them the harmony of the Italian Renaissance, the independent clarity and quiet accord. Their time was past in Italy as well. The reaction of the church movements in Germany was not excluded; the contrast of God and nature, which had been more and more left out of sight in the uncontrolled astonishment of classical antiquity, had appeared ayew and more acutely than before; minds were constrained, were unfortunately excited, but were inclined to weak resignation. This disposition was expressed in the art of the counter-reformation, the Barocco. The Italian Barocco style speaks as bold and impressive language; it knows how to seize and desires to strongly affect; it is not timid in choice of its means of expression. Always pathetic, it expresses all designs in an enhanced and frequently exaggerated manner. Whether the Italian Barocco would have taken the direction in reference to its character without the counter-reformation is more than questionable; but it had entered the 16th century without this, for the Renaissance had attained its climax about 1500.

It lies in the nature of this late art, that from its beg-

beginnings it worked with increased yet rude means; but the Italian Barocco has, above analagous phases of the style in other periods and countries, a greatness of mind, which even in comparison with the Renaissance may be esteemed as ~~even~~ enhanced, though unbalanced. It reflects the majesty of the militant church, and it has fought for its victory; but the church knows why it sets aside today the means, that rendered it good service three hundred years since. The Barocco style was an ecclesiastical style in its beginnings, but the development of magnificence, held essential by the church in the 16 th and 17 th centuries, attracted the great ones of the earth to surround themselves with like splendor. The style thus became a palatial style, and it greatly furthered the composition of palace architecture. Dimensions increased; passage in the interior was improved by corridors and vestibules; stately stairways in the richest and most convenient designs could not be wanting. The motive of the elongated facades, divided into accented and two side projections, that now dominates the composition of great palaces, is an acquisition of the Barocco.

The Italian Barocco is in a higher degree international than any other preceding style; the national diversities in architecture are less during no time other than under its sway. The style found acceptance in the later 16 th and in the 17 th centuries in Catholic southern Germany as well as in the Netherlands. In Barocco art is almost everything, that the Italians and the Netherlanders trained in Italy, created in Germany in the service of the church, for the princes and the nobles; alone in certain of these works still appears the pure elegance of the Renaissance.

82. Italian Buildings in Germany.

Here must be mentioned in the first place the Belvedere on the Hradschin in Prague, begun in 1536 by Paolo della Stella, a pleasure and summer house in a beautiful garden. In spite of the rather dry form treatment, it is in pure Renaissance. The entire design of the rectangular structure, without any grouping and surrounded by a light portico on slender Ionic columns, already clearly expresses this, and the same is true of the proportions. The Brera in Vicenza has been mentioned

as its model; but the imitation is limited to the outlines; all else is different. The internal decoration is no longer the original.¹⁵⁴

Note 154. See the corresponding drawings in Fritsch; further, the illustration in Dahme, p. 331; lastly, Part IV, Vol. 1 (Fig. 191), (2nd edition, Fig. 250), of this Handbook.

Italian is the ornamentation of Castle Stern near Prague, an earlier building, that was decorated by Paolo della Stella.

Duke Ludwig began in 1537 the erection of an extensive Palace in Landshut. The wing next the old city was built by Nicolaus Ueberreuter and the Augsburg architect Bernhard Zitzel in the style of the early German Renaissance, though unfortunately almost entirely transformed. Three other wings adjoin it and enclose a court, and an addition extends even to the Isar. The builder was an Italian of the school of Sanmicheli, Antonelli from Mantua. The court has a strong treatment of the forms, well considered proportions, and it is very stately and beautiful. In the main story is a great hall (1542) covered by a depressed tunnel vault, and two tiers of high vaulted rooms. The vaults are subdivided after the manner of coffered ceilings, the beams having relief decorations in stucco - actually the first extensive use of this mode of decoration in Germany -, the surfaces being adorned by historical and mythological paintings, as well as by grotesques. On the paintings were employed Italian and German architects, but they were at first of no importance and have suffered by repainting. Still the effect of the rooms is very dignified, and this must have been so in a higher degree, so long as the walls were covered by hangings or otherwise. Very pretty is the little chapel of square plan. Likewise in the ground story are some rooms worth consideration. The beautiful facade on the Ländgasse, rusticated below and with a pilaster order above extending through two stories, is again conceived in the manner of Sanmicheli. The structure is an important work, that would also be in place in Verona or Mantua.

In Basle originated in 1587 the beautiful facade of the Geltenzunfthaus (House of Money Guild), (Fig. 97¹⁵⁵), which in design and proportions is evidence of the study of Serlio's

architectural work, and the allied facade of the Spiesshof of about the end of the century. Palace Ritter in Lucerne is a work of Giovanni Linzo from Perugia begun in 1557; the Italian motives on the facade are employed in a very indamissible manner; on the contrary, the court with porticos is a beautiful work. The arrangement of the plan is entirely regular. Palace Porzia in the Hospital on the Dran inclines toward the Venetian Renaissance.

The Fuggers had already caused the introduction of the Renaissance into Augsburg in the early part of the 16 th century, and lent renewed impetus to Italian art in the second half of the century. About 1570 Jacob Fugger called Antonio Ponzano, a pupil of Titian (?), to Augsburg for the decoration of some apartments in his Palace. With Ponzano came other Italians indeed to Augsburg. Of their works have been preserved two rooms in the ground story of the northwest wing, that are low vaulted rooms (Fig. 98 ¹³⁶). Not the plan but merely the decoration is Italian, but this is entirely so. The smooth walls are painted with grotesques and landscapes. Above the cornice bands are set the richly subdivided vaults. The compartments of the vaults are decorated by reliefs in stucco and terra cotta, and the surfaces are richly ornamented by paintings, grotesques and allegorical figures. The paintings parallel the works of Pocetti in Palace Uffizi and those of Zuccheri in Caprarola, are hastily sketched with extreme freshness and enjoyment; in the elastic **course** of the lines and the harmonious coloring are they of high decorative worth.¹⁵⁷

Note 156. After a photograph.

Note 157. Drawings may be found in the Augsburger Album of the Academic-Architects-Verein of Munich.

The artists worked here in the years 1571 and 1581, and during the intervening period, they were employed in Palace Trausnitz at Landshut, together with others, the most important of which were Christoph Schwarz and Friedrich Sustris. The general effect in these rooms with horizontal ceilings is inferior, since all relief decoration is lacking; but the decorative paintings are excellent. A frieze with representations from the "Commedia dell'Arte" is characterized by delicate humor.

Finally, we find the same decorators of 1586 in the Antique Hall and in the Grotto Portico of the Royal Place in Munich. The relief is here still excellent. Particularly the pier capitals in the Antique Hall are modeled with masterly skill (Fig. 99¹⁵⁸); but the ornamental paintings, however charming in details, make weariness felt.

Note 158. From a photograph.

The works so far described still have the stamp of the Renaissance, even if partly of a very late type. With the beginning of the 17th century, the Italian Barocco comes over the Alps in full development. Entirely Italian indeed are but few buildings; works of Italian masters; but numerous are the works of Netherlanders and of Germans trained in Italy. The art of these masters, architects, painters and sculptors, has the common tendency, that we designate today as academic; their invention is expressed in general forms, and they speak not their mother tongue, but a foreign idiom. They have thoroughly made their own the forms of Italian art, and they know how to handle them; but their artistic invention almost exclusively remains restricted within a separate tendency between the northern and the Italian art spirit.

Fire destroyed in 1598 the old Cathedral at Salzburg. Scamozzi prepared in the years 1604-1606 a plan for rebuilding¹⁵⁹. The strikingly beautiful plan, which utilizes the motive of S. Peter's in a freer way, but affords no definite decision concerning the effect, that the completed building might have produced, yet permits important things to be conjectured.

Note 159. See Dohme. p. 394.

Scamozzi's plan did not come to execution. The Cathedral was built in the years 1614-1634 by Santino Solari from Como, a pupil of Scamozzi. Solari's plan is a reduction of his master's; the design of the choir recalls in plan the Cathedral of Cocco. I have seen the Cathedral of Salzburg (Fig. 100¹⁶⁰) several times, but only hastily. The effect in the nave is rather heavy, but it rises into freer beauty in the choir and beneath the crossing; the lighting is excellent. The style is a good Barocco. On the exterior the simply strong sides are better than the facade.

Note 160. From Dohme. p. 394.

// Entirely Italian are likewise the Bishop's Palace, already begun in 1592, and other structures. Salzburg received in the early 17th century an Italian character, which the city still retains.

Scamozzi was also engaged in Prague. To him is ascribed the design of the stately stairway of the Royal Palace; likewise its portal, a dry work of bad proportions. Entirely in the forms of the Italian Barocco is restricted the decoration of Palace Waldstein in Prague. On it were employed different Italian artists. So far as illustrations permit a decision, (Fig. 101 ¹⁶¹), German models are the basis. Regarding the executing artists and the stylistic details, see Gurlitt's work mentioned below.¹⁶² The termination of the garden is formed by a portico of three arches (Fig. 102 ¹⁶³). It not only has great dimensions, but also imposing proportions. The Barocco motive of the arches supported by coupled columns is here enhanced to high grandeur; dignity and worth predominate in the composition. The structure is usually ascribed to Giovanni Marini; Gurlitt holds it to be a work of Bartolommeo Biancon.

Note 161. After Fritsch.

Note 162. Gurlitt, C. Geschichte der Barockstils und der Rokoko in Deutschland. Stuttgart. 1889. Vol. 7. p. 11 et seq.

Note 163. After Fritsch.

Likewise the Mausoleum of Archduke Ferdinand II, built 1614-1633 by Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, is entirely Italian. The tendency of the Barocco toward superfluities and exaggerations comes to light here very clearly.

83. Works of Netherlanders of Italian Training.

As Italians worked in Salzburg and Prague, so Italianized Netherlanders took the lead in Munich. The history of the artists of Munich under Wilhelm V and Maximilian I is indeed not yet fully cleared up; but it stands without question, that the Munich art of the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century has such an individual character, as it could only have attained by the effect of prominent masters destroying slight individualities, and further, that this

style character is the Italian-Netherlandish and not the Italian-German. The leading masters are Friedrich Sustris and Peter Candid, both coming from Vasari's school, two rich and many-sided, and what is more important, two nearly allied spirits, who in predominating measure have produced a school. They are eclectics, clear and cool, with rich and assured abilities. Their preeminence in all formality but doubtless attract and subject later powers. It is therefore extremely difficult to distinguish between the works of this circle by their characteristics of style; but for the like reason, this separation has only slight importance for the general history of art.

We have to consider here the Church of the Jesuits with the adjacent College and the rebuilding and extension of the Royal Palace; an estimation of the third great group, the Duke Maxburg erected by Wilhelm V, is no longer possible on account of the rebuilding during the last decades.

The building of the Jesuit Church was begun in 1583 and completed in 1597. I believe that the design should be attributed to Friedrich Sustris. It exhibits such assured mastery in artistic as well as in technical respects, that besides Sustris no other Munich master of the time can come in question, and just as little any member of the College. With intelligible clearness is created here an interior of imposing magnitude. (See Chapter 11, as well as Figs. 112, 113).

The Jesuit College, now Academy of Sciences, is an earnest and dignified building, composed for the general effect, but without charm in details.

A second work of Sustris is the Grotto court of the Royal Palace; it was begun under Wilhelm V and completed under Maximilian I. Unfortunately it was transformed about the year 1700. In its original condition, it must have possessed an intimate charm, such as we seek in vain in most creations of this art circle. Even yet the little garden with the Perseus fountain and the graceful grotto portico afford an expressive representation of a Renaissance garden. A larger garden of richer design was placed on the south side of the buildings enclosing the grotto court. This garden was described by the

Augsburg patrician Philipp Heinhofer in 1611.¹⁶⁴ and was illustrated by Diesel.¹⁶⁵

Note 164. Zeits. d. Hist. Verein f. Schwaben und Neuburg. Vol. 8. p. 73.

Note 165. Diesel. Erlustierende Augeweider. 2 nd series.

In the years 1611-1619 Maximilian I had erected the great structure surrounding the Kaiserhof (Imperial Court) of the Royal Palace. Design and artistic proportions must be ascribed to Peter Candid,¹⁶⁶ so long as a great artist personage is not proved, that continued in the here prevailing manner in the Italian feeling for interiors. The technical execution from the preparation of the working plans upwards also certainly evidences other coworkers. According to the researches of Trautmann, Hans Krumper was the executing master. The design is simple and grandly conceived. The exterior is kept entirely plain; merely a skilfully designed painted architecture produces the appearance of an architectural subdivision.

Splendor is limited to the principal stairway with the adjacent porticos and to the rooms of the principal story.

Note 166. Compare Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreich Bayern from 11 th to end of 18 th century. Munich. 1892-1895. Vol. 1. p. 1165 et seq. -- Contrary, Bassermann-Jordan. Die Dekorative Malerei der Renaissance am Bayerischen Hof. Munich. 1 1900. p. 103. -- Arthur Nese gives a representation (Leipzig. 1906), with which I entirely agree; the publication of Trautmann's investigations is still awaited.

Grand above all is the design of the stairway. The entrance is formed by a stately hall in the middle of the northern wing. The first flight of the stairway is covered by an inclined tunnel vault. At the turn on the landing of the stairs, the view of a hall in two aisles opens (Fig. 103¹⁶⁷), in the southern aisle of this ascending the second flight of stairs, and which affords above access to the rooms adjoining on the east and west, as well as to the stairway to the third story. The view upwards from the landing is surprising in a high degree. The proportions are broad and pleasing. The decorations, stucco ornaments and painted grotesques etc., are finely

executed (1616). On the west was adjacent a larger hall, that unfortunately no longer remains. The mature certainty of composition in these rooms merits admiration; power and strength in the lower hall with its four massive Tuscan columns, the narrowing of the interior in the tunnel-vaulted lower stairway flight arouses expectation; great heightening at the turn of the stairway, and quiet repose in the upper hall. In perfected harmony of general appearance, these rooms scarcely have their equals in the Renaissance of Germany. If the hall formerly heightened the impression, then in its destruction we have to lament the loss of a chief work of the Renaissance in Germany.

Note 167. From the same. Pl. 180.

In the eastern and western wings are found a series of the most distinguished living rooms (Stone Room and Treves Room); (Fig. 104 ¹⁶⁸). Communication is facilitated by passages, that extend beside the rooms. The apartments have pleasing and lofty proportions, and they are decorated with reasonable magnificence, both occurring in only a few contemporary interiors. ¹⁶⁹

Note 168. From the same. Vol. 1. Pl. 182.

Note 169. Drawings in Bötticher's Innenräume der königlichen alten Residenz in München. Munich. 1895.

84. Netherlandish Barocco.

More individual and national is the Barocco in the Netherlands. According to the statements in Art. 80, only a few churches are to be mentioned here. Genoese is the system and the decoration of the Jesuits' Church in Louvain; it is quite similar to S. Annunziata in Genoa. Jacques Franquart's church facades follow in other principal lines the composition of the facade scheme of the Italian Barocco, as it occurs on S. Spirito in Rome. On the facade of the former Augustine Church in Brussels indeed the changed proportions are produced by the three-aisled plan; but it has in details so much northern, that it can merely be named here in a very limited way. The same is true of the facade of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp; but the spirit of the Italian Barocco is expressed by this broadly developed church facade in a way still more distinguish-

distinguished than by that. It is the work of two members of the order, Peter Huijessens and Francois Aguillon. Other churches of the order stand more independently from the Italian Barocco.

85. German Masters from the School of Palladio.

During the entire 17th and 18th centuries, besides an increasing wildness of forms and their final transformation into the Rococo, there occur endeavors, which are directed toward strength of forms and orderly composition. Vignola and his successors established the canon of the columnar orders, which remained authoritative until the more accurate knowledge of Grecian forms; but Palladio showed the way for the general conception of the composition. He possessed the most thorough knowledge of the antique. His entire creation is controlled, not by external rules, but by an innate orderliness, within which he proceeds in entire freedom; in earnest greatness he excels all his contemporaries. His expression of form is abrupt, even dry; but compare him in detail with the treasury of forms of the succeeding period, until Durand and Gilly, and one will be astonished by the many motives first employed by him. His fame was already great in his lifetime; his influence is measureless.

It is understood, that German masters, who went to Italy in the later 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries labored under its ban. Palladio's deep feeling for architectural grandeur, they could not indeed sufficiently adopt; but the feeling for a greater severity of composition and for purer forms, than those peculiar to the German Renaissance, they brought away with them. Their works are generally earnest and dignified, yet without poetry and not free from pedantry.

The greatest among the German Palladians is the Augsburg Cathedral architect Elias Holl (1573-1646). His father Hans Holl was superintendent of works in Augsburg; Elias owed to him the first instruction in workmanship and art. From 1586 onward was he employed with his father by Jacob Fugger, and who wished to send him to Italy with his son George, but the father would not permit the boy to travel before the end of his apprenticeship. First in the year 1600 Elias Holl came

to Venice, and already at the end of 1601, he was again in Augsburg. That during this period he passed through a transition from the German Renaissance to a later style is not probable; he must have already known Italian architecture of the late Roman type from the works of Vignola, Serlio and others. Palladio's buildings had a determining influence on him. Elias Holl was an allied spirit; development into a great architect was denied to him, as to nearly all men of his country; but he is never trifling, and he attained whatever might be reached by a German in following Palladio.

It was permitted to him, what few architects attain, to create not only some important works, but he had a deciding influence on the appearance of the entire city of Augsburg, indeed with full comprehension. When he built the City Hall, which was at first designed without the two towers above the side wings, he advocated in the council the addition of the towers, which he carried, since they would give the city a heroic appearance, both from the outside and from within.

Among his works is the Beckerhaus (1602), still rather restrained; but already the slightly later Arsenal is a complete masterwork, in which is expressed the energetic individuality of the artist. The facade (Fig. 105 ¹⁷⁰) is richly and boldly subdivided. Palladian motives are employed. But Holl has already advanced beyond mere imitation to original creation; indeed he never excelled this facade, so far as individuality is concerned. His later works, the City Hall, the Metzgerhaus (Butchers' Guild House) etc. are perhaps stronger and more orderly, but are dry and less fresh in details.

Note 170. From a photograph.

The City Hall (1614-1620), a structure with many stories, possesses importance entirely in the outlines, that have a beautiful effect, both far and near. The plan (Figs. 108, 107 ¹⁷¹) is entirely symmetrical. The middle is occupied by a great hall; at the side and on the main axis is the stairway, in the angles being offices, guard rooms etc.; in the principal story there corresponds to the hall the Golden Hall, while the angles are occupied by the so-called princes' rooms. This is indeed the most magnificent of all festal and state

interiors preserved by any city in Germany. Particularly the golden hall, extending through three stories, is of a splendor in proportions, such as no second Renaissance hall in Germany. Likewise the lighting and coloring are good; but the forms of the ornamentation are frightfully hard.

Note 171. From Lübke.

Holl likewise built a number of gateway towers in Augsburg, some of which have unfortunately been sacrificed to the opening of modern streets, while at others the adjacent walls have been removed, by which their effect has been changed. The type is the same for all, but the execution varies in details. The Wertachbrucker Gate Tower (Fig. 108 ¹⁷²) is indeed the most beautiful.

Note 172. From a photograph.

123 Greater than Holl's activity was that of his contemporary, Heinrich Schickhardt (1558-1634).¹⁷⁵ Schickhardt was court architect of the Duke of Wurtemberg. He had worked under George Behr on the Lusthaus in Stuttgart. In 1598, he traveled during five months in Italy, from Venice to Milan. He undertook a second journey in company with Duke Friedrich; he visited Genoa, Rome, Loreto, Bologna, Ferrara and other cities. His diaries and sketch-books contain drawings of Palladio's buildings, of Genoese palaces and other architectural works; also everything else; wells and water-works especially attracted his attention. Schickhardt also visited Lorraine and Burgundy.

Note 173. See Baum, J. Die Werke des Baumeisters Heinrich Schickhardt. 1. Kirchen. Würtemb. Vierteljahrshefte. 1906 p. 103.

Schickhardt rebuilt not only separate buildings, but also entire cities and villages. From 1300 to 1608, he conducted the rebuilding of the city and Palace of Mompelgard; the city of Freudenstadt in the Black Forest was rebuilt from his plans, though indeed its main outlines were given by Duke Friedrich. Besides colleges, schools and many private buildings are counted among his works 17 churches (if those rebuilt are added, the number is much greater) and even 12 palaces. I do not know how many of his works remain, and know nothing of their

appearance. His chief work, the New Building in Stuttgart was burned in 1757 and removed about the end of the 18th century. It was a high building of four stories having central and angle wings, that were yet one story above the roof cornice. The stories were separated by belts. The detail was apparently less pure than with Elias Holl. The entire structure had something modern in its numerous stories.

Among the masters, who introduced the Italian Barocco into Germany is also reckoned the younger Jacob Wolff, the son of the master stonecutter of the same name, who built the City Hall at Rothenburg. He was the builder of the City Hall at Nuremberg.¹⁷⁵ He likewise visited Italy, and the City Hall affords evidence of thorough studies. Yet also in him the Italian style takes a native coloring. The facade is very much elongated. Above the simple ground story, generally animated by three portals, rise two upper stories with long rows of windows, -- no less than 36 windows in each row. Over a modillion cornice follows a balustrade, beyond which rise projections like towers at the middle and sides. The strong accenting of horizontals, the decided contrast between the ground and upper stories are foreign to the German Renaissance; the detail motives are likewise Italian, and still such a building could only originate in the Germany of the 17th century. Just as we at once recognize the nationality of a foreigner, even if he speaks German well, so do we recognize in the Nuremberg City Hall at the first glance the work of a German master. To be just to the facade, it must be tested by its perspective effect, and one will find that it is very well conceived for its site. The ground story in the court is simply treated; the upper stories are subdivided by pier arcades, that project from Tuscan pilasters. Likewise here are effective contrasts and a good treatment in forms. Very beautiful is the vaulted hall of two aisles in the ground story. Jacob Wolff is not equal to his father in delicacy of artistic invention; but he is always capable, rich in knowledge and free from littleness.

Note 174. From a photograph.

Note 175. See evidence therefor in Mummenhof, p. 175 et seq. where accurate drawings are also to be found.

The architect's house in the Peunthof is likewise a work of Wolff. The simple and earnest building has good proportions, and the gable dormers animate the outline, without making it unquiet. Some other houses in Nuremberg follow the same tendency, like No. 7 on the outer Lauferplatz, and quite late (1672) the Tucher Brewery in the Weizenstrasse.

In Landshut, the arcades in the court of the Trausnitz (about 1580) belong to this tendency, also the court of the Landhaus in Graz. (Fig. 109 174). Whether the style had already penetrated into north Germany in the early part of the 17th century is unknown to me.

In the Netherlands, the City Hall at Amsterdam (begun 1648) is the most important building of this severe Renaissance. (Fig. 110 176). The plan clearly shows already in its symmetrical arrangement the study of the works of Palladio. The requirements for space are however materially increased in Dutch City Halls, and the solution is excellent. Above a low ground story, the facades have two high and approximately equal pilaster orders, each comprising a main and a mezzanine story. In general, the principal facade is broken by three projections. An intelligible but tasteless structure. The high and light festal hall has an imposing effect, in spite of its academic subdivision. The ornamental forms have much in common with contemporary French art.

Note 176. Gurlitt, G. Geschichte des Barockstil und des Rokoko in Deutschland. Stuttgart. 1889.

Buildings with the same tendency may even be found in other places; the examples described suffice to characterize the style.

86. Final Considerations.

The esthetic value of the buildings treated in this Chapter is not unlimited; they lack the full harmony of the Italian Renaissance, as well as the naive enjoyment in decoration of the German; as at first stated, they belong to the Barocco with few exceptions, and they all bear the marks of an art period, that has passed its climax.

Greater is their importance in the history of the style. They are symptoms of a general condition, the development of the Italian Barocco into a European style of architecture.

An investigation does not belong here, why this obtrusive style should dominate the entire West and obliterate national differences more than any other. It penetrated into Germany, when a change in style was certain. As a decorative style, the German Renaissance had passed through the few innate possibilities of development; its foreign capricious forms had already fallen into Barocco wildness. Men here and there had the feeling, that a more severe architectural style treatment was required. But the attempt to transform the style from within outwards, with however great powers it was undertaken, (Friedrichsbau at Heidelberg etc.), must of necessity urge a greater purity of detail forms. An attempt was yet scarcely made in the German Renaissance, nor could it even be made in a style, whose forms were already conceived in Barocco looseness. And what was needed already existed in complete form in Italy. Vignola had established the canon of the columnar orders; Palladio had shown how they were to be employed according to the sense of the period. It is not by chance, that he and his contemporary Galeazzo Alessi, Ricchini and others found appreciation in the North, while the masters of the high Renaissance remained entirely not understood. One conceives also in Germany what architecture was in a limited sense; but it was a fate, that men first understood that the architecture of the Renaissance had already fallen into decadence in its native land, and which a great genius like Palladio, had not been able to prevent.

To these innate reasons are added external ones, though only as secondary. I have already referred to these in the beginning of this Chapter. The barocco came to Germany and the Netherlands in consequence of the counterreformation, but in nowise everywhere, and it is even in Catholic countries not the general style for churches. At least, as much increasing magnificence contributed to its adoption, together with the etiquette, with which the princes surrounded themselves in accordance with Spanish models. But the style did not continue limited to this circle. Not the taste of princes nor the power of the Church, but the ascendancy of the Romantic art spirit necessitated its victory over the formless German Renaissance.

Chapter 11. Church Architecture.

87. General Conditions.

Compared with the secular architecture, church architecture in the German Renaissance is very backward. Relatively more was perhaps built in the Netherlands; yet there also really important monuments are not numerous. The entire period was not favorable to church architecture. An extraordinary number of churches originated in the 15 th century, and a period of enhanced activity in building must necessarily be followed by one of repose. The need was satisfied for a long time, and the religious wars of the century did not further a peaceful activity in architecture. New structures were not entirely lacking in the 16 th century. But a more animated upward flight was assumed by church architecture first with the great churches of the Jesuits from about 1580. The Jesuits also brought the Renaissance into more general use in church architecture, though in nowise exclusive employment. In the 16 th and the 17 th centuries until the end of the thirty years' war, the Gothic was always still regarded as the true church style. Men were not acquainted with the innate opposition of the two styles; their forms were decorative expedients and nothing more. According to habit, men retained Gothic forms of vaulting, without perceiving their opposition to the other architectural forms and the decorative equipment. They once expressed structural customs, gave the stonecutters opportunity for showing their skill in workmanship, and had a picturesque effect. More was not required. In a naive way, men sometimes covered the ribs of vaults with the forms of the Renaissance, with heart-leaves, pipes etc., and filled the compartments with cartouches and other ornaments. But the Renaissance was in nowise entirely avoided, and the greatest monuments belong to it.

88. Catholic Church Architecture.

Catholic church architecture remained still alive and far surpassed what was undertaken on the Protestant side. Important changes of design do not occur at first; the hall church with ambulatory in the choir or with a choir apse at the East end of the middle aisle remains the most usual form of the 1

128 larger churches. Only with the invasion of the Renaissance do their ground plans come from Italy to Germany and the Netherlands. In Italy after many purely artistic attempts on the central building, men remained at a compromise between this and the longitudinal building. The series in development extends back into the Gothic period, and it goes from the Cathedral at Florence and S. Petronio at Bologna through S. Andrea at Mantua, the designs for S. Peter in Rome to the Church of the Jesuits and to the final form of S. Peter. A form was found, less abstract than the purely central building, which also satisfied liturgic requirements, with high esthetic advantages and rich capacity for modification. It is important for the succeeding period, that the longitudinal structure had maintained its supremacy. The form of the cross-shaped longitudinal building with a dome over the crossing indeed occurs only once in Germany before the war, and not too commonly afterwards; but it is the ground plan from which developed on the one hand the simpler longitudinal buildings of the 17th and 18th centuries, on the other the fanciful Rococo buildings of Germany in a purely artistic spirit, and that again more nearly approximate to the central building.

89. The Jesuit Style.

I have already indicated that the Jesuits of the Renaissance obtained a general admission into northern church architecture. Here must be considered briefly the question of the Jesuit style. The name of "Jesuit style" is diffused in lay circles and is employed as nearly synonymous with "Barocco". Already more than 40 years earlier, Jacob Burckhardt stated thereon, that no special Jesuit art existed; recently the conception without thorough definition is still introduced in the history of architecture. If we survey the great architectural activity of the order, it is not to be denied, that in its first building, the Church of the Jesuits in Rome, exerted a very wide influence; but it was not an absolute model, not even for the ground plans. Many Jesuit churches indeed have a single aisle with side chapels; but just in the Netherlands do we find not a few three-aisled churches of the order, which still hold fast to the entire mediaeval scheme of

plan. But the ground plan may here be regarded as immaterial, if exteriors and decorations of all these churches and of the colleges have a common style. Yet this is not the case. Again must the Jesuit church be recognized as one of the earliest and most influential works of the Roman Barocco, that frequently as a model has influenced the system of the exterior as well as the decoration. But its style is specifically Roman Barocco; within my knowledge, it does not at all occur in Germany and the Netherlands. The Jesuit Church in Louvain is allied to the Genoese Barocco; S. Michael's in Munich affords Italian motives as conceived by educated northerners; the Jesuit Church in Cologne and an entire series of Jesuit churches in Belgium are Gothic; others again are different. Where is here the common style? Likewise the last, the artistic harmony of these interiors is very varied; they have but one thing in common; they are never puerile. Yet this single epoch founded no style, and one would do well to avoid the words Jesuit style as a scientific term. 177

Note 177. See Braun, J. Die Belgisches Jesuitkirchen etc. Freiberg. 1907.

90. Protestant Church Architecture.

Compared with the greatness of the artistic feeling, that still manifests itself in the late Catholic church buildings, everything undertaken on the part of the Protestants is far inferior, with few exceptions. Men have not gone beyond attempts to develop the form of the church building from the requirements of the worship. The greater originality is on the side of the reformed churches. They have more decidedly broken with tradition than the Lutheran, which at first but slightly modified the forms of Catholic worship. One must not transfer the existing rational form of Lutheran divine service directly into the 16 th century; it was only developed in the course of the 18 th and 19 th centuries. The order of divine service was regulated in the year 1536 in accordance with Luther's paper:-- "The German mass and order of divine service arranged at Wittenberg." According to this, the sermon indeed forms the most important part of the entire divine service; but besides the introductory and the closing church hymns, p

portions of the mass were retained in a German translation. The second part of the divine service is formed by the communion. That may have been the normal one; men sometimes retained still more of the ancient form. But the altar service always still occupied a wide space, and the divine service had two centres instead of one. But in the structural organism was thereby introduced an innate contradiction, whose complete solution has not been found to this day; the respective places of the pulpit and the altar have never been fixed. The 16th century did not at all enter on an architectural solution of the problem on this side. The position of the altar remained the ancient one, and the pulpit was either placed near the altar, to render both visible to the entire assembly, or the pulpit was transferred to one long side, and men sought by the arrangement of the pews to aid this. The structural organism was not affected thereby. It was otherwise with a second matter. With the enhanced importance of the sermon, opportunity must be afforded to all members of the congregation to understand the preacher; the seats must therefore not be too far removed from the pulpit. The architectural result of this requirement was the adoption of the central building as the normal form of the Protestant church structure. On the Reformed side, where the importance of the altar was less, men did not fear to deduce this conclusion, and especially in Holland, there are not lacking attempts in this respect; on the Lutheran side, this impulse could not contend with tradition; men sought help by the adoption of galleries, and these were soon regarded as indispensable parts of Protestant churches. Either are they galleries or balconies without any closer connection with the structural design, or they were brought into connection with the structural organism, when the side aisles were furnished with upper stories, and these opened with arcades toward the principal aisle. This form is not exclusively Protestant. The first is most common. If men would not pass to the central building, then the single-aisled rectangular hall showed itself to be the most suitable form of interior for the Protestant worship. But in such halls the galleries could not be arranged otherwise than as

132 galleries on columns or consoles. The number of these hall churches is great; few among them possess artistic importance.

Thus Protestantism always indicates a loss for the church architecture of the 16 th and 17 th centuries; the grand internal development and the symbolism of the Catholic church building were lost, excepting slight vestiges, or became superfluous, without requiring sufficient substitutes elsewhere. Some Protestant churches are likewise to be mentioned.

In the following separate consideration of the monuments, the style and form tendencies are taken as the reasons for a classification, rather than their appertaining to one or the other faith.

91. Monuments.

In a history of the German Renaissance, the last shoots of Gothic cannot be thoroughly treated. Until the middle of the 16 th century, church architecture continued on the plane of development, that it had reached in the second half of the 15 th century. The hall church was not the only one, but the most widely extended form of church, and that corresponding most to the taste of the period. Higher internal effects were not striven for, though in nowise forbidden to this form; men enjoyed freedom in spacing the supports and the resulting spaciousness, which this made possible. On portals, alters, pulpits and other articles of equipment, the Renaissance appeared early and soon mastered the entire furnishing; but the nucleus of the building remained Gothic.

Among the hall churches of the 16 th century, the Church of S. Maria at Halle is one of the most beautiful. It was built at the command of the Elector Albrecht of Brandenburg by Nicholas Hofmann in the years 1530 - 1534. Its completion only followed after the introduction of the reformation in Halle., (1541), and the equipment with galleries falls at that time. In its form treatment as well as in the handling of the interior, this church is allied to the Saxon hall churches; a beautiful and wide interior with rich net vaults. On the galleries are mingled Gothic forms with those of the Renaissance.

133 The Jesuit Church in Cologne (Fig. 111), built in 1618 - 1622, is a Gothic basilica; the aisles are separated by tall

circular piers; the net vaults of the main aisle rest on corbels; over the side aisles are found galleries. The details and the decoration are Barocco and are reckoned with the earliest works of the so-called "gristle" style. Wild in form, the details have a good decorative effect. Likewise on the exterior occur forms of both styles beside each other, and an archaic caprice of the architect has even placed two Renaissance towers beside the facade. In this very remarkable building, Gothic and German Barocco work together, and the general impression is nowise inharmonious. In Belgium, the churches of the order built by Heinrich Hoelmaker in the early period of the 17th century are still entirely Gothic; also the churches of Brother Johannes du Blocc are Gothic in structure, but adopt many elements of the Barocco in their formal treatment. 182

Note 178. After Fritsch, K. E. O. Der Kirchenbau des Protestantismus from the Reformation till the present day. Berlin. 1893. -- Also Fritsch, Denkmäler deutscher Renaissance. Berlin. 1890 - 1891.

Note 179. Fritsch. Denkmäler deutschen Renaissance. Berlin. 1890 - 1891.

Note 180. From Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern from the 11th to the end of the 18th century. Munich. 1892 - 5. On plates 157 - 185 are to be found accurate drawings.

Note 181. From the same.

Note 182. A survey is given by Braun, p. 12 - 103.

135- The Pilgrimage Church at Dettelbach-on-Main (Figs. 112, 113), built in 1608 - 1613 by Bishop Julius Fischer of Würzburg, is a wider single-aisled and cross-shaped structure of pleasing proportions, yet without higher consecration. Only the Doric columns and the semicircular arches of the interior recall the late date of erection; otherwise the treatment is Gothic. The decoration is Barocco, so far as it belongs to the building period. The Barocco is more strongly expressed on the facade.

It is also necessary to place the Franciscan Church in Innsbruck here (1553 - 1563). According to its entire treatment of the interior, it is a Gothic hall church, even if the decorative forms -- whose originality is doubtful to me -- are

those of the late Italian Barocco.

I further name in this connection the divided Church at Freudenstadt in the Schwarzwald, a work of Heinrich Schickhardt. It is built in angular form; one window is intended for the men, the other for the women; pulpit and altar are placed in the angle and are visible from both sides. Gothic in this church is only the wooden net vault. The ornamentation is rich Barocco.

More important are two churches, on which the Renaissance indeed predominates, but which are still Gothic in the vaulting system and in many details. The Church of S. Maria in Wolfenbüttel (Figs. 114, 115 ¹⁷⁸), built in 1608 - 1680, is a stately hall church of unusually important proportions. It is a work of Paul Franke, the builder of the University of Helmstädt. Franke is one of the greatest and most original spirits of the German Barocco; he possessed a feeling for interiors, such as given to but few of his contemporaries; he knew how to be rich and still moderate in ornament, and even to handle the most Barocco forms with taste. Likewise here men would not omit galleries; they are low galleries in the side aisles and disturb the view of the interior. The exterior of the notable building is less satisfactory than the interior. The widely projecting buttresses are crowned by figures, the singular tracery and the Barocco transverse gables, which at least in part were executed only after Franke's death, afford a confused and unquiet view; still a certain grandeur cannot be denied to this.

Contemporary with the Church of S. Maria in Wolfenbüttel is the City Church in Bückeberg, also a hall church. Adriaen de Vries appears as architect. The aisles are separated by mighty Composite columns and are covered by cross vaults; the details and ornamentation are Barocco. The good internal proportions and the solid and moderate decoration give to the interior a dignified and earnest effect. The master yielded more freely to his Barocco tendencies on the facade (Fig. 110 ¹⁷⁹), that he modestly designates on the frieze as "an example of religion, not of architecture." The facade is overrich in the abundance of ornament and clearly appears as the work of

a Netherlander.

In the Netherlands themselves, the Church of S. Jacques in Biege still belongs to the early part of the 16 th century; the style is late and luxuriant Gothic. Transitional buildings, in which the forms of both styles are mixed, such as 127 the Chapel of the Holy Blood in Bruges, must be found here and there; yet it appears, that the final change from Gothic 132 was completed earlier than in Germany, where buildings of the late 17 th century, like the Church of S. Catherine in Frankfurt-a-M (Fig. 123 ¹⁸⁵), exhibit Gothic reminiscences.

If one considers the series of Gothic churches of the 16 th and 17 th centuries, then first disappears the long adherence to the construction and forms of the older style; but by closer observation, one soon becomes aware, that between the first and the last has been completed an important change in esthetic feeling. The Church of S. Maria in Halle is Gothic; that in Wolfenbüttel, aside from its formal treatment, is a structure of the German Barocco. I must here limit myself to this indication.

So far as I see, pure Renaissance churches of greater extent do not occur before the last decades of the 16 th century. In the first place must be named S. Michael in Munich (1583 - 1597). (Figs. 117, 118 ¹⁸⁰). On its historical place, see Art. 83. S- Michael is the first great single-aisled church in Germany. The plan reproduces in free transformation the type of the Jesuit Church in Rome. The omission of the dome over the crossing already brought modifications with it. The choir was extended, after it had been destroyed by the fall of the tower (1590). The exterior is quite independent. The general proportions, like the division of the masses into the details, are very good and are yet enhanced by a happy introduction of the light. The composition of the system contains much, that is disturbing, but on the whole is beautiful, and the relief as well as the dimensions of the separate members are very finely harmonized. The imposing impression of the interior is not in the least the result of the massive form treatment. Clarity and repose ennoble the composition; such another work was not created on this side of the mountains.

But the depth of invention is wanting; with all recognition and even amazement, the observer remains cool. Less successful is the exterior; the grouping of the longer side is indeed good; but the subdivision into details is dry, and the great principal facade is quite spiritless. A school in the narrower sense did not follow S. Michael, yet several churches in Bavaria stand under its influence. The Jesuit Church in Landshut, completed in 1640, is a reduced and simplified imitation. The motive is more freely employed in the Parish Church at Weilheim (1624 - 1631¹⁸⁶) and in the Augustine Church at Beuerberg (1628 - 1630¹⁸⁷). In both the system is reduced to one story, and thereby is a type created, that was repeated innumerable times in Bavaria up to the end of the 18th century. In the Parish Church at Weilheim, really a work of the sculptor Hans Krumper, still lives something of the grandeur of S. Michael, even if without the refinement of its model; on the contrary, the Church at Beuerberg is a dry structure. Peculiar is the Monastery Church at Polling in the vicinity of Weilheim (1621 - 1628). Whether the nave¹⁸⁸ is only the transformation of a Gothic hall church or a new structure of the 17th century, I will not decide, but of late I am more inclined to the latter view. Certainly the very picturesque choir (Fig. 119¹⁸¹) is of this period. The rich stucco decoration already approximates closely to the stumpy Barocco forms, which were common in Bavaria in the 17th century.

Note 183. After Gurlitt.

Note 184. After Heckelmann.

Note 185. After Sommer, O. Der Dombau zu Berlin. Westermann's Monatshefte. Vol. 68.

Note 186. See Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern from 11th to end of 18th century. Pl. 104. Munich. 1893 - 1895.

Note 187. The same. Pls. 121, 123.

Note 188. See the same for a beautiful view thereof. Pl. 100.

The Cathedral at Salzburg (Fig. 100), next to S. Michael the most important church of that period, belongs to the Italian Barocco. (See Art. 82). The forms are heavy and massive, and the proportions are imposing. The whole expresses the quiet

security, that the occupation of several generations by an artistic problem had given to the masters of Italian Barocco architecture.

92. Renaissance Churches in Belgium.

The Belgian Renaissance churches are unfortunately not known to me, or were long since hastily viewed, so that a decision thereon is not permitted to me.

140 Of first importance are the numerous churches of the Jesuit order, to which those of other orders are similar. Most are three-aisled; the aisles are separated by columnar or pier arcades; above the cornice succeeds an attic and a tunnel vault, intersected by vaults over the windows. The most important are that at Namur by Huyscens (1621 - 1645), that at Bruges likewise by Huyscens (1619 - 1642), and that at Louvain by Wilhelm Gesius (1650 - 1671). Galleries are sometimes over the side aisles. Thus in the very stately Church at Antwerp. The facades nearly all follow the well known Barocco scheme with freer and frequently very spirited treatment. With the best belongs the Church of Beguins in Brussels (Fig. 121 183), from the second half of the 17 th century.

93. Churches with Galleries over the Side Aisles.

In great number to the Renaissance also belong the churches, that have one or more galleries over the side aisles, and the system of which is composed of two, three or four orders. The type found its chief employment in Protestant church architecture, but is not exclusively Protestant.

Galleries are possessed by S. Michael in Munich, the Jesuit Church in Landshut, that in Cologne, the Cathedral at Salzburg, etc. But these great churches are not the starting point of the type, which far more probably was developed from the castle chapels. Already the castle chapels of the middle ages not infrequently had two stories (Nuremberg, Freiberg-a-U, e etc.), or they were partially furnished with galleries (Trausnitz near Landshut), an arrangement resulting from the division of the building into stories, in which was placed the chapel, and that made possible the separation of the nobles from the people. If therefore the Protestant palace chapels generally show galleries or balconies, in this is not to be

recognized an innovation in principle, but rather an adherence to a transmitted form. For example, the Castle chapel in Wolmirstedt (1430) has galleries, and that of the Bishop of Brandenburg in Ziesar in the Altmark (1478). Among the Protestant, that in the Castle of Torgau is the oldest; it was dedicated by Luther in 1544. The rectangular interior is surrounded by galleries in its two upper stories, whose arched openings yet have Gothic mouldings. Likewise the vault is still Gothic. Several similar chapels arose in the following period. Notable is that of the Augustusberg in the Harz Mountains (1568 - 1572); it has two orders with Roman arch motives, and the main interior is covered by a tunnel vault.¹⁹² The chapel of the Wilhelmsburg near Schmalkalden (1590) has three orders. It is characterized by excellent decorations in stucco.¹⁹³ The University Church at Würzburg, built by Bishop Julius and dedicated in 1591, is rectangular with an adjacent apse at the East, and is surrounded by galleries on three sides.¹⁹⁴ Here also is the motive of the Roman arch employed with projecting half-columnar orders in three stories. I cannot join in the traditional admiration of this interior; it is correct and scarcely affords opportunity for formal objections, yet it strongly lacks artistic directness.

Note 189. From Fritsch. *Der Kirchenbau des Protestantismus etc.* Berlin. 1898.

Note 190. From Beiträge zur Kenntniss der mittelalterlichen Baukunst. Frankfurt. 1875.

Note 191. After Gurlitt.

Note 192. See Steche. Heft. VI. p. 27 et seq.

Note 193. See Laske, F. *Schloss Wilhelmsburg bei Schmalkalden etc.* Berlin. 1895.

Note 194. From *Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern etc.* Munich. 1892-1895. Vol. 1. Pl. 32.

Note 195. See the plan in Fig. 42.

A peculiar and very festal interior is the chapel of Palace Frederiksborg in Denmark (Fig. 122¹⁸⁴), from the early part of the 17th century, restored in the old forms after the fire in 1859. Among the independent and detached churches of this type, that at Kürbitz near Plauen is one of the best.¹⁹⁶

Note 198. See Steche. Heft XI. p. 15.

94. Hall Churches.

Less satisfactory than the forms previously described are the hall churches with inserted galleries or those corbelled out. Not but what good effects may be produced with these motives; but the class as such is **lower**. The inserted or corbelled galleries always have something inorganic. The hall churches owe their wide diffusion, not to esthetic, but to practical reasons; they are economically built, and on a small ground area afford space for a great number of attendants.

Corbelled galleries in rich Barocco forms has the Church in Freudenstadt and others. As such a church, in which the galleries are supported by piers of columns, may be mentioned the Dreifaltigskheit (Trinity) Church in Regensburg, built in 1327 - 1331 by the Nuremberg architect Karl Ingen. The nave is covered by a wooden tunnel vault; on the western and the two longer sides are the galleries. At the East is arranged a choir flanked by two towers, at the chancel arch being the 143 pulpit. It is a simple and earnest interior, to which cannot be denied a monumental tendency. Heiligkreutz Church in Augsburg (1053) also has a small choir apse, in which is placed the altar with the organ above it. The galleries extend along the opposite and one longer side. The interior with a horizontal ceiling makes a rather secular impression. More earnest is the Church of S. Catherine in Frankfort-a-M. (Fig. 123 185), a stately and very spacious building, built in 1678-1680 by Melchior Hessler. Especially fine in effect is the view toward the altar with the galleries extending around and the organ. The architecture (windows and vault) is Gothic, the decoration being Barocco. An imitation is the Dreifaltigskheit Church in Worms (1709 - 1725). The Church of S. Martin in Mumpelgard by Heinrich Schickhard, begun in 1301, is a hall church without galleries; the exterior and the interior are constructed with a single bold and severe pilaster order.

In hall churches the altar and pulpit are sometimes placed at the middle of a longer side, when the shorter becomes the main axis. The practical advantages of this arrangement being granted, it must still be held, that it is entirely inartistic.

Without reference to this change of direction, some of these interiors are stately and beautiful. As such I mention the churches built by Hendrik de Keyzer in Amsterdam, the Zuiderkerk (1603 - 1611) and the Westerkerk (1620 - 1631); the latter is especially a stately and well proportioned interior. Similar to it is the cross-shaped Noorderkerk (1620 - 1623; Fig. 124¹⁸⁹), also a work of de Keyzer. A central building is the Osterkerk in Amsterdam, built 1669 - 1671, the Marekerk in Leyden (1639 - 1642), and also mainly the Luther Church in Amsterdam, in which indeed the annular ambulatory is not enclosed. De Keyzer's Westerkerk (Fig. 125¹⁸⁹) is a rectangular interior, whose internal arrangement is subdivided in an animated manner by two transverse aisles. The doubled transept is also possessed by the Neue Church in the Hague (1649 - 1655); but it is there also expressed in the ground plan (Fig. 126¹⁸⁹), that is further animated by two apses at the end. An imitation of this church is the Burg Church in Königsberg, Prussia. (1690 - 1693). In Germany the Reformed Church in Hanover -- properly two adjacent churches -- (1622 and 1654) is notable as a central design.

189 If practical considerations led to central designs in Protestant church architecture, then for the adoption of the central motive in Catholic church architecture artistic views were exclusively determinative. Purely central buildings scarcely occur; on the contrary, centrally designed parts are not rarely joined with longitudinal structures. Already in 1519, Hans Hueber from Augsburg made a model for the Church of the Beautiful Maria (New Parish Church) in Regensburg; in the ground plan (Fig. 127¹⁹⁰) to a hexagonal nave is joined a long choir, on both sides of which are added towers and sacristies; the composition is tolerably independent. Its model is not to be sought in Milan, but in Ettal. The central building of the 14 th and 15 th centuries there was frequently imitated in Bavaria. Whether Hueber also knew S. Gereon in Cologne, I shall not decide. The front portion of S. Peter in Ghent, composed on the Greek cross plan and begun in 1629 by Jan van Xanten, is a repetition of the ground plan of the Madonna di Carignano in Genoa. More peculiar are the

attempts of Faidherbe in the combination of longitudinal and central buildings. Notre Dame d' Henswyck in Mechlin (1663 - 1678; Fig. 128 ¹⁹¹) is a longitudinal structure, broken at the middle by a central extension, in nowise organic, but certainly very picturesque. In the Abbey Church of Averbode-les-Diest (1662 - 1670) a long choir joins a central building composed as a Greek cross. The Pilgrimage Church of Maria Birnbaum near Aichach in upper Bavaria (1661 - 1665; Figs 129, 130 ¹⁹⁵), a round building with extensions toward East and West, is an imposing and beautiful interior, in spite of the dry execution in late forms.

The abstract beauty of the pure central structure corresponded neither to the German art spirit nor to the entire art tendency of the 17 th century; men found more satisfaction in the picturesque effects, that resulted from the extensions of the central building or from its combination with longitudinal structures. In the direction of the enhancement of the picturesque impression of the interior moves the further development of this motive, that leads to the crazy church interiors of the German Rococo.

The architecture of the Renaissance towers is very different from the Gothic, in that it does not know the development resulting from the varied subdivision in height of the principal mass and of the buttresses. It is purely architecture in stories. Certainly some great Gothic towers were only completed in the 16 th century, like that of the Cathedral of Antwerp; but their composition dates back to the earlier period. The interesting western facade of S. Gumbertus in Ansbach (Fig. 131 ¹⁹⁷), whose upper parts were built in 1594 - 1597 by Gideon Bacher, is not only Gothic in its forms, but also in the idea of its design. Adjoining a mighty middle tower are at the sides two slender octagonal towers, separating at top and ending in pointed spires. The middle tower also has a rectangular and an octagonal story, likewise with a Gothic spire. At the windows of the main tower Barocco voussoirs are added to the Gothic form. This is a further example of the long survival of Gothic traditions. Perhaps one should also recognize a reminiscence of Gothic finials in the columns, that ac-

accompany the first octagonal story of the beautiful and entirely Renaissance tower of the Weinhaus in Zutohen. (Fig. 132¹⁹⁸)

Note 197. From Kallenbach. Chronologie der deutsch-mittelalterlichen Baukunst. Munich. 1847.

Note 198. From Ewerbeck.

The transition from the square ground plan to the octagonal upper portion remains a favorite and general motive. On the tower of the Church of S. Maria in Wolfenbüttel, that was not entirely completed, two square stories were to be succeeded by two octagonal ones; a higher one at bottom in a plain treatment and a lower one above it, on which the straight sides were to be decorated by columns and projections; the termination was to be formed by an ogee curved domical roof and a lantern with high spire. It is a beautiful composition and expressive in all simplicity. The Barocco tower of the University Church at Würzburg above two high stories has a low octagon and a domed roof with a lantern. One of the most beautiful towers of the entire Renaissance is that of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Fig. 133¹⁹⁹); the lower stories are square and the upper round; both of the proportions of the stories and also the outlines are finely worked out.

Not only in the elevation, but still more in the upper ending do the towers of the Renaissance differ from those of the Gothic. The latter terminate in a straight diminished spire; already in the late Gothic period occur dome-shaped endings; for the Renaissance towers the ending in curves is the rule. One is not justified to see in this an aberration or nonsense. The termination in curves or the mixture of curved and straight parts can be perfectly satisfactory esthetically, if the sequence of the members continues in a harmonious transition from the lower part of the structure to the apex. The motive of the dome with lantern (Fig. 133) is the basis from which richer forms are always developed. The richest solutions are found in the Netherlands. The termination of the tower rises as a structure in diminishing stories, mostly octagonal. These octagonal stories are either enclosed or treated as open stories and are connected by convex or concave roof surfaces. The curved lines expand or contract to the final ending

in the spire. As ornaments, finials, obelisks, vases, shells, bells etc. are added to the course of the main lines. The illustrations of the tower of the City Hall in Danzig (Fig. 134²⁰⁰), of the tower of the Church of S. Stephen in Nymwegen (Fig. 135²⁰¹), and that of the graceful roof tower of the House of the Beguins in Ghent (Fig. 136²⁰¹) may explain this statement. The bold transition from a broad square to a much smaller octagon is still better attained on the tower of the Church of S. Catherine at Dantzic, than on S. Stephen in Nymwegen.

Note 199. From Ysendyck.

Note 200. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 36.

Note 201. From Ewerbeck.

If one maintains that the principles of the minor arts are here transferred to grand architecture, he may perhaps be right; but no one, who has learned to observe, can deny, that in this manner the harmonious ending of an ascending part of the building has often found expression in a very graceful manner.

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Chapter 12. Wooden Architecture.

95. Estimation.

In the German Renaissance, wooden architecture occupies a wide space beside stone architecture. The species is lower than stone construction; true monumentality is refused to it. This decided, it must still be admitted, that the German Renaissance within the same scope perhaps attained to more perfected results than in stone architecture. Wooden construction is for the Germans the inherited architectural style. It goes back to the earliest periods of German history; only in the 15 th and 16 th centuries was it supplanted by stone construction in the cities, though never displaced, and the building ordinances have only put an end to it in the country in the most recent times. In wooden architecture are contained the ancient types of design, old and fixed technical traditions, and the joy in ornament of the time finds space for its development, without affecting those more important factors. The domain of wooden architecture is secular and especially house architecture; only but quite exceptionally were churches erected in wood.

Wooden architecture recognizes two technical ground forms, half timber construction and log buildings. The former predominate; log buildings are limited to some mountain regions in the South and East.

96. Wooden Architecture of Lower Germany.

In the domain of half timber construction, lower and upper Germany pursue their diverse ways. I have already indicated above, that the farmer's house of lower Saxony also continues as a type in the city house. The relation is very clearly recognizable in wooden construction. The hall also remains for the entire middle ages the chief room in the city house, being the living and working room in the private house,, an assembly hall and business room in the guild house. As in the farm house, it has a greater height than the rooms at the sides, that in two stories, a high lower story and a low intermediate story, reach the same height as the hall. The succeeding upper stories serve in part as living rooms, partly as store rooms, granaries etc. We have already proved this

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in stone architecture. But in wooden architecture the derivation from the farm house is plainly evident in the construction. The north German wooden architecture is a very regularly constructed half timber construction, where the upper stories project beyond the lower ones; only the lower parts extend unbroken from the base to the height of the hall, comprising the ground story and the mezzanine. But these are also the parts peculiar to the farm house. The succeeding projecting stories are city additions. Just as the beams project beneath the roof of the farmer's house, so do they also project beneath each upper story of the city house. The adherence to the old forms and not structural considerations require the lower parts to comprise the ground and intermediate stories.

The artistic appearance of the city wooden architecture is always produced by the projection of the upper stories over the hall. The old high German appellation for the corbelled-out upper stories is "Ausschuss." (Outshoot). It occurs in the Building Ordinances of Ulm in 1399, 1420 and 1427.²⁰⁶ A half timber construction, whose wall is developed in one plane, remains dry, even with rich decoration; only by the projection of the upper stories does it obtain life and effect.

Note 202. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 34.

Note 203. From the same. Abt. 5.

Note 204. From the same. Abt. 12.

Note 206. See Ulm's Rothes Buch. p. 69 et seq.

But whatever be the reason for this corbelling, it was not easily stated. That the ancient carpenters allowed themselves to be influenced only on artistic grounds can safely be assumed. The projection of the ends of the beams affords labearing for the tenons of the posts. Thereby is given the possibility, but not the necessity for the corbelling of the upper stories. Semper's explanation²⁰⁷, that by loading the projecting ends of the beams their resistance was increased, perhaps finds a determining motive. The enlargement of the interior secured by the projection may be a second. It is scarcely essential, since the beams generally project on the court sides, but the stories are not corbelled out. Yet without doubt men soon perceived the esthetic advantage of the corbelling.

Note 207. See Semper, G. *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künste etc.* Vol. 2. p. 302. Munich. 1879.

Another question is, whether the projection generally occurred from the deep hall, whose beams run parallel to the street. For this results naturally in corbelling on the longer sides perpendicular to the street, but not for the gabled side toward the street. There is still completely lacking the material in drawings for deciding the question, and one may doubt, whether it can be in general determined. It deserves consideration, that in the cities of lower Saxony North of the Harz mountains, in which wooden architecture attained its highest perfection, the house stands with the longer side on the street, so that the projection of the beams and that of the upper stories naturally result, and the surface of the roof and not the gable is turned toward the street. The form of the ground plan of these houses likewise proceeds from the type of the farm house, but it is freer than that of the house with gable next the street.

The city house standing in a closely built street has projections on but one side. On the contrary, if a house stands at a corner or is entirely detached, the solution is less simple. To arrange the projections only on the sides where beam ends occur is not acceptable for artistic reasons; they must also be produced by headers on the sides where no beam ends exist.

The system is accordingly apparent as follows. On the stone plinth of the house rests a frame composed of four sills. From these rise at equal distances, if possible, posts having the height of the ground and intermediate stories. By cross girts are produced panels corresponding to the wainscoting and the window openings. The posts receive the beams of the upper story, when the projecting beam ends are supported by corbels. The open spaces between the ends of the beams are closed by boards or by intermediate beams. The beams between the ground and intermediate stories are tenoned into the posts and do not appear externally. On the projecting beam ends rests the sill of the upper story, from which rise the posts of the upper story, corresponding to the beams and also to t

5/ the lower posts. A certain difficulty is presented by the angles, since the angle posts do not stand vertically over those of the lower story. The solution is either that three corbels project from the lower angle post, two at right angles and one diagonal, a post then standing on each corbel; thereby is produced two narrow angle panels in the projection. Or three corbels also project from the lower post; but only one post occurs at the corner above (Brunswick). Lastly the diagonal corbel may be omitted, so that the corner post does not rest on a supporting art form, but on the free and joined ends of the two sills (Hesse). The first solution is most satisfactory. The subdivision of the surfaces is similar to that in the ground story. The second upper story again projects and is treated similarly to the first one. More than two upper stories scarcely occur. If the gable is next the street, the gable is again divided into a number of projecting stories.

The decoration almost without exception exhibits an assured esthetic feeling. The posts are either left plain or have candelabra-like supports in relief and indeed are also adorned by ascending ornament (Fig. 137 ²⁰²). The corbels and beam ends are formed like consoles. The sills have repeated ornaments, bear inscriptions, are decorated by the so-called hollow chamfers (Fig. 138 ²⁰³) or by turned beaded rounds. (Fig. 139 ²⁰⁴). The panels below the windows in the upper story afford space for rich surface ornamentation. Either braces are arranged here between the sill and posts and the intervals are filled by brick mosaics (examples in Brunswick, Lüneburg and elsewhere), or instead of braces are used timbers cut in triangular form and angle bands, that are not rarely decorated by fan-shaped or shell ornament, whose central point is at the base of the post. Lastly the entire paneling is filled by a wooden plank, that affords structural advantages, when it forms a good bracing and is lighter than masonry, as well as a possibility for the richest ornamental treatment. The structure then shows on its exterior no masonry whatever. If space exists above the windows, then is this treated like the paneling beneath them. The panel either contains a cent-

centrally composed shell or form ornament, or the so-called attached ornament (Fig. 140 ²⁰⁵), or finally freely composed ornament, and even figure reliefs are not wanting.

Thus the north German wooden architecture is organically constructed in all its parts, and its ornamentation symbolizes its construction. In its ancient national tradition survives the style changes of high art, from which it adopts only decorative motives. The security of the style feeling is here scarcely disturbed to the last. Wooden architecture possesses its own fixed style, and in this far surpasses stone architecture of the German Renaissance. But it has not kept itself entirely free from inconsistencies.

There remains little more to be said of the different monuments. Much has remained; but even a moderately complete enumeration would have no sense in this place; the following illustrations and descriptions are merely examples of some steps of development, not in chronological respects, but in regard to form. The House from Salzwilfen (Fig. 141 ²⁰⁸) stands on the plane of the farmer's house in its development; directly over the hall is placed the roof. The gable wall is in two projections: the outlook is not wanting. The ground plan is even a reduction of the rural one; for only on one side of the hall are there rooms. The highest artistic perfection is found in the farm house developed into a city hall, like the Guild Hall of the Butchers in Hildesheim (1529; Fig. 142 ²⁰⁹). The structural elevation is executed with the strongest consistency; especially is the angle solution a model; the projections and the diminishing heights of the upper stories are best arranged. Whatever in monumentality can be attained by wooden construction is here reached. The Butchers' Guild House does not stand at the beginning of a series in development; it rather ends a development, that has been perfected in the course of the 15th century. It shows that even in wooden architecture the severe consistency of composition and construction produces a higher monumentality, than a striving for decorative and picturesque effects.

Note 208. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 35.

Note 209. From the same. Abt. 52.

We likewise make this statement concerning a half-timber H House from the 16th century in Münden, that does not equal the Butchers' Guild House in its proportions, and is made far simpler than that, but which still makes a very stately impression.²¹³ Very stately and fitting is also a wooden House on the Market in Hanover from the year 1565; it has three projections and a high gable. To the Renaissance remains the credit of a rich and tasteful decoration of a half-timber house, in which we gladly overlook some structural inconsistencies. A pretty example of the easy passage into the picturesque is the Hütte House in Hörter (1565; Fig. 143²¹⁰). We scarcely notice the rather unstructural placing of the posts, or that the posts vanish in the ornamentation of the paneling below the windows; for here in an unpretentious manner is produced a picturesquely charming effect by slight variations from symmetry and structural severity. Yet more is this the case for the Dechanei (deanery ?) with its polygonal corner bay window. The Kromschröder House in Osnabrück (Fig. 144²⁰⁷), whose rich wooden facade stands between stone side walls, is an example of the richest ornamental treatment of wooden architecture; on this House the front surfaces of the posts are also filled by surface ornament. At the Roland Hospital in Hildesheim appear hermes and columns in low relief.

Note 210. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 5.

Note 211. From Zeits. für Bauw. 1891. pl. 60.

Note 212. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 12.

Note 213. See its illustration in Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 13. Pl. 11.

If the house stands with its longer side next the street, freer scope is given to the treatment of the facade. The most effective terminal motive indeed vanishes with the gable; but already by a freer grouping of the windows and doorways are produced highly picturesque effects by transverse gables, corner bay windows and lookouts.

The House in Bäckerstrasse in Hameln represented in Fig. 145²¹³, with sections in Figs. 146, 147²¹², indeed has no higher artistic importance; but the suitable and comfortable plan of the house is also well expressed on the exterior. The

The cities of lower Saxony north of the Hartz mountains, Brunswick, Goslar, Hanover, Halberstadt, Quedlinburg, etc., then contain a great number of dwellings of this type, with from the simplest to the richest ornamentation. The style has its local peculiarities in most cities, into which I cannot enter here, and which I do not sufficiently know.

All are surpassed by Hildesheim. No other city contains such an astonishing wealth of varying forms, which are developed from the same ground motive; and inexhaustible as the abundance of motives in composition is the richness of the decorative treatment. Most buildings are complete wooden structures, on which the panels below the windows are filled by carved wooden planks. But however rich the imagination is, that can never do enough in the varied treatment, the extraordinary charm of Hildesheim is based still more on the picturesque composition of its wooden buildings, on the general motives, and in the skilful insertion of the different buildings in the street view. The climax in this direction is here reached, and which is unequaled in its kind. We do not overlook, that they are always minor motives, and only minor arts are found in the wooden architecture of Hildesheim, that has found its perfection in this modesty. There stand half-timber structures, on which the decoration does not overload everything, yet is higher than those ornamental works.

Very good is the grouping on the beautiful House on the Market (Fig. 148 ²¹⁴); the symmetrical facade is broken by two bay projections and a central gable at right angles to the roof. A corner House on Oslerstrasse has at the angle above the hip cornice a broad bay tower with two gables. The Houses on the rounded corner of two streets ending on the Andreasplatz are likewise ornamented by corner bay windows, but which do not intersect the line of the hip cornice.

Note 214. After a photograph.

Wooden construction sometimes occurs in combination with stone construction, so that on a stone lower story are placed projections in half-timber work. To the early period belongs the House zum Brusttuch (of the Waistcoat) in Goslar, and to the transition to Barocco the Merkel House in Brunswick (Fig.

(Fig. 149 ²¹⁵). In Hollandis the reverse, on a ground story executed in half-timber construction being generally placed a massive upper story. This type, though entirely executed in stone, is shown by Fig. 49.

Note 215. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 29.

Wooden architecture did not find in Belgium a high artistic development. The small wooden houses, an example of which i from Ypres is given in Fig. 150 ²¹⁶, rather indicate influences from France, than a connection with the German wooden architecture. The gable with the corbelled arch is found in the coast lands from the canal to deep within Normandy. An interesting attempt at development artistically is made on t the gable of the Hall in Ypres (Fig. 151 ²¹⁷).

Note 216. From Ewerbeck.

Note 217. From Ysendyck.

97. Wooden Architecture of Upper Germany.

The wooden architecture of upper Germany has much in common with that of lower Germany; but it lacks the strong consistency of construction, and its formal treatment does not stand in such intimate connection with it as there. That likewise in upper Germany wooden architecture was the ancient national style of building needs no proof. Whether and how far the u upper German (Frankish) farm house became the basis will not be investigated here; sufficient evidence of such a connecti-
 157 on has not yet been produced. It is indeed probable; but it should also be more closely examined, whether Roman traditions may not have combined with it. Such a fixed typical form as that of lower Germany, the city house of upper Germany has n never attained. Already in the middle ages stone construction found acceptance in house architecture, and in the 13 th century pure half-timber structures are already the exception. The ground story is usually built in stone; the upper stories being constructed in half-timber work. An intermediate story is lacking, since the hall of lower Germany is foreign to the house of upper Germany. As in lower Germany, the upper stories are corbelled out; but the entire treatment of the construction is more free. The structural system of lower Germany is one strongly connected together; on the uniformly spaced

posts are directly placed the beams, and on their projections rest the posts of the upper story, although with the interposition of a sill. In the wooden construction of upper Germany the posts are less regularly spaced, they are tenoned into a girt above, and on this can be placed the beams without regard to the lower posts. On the projecting beam ends again rests a sill, on which stand the posts of the upper story, but with any desired spacing, that indeed often corresponds to that of the lower story, but still is not restricted to that. The beam ends mostly remain without decoration; they are not seldom covered by a cornice-like moulded board. The support of the beam ends by cap pieces is not usual, but occurs exceptionally. Likewise the projections of the stories are generally less than in lower Germany. Ulm's building Ordinance of 1420 permits two projections of one foot each and another of 1 1/2 feet for the hip cornice. The building Ordinance of 1429 allows three or even more projections or stories; yet the hip cornice must not project more than 3 1/2 feet beyond the ground story. Corbels beneath the projections are not permitted.²²² The posts are connected together by girts and
 159 with the sill by braces. This wooden construction at the same time serves for the decoration of the walls. Especially the panels below the windows were animated by crossed and frequently curved bars, combined in an effective flush pattern. Rich carving is rare and is limited almost without exception to the corner posts. The windows are indeed generally treated as simple openings; but beside this simple form occurs a second, in which the entire window projects from the wall plane (Fig. 152 ²¹⁸). This form of window is scarcely structural, but contributes to the animation of the walls. The gable is not excluded in the northern part of the country; in Swabia the projections also continue in the gable. The upper end is usually hipped or furnished with a projecting hood. In the later period occur gables, that are not covered by a roof, but project in ogee lines above the surface of the roof.

Note 218. From a photograph.

160 The border between the upper and lower German architectural styles approximately coincides with that given in Art. 41 for

stone architecture. Different German races have taken part in the upper German style, and this circumstance, like the greater freedom of the wooden architecture has as a result greater provincial diversities than occur in the lower German.

We observe the transition in northern Hesse. The houses belong in their designs to the upper German type without an intermediate story; the construction has much in common with the lower German, but differs from that in that a girt is always arranged above the posts.

Note 219. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 52.

An entirely upper German character is possessed by the wooden buildings in Thuringia. The surface decoration by small cross bars is nowhere so developed as there. On the House at Heldburg represented in Fig. 154 ²²¹ furthermore, the small holes sawn out of the cross bars are filled by tiles of bright colors. Beam ends and sills are covered by boards, that have sections like cornices.

Note 220. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 48.

Note 221. From the same. Abt. 45.

To the northern part of the country belong the Eitel, the Hunsrück, the valleys of the Rhine and of the Moselle. Here likewise the construction is upper German. There occur houses, that by their narrow and high elevations indicate a connection with the Netherlands (Fig. 155 ²²¹); but there generally prevails the inclination toward a free grouping of the parts of the building. ²²¹ The best is the frequently illustrated small House in Bacharach. On the houses in Berncastel are to be seen the corbelled windows, that again frequently occur farther South.

In the Rheingau and on the lower Main, the upper stories are covered by slates or (originally ?) plastered. Besides gables with hip roofs frequently occur there, that intersect the roof surface in ogee lines. Frankfort (Fig. 157 ²²³) and 161 mentz are rich in such buildings. Outside the series stands the Salzhaus in Frankfort (Fig. 158 ²²³), from the beginning of the 17th century with its richly cut boarding; it is very effective in respect to decoration, but without structural consistency.

Note 222. Ulmisches Rothes Buch. p. 78 et seq.

Note 223. From a photograph.

In the wooden buildings of the Rheinpfalz and of Alsace prevails the free grouping; the picturesque impression is yet enhanced by open galleries (Fig. 161 ²²⁵). The very picturesque effect of the Pfister House in Colmar, a stone building, is substantially produced by the corbelled wooden gallery before the third story. All is excelled in richness by the treatment of the beautiful House on Münsterplatz in Strasburg, and the upper German half-timber construction exhibits no second example with such rich and pleasing carving.

Note 224. From Fritsch's. Denkmäler Deutscher Renaissance Berlin. 1890 - 1891.

Note 225. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 44.

The half-timber architecture of Franconia is tasteless in general; Nuremberg itself has no very picturesque wooden buildings, although the galleries along the Pegnitz are not without charm. The best in Franconia is perhaps the House in Dinkelsbühl represented in Fig. 159 ²²⁶. The rich ornamentation by girt patterns and the head bands beneath the projections indicate middle German influences.

Note 226. From a photograph.

Extremely rich in half-timber structures is finally Wurtemberg Swabia. The constructive principle of triangular connections prevails in the elevation of the walls, and it possesses great importance in the appearance of these buildings. The struts are often curved and the crossed girts combined in surface patterns. Relief also occurs, though not usually. The beam ends are visible but are generally without mouldings. If by corbelling and fan forms a rich and picturesque effect is obtained, this is frequently enhanced by corner bay windows, double gables, open porticos etc. I select from the great multitude two examples. The City Hall in Markgröningen (Fig. 160 ²²⁷) shows, how merely by the structural subdivision may be produced a rich and even imposing impression; it is a worthy counterpart of the Butchers' Guild House in Hildesheim. An example of richer ornamental treatment is presented by the small House from Schwabisch-Hall (Fig. 162 ²²⁷). Here the beam ends and sills are covered by moulded boards, so that t

the appearance of an actual separation of the stories by cornices arises. The windows project from the wall.

Note 227. From Die Kunst- und Altertums-Denkmale im Königreich Württemberg. /

Besides half-timber work log construction also occurs in extensive use. The half-timber work does not differ in the construction from the south German; but the upper stories do not project. The log construction is limited to the Alpine lands in south Germany and a part of Bavaria.

The Alpine countries otherwise have their own type of house, that extends from Carinthia to Switzerland and into the Bohemian forest. The Alpine house has the entrance at the gable end. In the front portion are the living rooms, in the rear being the barn and stables. It has two stories; the upper is surrounded by a widely projecting gallery. The roof has a low slope, and it is covered by shingles laid on it. The ground story is frequently constructed in stone, the upper story being of wood, whether this be half-timber work filled with masonry, sheathed with boards, or of log construction. But likewise common are complete wooden structures. Whether Greco-Italian traditions survive in this very ancient type is ¹⁶⁴not discussed here. It is certain, that an esthetic worth is already innate in it, as well as that its general design advances toward the form treatment of the Renaissance. In the acceptance of Renaissance forms, it follows the tendency of the time, but in its general design is as little changed thereby as by the Gothic. In most cases the Renaissance motives, aside from the mouldings, continue to be limited to door and window enclosures and the ornaments of the front boards.

Beside the Alpine house occurs, especially in Switzerland, ¹⁶⁵yet other types, perhaps of Aleman, Burgundian and Romanesque origin. ²²⁸ The decoration is sometimes very rich. One of the finest examples of rich and tasteful decoration is the H House from the 17 th century in Hochsteig near Watsoyl in Toggenburg. More characteristic is indeed the Hone House in Wolfenschiessen of the year 1586 (Fig. 163 ²²⁹), aside from its basement being a pure log structure of highly picturesque character.

Note 228. For such buildings, see Gladbach, E. *Der Schweizer Holzstil*. Darmstadt. 1858; also *Das Bauernhaus in der Schweiz*.

Note 229. From the same.

B. Composition and Forms of Details.

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Chapter 13. Principles of Composition.

98. Grouping of the Masses.

In order to not encumber the historical survey, it appeared to me advisable to collect in a brief and systematic presentation, what is to be said concerning the principles of composition and of the theory of forms, even if to such an unsystematic as the German Renaissance, a systematic treatment in brief scope is scarcely admissible. Much of what is to be said here, was indeed previously indicated under A, but it is to be here expressed collectively. This is first true of the composition. I have frequently intimated thereon, that in an exact sense it lacks architectural regularity and tends toward the picturesque. The few typical forms of ground plans, that exist, were not developed in the Renaissance period, but have come down from an earlier time.

The north German dwelling derived from the farm house of lower Germany, has a fixed ground plan, that is indeed varied by circumstances, but which on the whole always remains the same, so long as the house stands with its gable end next the street, and in the houses with the longer side toward the street, it may also be recognized. Likewise the ground plan of the south German city, it has a typical plan, but which is less fixed than the north German and is exposed to many variations. Also the church architecture of the 16th century long adhered to the hall form of the church in ground plan and elevation.

But where such ancient types did not exist, the greatest laxity prevailed in the treatment of the ground plan. According to the needs and convenience were the rooms arranged, and when they did not fit into the rectangular perimeter of the building, some portions projected or receded. Particularly the stairways were frequently placed in projecting towers.

167 Symmetrical ground plans were first the aim in the late period under Italian influence. The ground plan of the Augsburg City Hall (Fig. 106) is accurately symmetrical, and at once it permits the study of Palladio to be recognized.

From the free arrangement of the ground plan results of it-

itself a more or less picturesque grouping of the exterior. (See Figs. 39, 40, 71). Where such is not directly derived from the ground plan, it is sought in another way. The means are small projections, stairway towers, flights of steps, look-outs, corner bay windows, gables and transverse gables; entirely common being the placing together of masses of unequal values. Extremely picturesque effects were frequently attained in this way on buildings without much architectural and decorative treatment, thus on a small House in Carden on the Moselle. (Fig. 164²³⁰), in which additions of unequal height, interruption of horizontals and the alternation of differently lighted surfaces participate. At the old Bishop's Palace in Bamberg (Fig. 165²³¹) the symmetry of the facade is broken by a corner bay window; the stairway tower lying at the rear and the gate of the court combine loosely with the main building into a group. The picturesque appearance of the City Hall in Altenburg (Fig. 40) is produced by the tower and the skilful grouping of the roofs. By the picturesque treatment of the roofs of Nuremberg street views are likewise enhanced and animated. How the picturesque effect of simple houses may be increased by bay windows is shown by Figs. 166, 167²³¹. The House in Halberstadt is already picturesque by the treatment of the wooden architecture; by the strongly projecting bay window resting on a pier, it produces a very riquant appearance. But also the simple House on the Römerberg in Frankfort from 1562, covered by slates in the Rhinish manner, is strongly animated by the bay window; the view indeed also comprises the outlook in the street, over which rises the tower of the Cathedral.

Note 230. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 5.

Note 231. From a photograph.

168 The Renaissance sometimes adapts older buildings by the addition of bay windows and gables. This has occurred in a splendid manner in the Palace court at Merseburg; then in the spirited rebuilding of the City Hall at Bremen (Fig. 169²³¹), by which the simple rectangular structure was strongly grouped. An instructive example is further the City Hall in Marburg (Fig. 169²³²); by the bold projection above the stairway tow-

tower and the gable of the side building, the late Gothic structure receives a new character. Such adoptions were made easier, because the German Renaissance is not in its nature different from the late Gothic, but is merely worked out with different details. Where free grouping is impossible or is not desired, the German Renaissance loved to break the severe symmetry by slight variations (See Figs. 55, 63, 143). Especially in regard to a uniform distribution of the openings, it is pretty nearly the same; they are arranged according to the needs, and grouped windows alternate with large surfaces.

Note 232. From Fritsch.

99. Importance of the Wall Surfaces.

The surface assumes in the German Renaissance a particularly great importance. It is the quiet background, on which are openings and decorations, according to needs and preferences. The contrast of the surfaces to the ornament concentrated on certain places, with which are reckoned bay windows, portals, coats of arms, reliefs etc., is a fundamental principle in the German Renaissance.

169 The walls are generally plastered and have the effect of quiet surfaces; the same is true of the unplastered brick wall. Walls entirely of ashlar occur, but are not common. Alternation of bricks and cut stones are liked in the Netherlands and in northern Germany. The charm of color now possessed by these old and weathered buildings scarcely belonged to them at first. The ashlar here are not seldom faceted or receive a surface decoration. (Fig. 170 ²³³). Such ashlar occur in Hameln and vicinity, on the Hohe Tor in Danzig and elsewhere. The motive always has something labored. Ashlar with bosses are rare, and rustication as a form of art is foreign to the German Renaissance.

Note 233. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 12.

100. Painting of Facades.

If the wall surface remains undivided, then in some regions of upper Germany a substitute for subdivisions in relief is not seldom sought in facade painting. That this developed from mediaeval beginnings appears to me improbably; its tendency is entirely different. It was already adopted from Italy in the beginning of the Renaissance, and it remained in use

until in the 18 th century. One should not allow himself to be prejudiced by the beauty in details and by the animated and airy appearance of the streets produced by painted houses against the hazards of the entire species. Painted facades have for the street view, which is always picturesque in the period of the Renaissance, a value not to be underestimated; it is a coloring. Considered by itself, no single one of these facades leaves behind an entirely pure impression. If one observes them with a good portion of naivety, they may be frequently have great enjoyment from them.

Three methods of treatment may be distinguished. The first regards the wall surface as a painting ground for ornaments or pictures; the second creates an imaginary architectural that subdivides and suppresses the wall surface; the third seeks to replace the lacking subdivision in relief by a painted one.

170 For the first kind may be assumed a connection with the northern mediaeval polychromy, even if good models already existed in Italy. Examples of the pure style are not numerous. If I do not err, here belongs a facade in the S. Annastrasse at Augsburg, painted by Burgkmair. On the Weissen Adler in Stein (Fig. 34) and on the Hertenstein House in Lucerne, an early work of Hans Holbein, as well as on the paintings ascribed to Jörg Breu in the court of the Fugger Palace in Augsburg, perspective relief already occurs. But on the whole, these facades contain combinations of separate pictures, whose divisions are fixed by the corresponding wall surfaces.

Hans Holbein then developed these perspective elements, that are comprised in these facades, in full consistency in the facade of the House zum Tanz in Basel.

The facade exists no longer; but a portion of the design is still preserved (Fig. 171 ²³⁴). The genius of the master also manifests itself in these works; but one should beware of commenting on them too cleverly. The problem was that of ornamenting by paintings a surface with irregularly arranged window openings. Holbein solved it by enclosing the windows in an architrave treated with entire freedom and represented in perspective. The wall surfaces themselves were completely

replaced by this architecture; some portions appear to project and others to recede. But the solution is far more picturesque than architectural. The suggestions may have been given by the architectural backgrounds of Italian paintings; but they are worked out with entire independence. Here as there are forms created, whose value and importance alone consist in the appearance of relief, viewed from a definite point of sight. Holbein's design for facades, however cleverly conceived, if actually executed, would produce no architectural effect whatever, while his contemporary Raphael created perfectly architectural interiors in the loggias of the Vatican, that in execution would satisfy the highest requirements. Most remarkable in these designs is the sovereign freedom with which Holbein handled the elements of Renaissance architecture at a time, when men scarcely knew it in Germany. In this free and picturesque realization of architectural elements, Holbein places himself with masters of far later times, with Piranesi, Bibiena, Otto Fieth etc. He appears to have had no direct successors.

The third kind of facade painting pretends to be a substitute for subdivision in relief. An architectural system is painted on the wall, which could as well be executed in stone. A relatively early example is the City Hall at Muhlhausen-i-S. (1552), begun by Christian Vacksterffer from Colmar; ashlar work below, over this being two orders. The most extensive work was the facades and courts of the Royal Palace in Munich from the 17th century. (Now repainted). The onesidedness of the perspective and the lighting causes such works to appear inadequate, even if grandly conceived.

Besides facade painting sometimes occurs sgraffito. It requires a complete flatness in effect; and is already restricted thereby to less freedom than fresco. Sgraffitos not seldom occur in Silesia. In Prague Palace Schwarzenberg is adorned with beautiful ornamentation. A simple example from Ulm is given in Fig. 172 235.

Note 234. From Lübke. p. 199.

Note 235. From Lambert & Stahl.

Somewhat different from facade painting is the polychromy

the architecture treated in relief. I scarcely know what to say thereon of my own observation. Recent investigators have shown that polychromy was employed on the Heidelberg Chateau. Gilding of different members sometimes occurred in the Netherlands. Finally colored decoration is common on wooden buildings.

101. Composition of Facades according to the Orders.

Free grouping is the most distinctive principle of composition of the German Renaissance; in it the tendency derived from late Gothic toward the picturesque can most freely express itself. Yet facades composed according to the columnar orders are not wanting; but even in them the aim is not for good appearance of the proportions but for strong alternation of light and shade; the forms are small, and a superfluity of relief animates the surfaces, both on the members as well as in the panels. The picturesque grand tendency also appears here. Only after the middle of the 16th century, from the Otto-heinrichs Building onward, was greater attention paid to the proportions; the clear harmony of good Italian facades was never attained however, and the uncertainty in the handling of this very subtle sham organism is not entirely mastered, even in the best works. The subdivision of facades by orders of columns is found early in the Netherlands, where its adoption was already prepared by the Gothic subdivision of facades, and in the Saxon-Silesian provinces. The tendencies here and there come from Italy, yet seldom more than this; at least it is possible for the early Renaissance in no single case to prove a definite model. Sometimes the three orders follow each other; Tuscan or Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian or Composite. The treatment is always naive; neither the proportions in general -- nor that of the different parts to each other is based on strict regularity, and the understanding of the forms is very undeveloped. Especially dim is the conception of the entablature. It is indeed treated in three parts; but only the architrave crowns the lower order, while the frieze and the cyma serve as the parapet of the upper story. Consequently the frieze the frieze is disproportionately high, and the entire cornice seems without any relation to the dry

half columns and pilasters. (See Fig. 4).

In the fifth decade of the 16 th century appeared the first theorists. Pieter de Kock of Alost translated Serlio, whose first books were printed in 1542 in Augsburg; in 1548 appeared the German edition of Cesariano's Vitruvius by Walther Rivius.

How far these and other handbooks influenced the practice is to be investigated further. In the Otto-Heinrichs Building, I believe that the study of Serlio's rules on the proportions of the stories may be recognized.

A correct understanding of the antique orders was first possessed by the Italianized Netherlanders and the German Palladians of the 17 th century. But as stated in Chapter 10, this leads beyond the German Renaissance.

Chapter 14. Supports and Cornices.

102. Free Supports.

The supports, columns, piers or pilasters, in the early period were formed in a very naive way, independently of theoretical rules, as well as of correct models. An especial preference was enjoyed by the ornamental form of the candelabra column.(Fig. 173 ²³⁶). It occurs isolated everywhere, that an early Renaissance is found. For Saxony, I have in Art. 31 sought to prove its derivation from Lombard models; it may elsewhere have been transferred to architecture from graphic models, drawings, stained glass and the like. Similar forms permeate into Gothic piers. The pier represented in Fig. 174²³⁶ before the great fireplace in the Hall of Franc de Bruges in Bruges is Gothic by its nature, but is covered by the most graceful Renaissance forms. One cannot speak of columns with reference to it; what recalls them is nothing more than a Gothic round. The treatment of the acanthus on the examples represented is very careful and permits the assumption of a direct influence of Italian models. Where such were not at hand, very wonderful forms often occurred. A rich selection is presented by the court of the Bishop's Palace in Freising of 1519 (Figs. 178, 179 ²³⁹); the master had but very vague ideas of the forms of the Renaissance; yet he works free from it, and what he produces is singular, yet not unenjoyable.

Note 236. From Ewerbeck.

Note 237. From the same.

Note 238. From Lambert & Stahl.

Note 239. From Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern etc. Vol. 1. Pl. 46. Munich. 1892 - 1895.

The candelabra-like columns disappear in architecture quite early; but the fountain columns remain in favor through the entire 16th century. The column from Ensisheim (Fig. 176 ²³⁸) is composed of enlargements and reductions; but the finer feeling for the amount and the sequence of the mouldings is wanting there as in other cases.

In the developed Renaissance the column is yet more severely shaped; yet the desire to decorate it remains undiminished. To fixed ratios between the lower diameter and the height, t

that only have importance in fully developed orders, men neither could nor would limit themselves, even after becoming acquainted with Serlio. In accordance with the Italian Renaissance the column was usually furnished with a pedestal (Figs. 176, 177, 180), though not invariably so. The pedestal has as base a plinth and a receding moulding, as its cap a light moulding; surfaces were animated by ornamental panels. Above the pediment rises the column. The shaft is usually slender; the proportions range between 6 and 9 lower diameters, indeed even exceeding these limits. Preferred is the division by a moulding at about one-third the height. The lower portion is cylindrical and almost invariably decorated. The mode of ornamentation is quite various; very common is the so-called incrustated ornament; the axes are indicated by masks or lions' heads; festoons were also applied. The ornament sometimes rises in high relief; thus on the artistically carved columns of the choir stalls in Kampen (Fig. 175²³⁷). The upper part of the shaft remains plain or is fluted. The flutes are, so far as I see, always separated by fillets. Not infrequently are they partly filled by half rounds (cabled); thus on the lower part of the shaft in Fig. 177²³⁸, or they are replaced by rounds fixed on the shaft (Fig. 180²⁴⁰); they are also sometimes winding in helical form (Fig. 176). A Barocco motive is that of broken flutes (Fig. 181²⁴¹), that not seldom occurs. But here and there the ornament is also luxuriant on the upper part of the shaft. Compare with Fig. 182²⁴² the numerous similar designs in Wendel Dietterlin's "Architectura."

Note 240. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 13.

Note 241. From the same. Abt. 29.

Note 242. From Lambert & Stahl.

In decorative architecture, on organs, altars and choir stalls, spirally twisted columns occur from the early part of the 17th century onward, on which frequently grew vine or ivy leaves.

By far the most common place for the columns is the portal, then the richer tombs, and there is the very ornamental treatment justified. In the form of half columns on facades are they usually more simply treated. They occur more rarely as

179 supports of vaults; the pier is there preferred. Piers of octagonal plan were seen in the Church of S. Maria at Wolfenbüttel (Fig. 115), in the nave of Polling (Fig. 183 ²⁴³), and in the Church at Tunttenhausen in upper Bavaria -- all buildings of the early 17th century. Original and very effective are the piers in the great hall of the University at Helmstedt by Paul Franke (Fig. 184 ²⁴⁴).

Note 243. From Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern etc. Vol. 1. Pl. 100. Munich. 1892 - 1895.

Note 244. From Fritsch.

The treatment of the pilaster resembles that of the column; it is often swelled, frequently also fluted. A decoration not even of the style, that occurs on tombs, is the addition of heraldic shields on the front side of the pilaster. (Fig. 185 ²⁴⁵).

Note 245. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 23.

Besides pilasters and half columns, there also occur on the orders of facades, on windows and portals, supports that widen upwards. The shaft is either fluted or decorated in other ways; as the upper ending below the reduction for the necking is preferred a faceted ashlar, with the Ionic as a capital. (Figs. 186, 187 ²⁴⁶). Finally there are also frequently hermes figures, sometimes with simpler, sometimes with richer treatment, but often very Barocco. (Figs. 188 ²⁴², 189 ²⁴⁷).

Note 246. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 19, 38.

Note 247. From the same. Abt. 31.

The most common form of base is the Attic, frequently with very graceful mouldings and with strong accenting of the projections in front and back. Also on Tuscan and Doric columns, it occurs in the simpler form with one torus. The beautiful bases of the Ionic columns in the portico of the Palace at Baden (Figs. 190 ²⁴⁸) are shaped according to Serlio (IV, 7); they have two scotias separated by astragals and an upper torus. Yet this is an exception.

Note 248. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 23.

Tuscan and Doric capitals were given in the conceptions of the Italian Renaissance. The echinus has a quarter-round moulding, and it is often ornamented by the pearl-bead. The

Doric column is preferred with a necking. The Doric columns on the portal of the Palace at Baden (Fig. 191 ²⁴⁸), with their entablature, are likewise treated in accordance with Serlio's rules (IV, 6). Everywhere in the details is shown a tendency toward definite models.

The Ionic capital is not rare on columns and hermes figures, usually with simple treatment. Beautiful and rich are the capitals of the portico of the Palace at Baden (Fig. 191 ²⁴⁸). Like the Doric columns of the portal, these columns also have a tastefully decorated necking.

As it could not be otherwise in the decorative tendency of the style, the Corinthian capital is most common. It occurs in the form imitated from the antique, as well as in the free formations, in which the Italians had already preceded, and it sometimes passes into derivations from the Composite capital. Figs. 192 to 196 ²⁴⁹ require no explanation.

Note 249. From Lambert & Stahl; also Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern etc. Vol. 1. Pl. 174. Munich. 1892 - 1895.

Then from the 17th century onward occur quite freely treated forms of capitals. Thus the pier capital from the Church of S. Maria at Wolfenbüttel (Fig. 197 ²⁵⁰). However fanciful it appears, it is based on some tasteless structural ideas: the transition from the octagonal to the square is obtained by forms like consoles, and again the strongly projecting abacus beneath the impost of the vault ribs is supported by corbels with angels' heads. The static function is here indeed not transferred into an art form without some remainder; but one must not grudge to Franke his power of treatment forms. Allied, though simpler, are the pier capitals of Polling. The tendency toward structural forms of capitals already appears undeveloped in the "Architectura" of Wendel Dieterlin: it thus belongs to the German Barocco. The capitals on the old Chancellery Building in Stuttgart, that likewise belong here, are perhaps by Dieterlin. Whether the form found wider use is outside my observation.

Note 250. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahrg. 6. Consoles.

103. As a supporting member, the console is yet to be

mentioned. It occurs here and there in the simple manner of the Italian Renaissance, but it is varied in manifold and often very fanciful ways. Discussion of its different shapes would run into a description of details, and yet the wealth of forms would not be exhausted. I give a number of examples in Figs. 198 to 201 ²⁵¹.

Note 251. From Deutsche Renaissance and Ewerbeck.

104. Cornices.

In the consideration of cornices, strictly taken, there are to be separated buildings of the German Renaissance in the restricted sense, facades with columnar orders, portals and windows, as well as smaller architectural objects. I aim at such a separation. The cornices most correctly treated in accordance with theoretical rules are found on portals and tombs; yet great freedom prevails everywhere. The buildings composed after late Gothic principles have only slight moulded bands. In general it must be necessary, that the formal development of the cornice is not the strong side of German Renaissance; here also is lacking the sense of proportions.

A Doric cornice after rules of Serlio is seen on the portal of the Palace at Baden (Fig. 191): The relationship is particularly shown by the dentils; yet it is not slavish; the motives are taken from the model, but are adapted to the conditions with assured feeling. In like intelligent manner is the Doric order seldom executed. Good are the Doric cornices on the three stories and on the gable of a House on the Langgasse in Danzig; their ornamentation by round shields and ox skulls in the metopes likewise refers to Serlio. The Doric cornice above the ground story of the Otto-Heinrichs Building in ¹⁰²Heidelberg is suited to the general style of the facade and diverges yet further from the classical rules, which were also well known to the master. But in general, there was taken from the Doric entablature the effective motive of the triglyphs, but no further attention was paid to the rules of the theorists. The triglyphs were also frequently merely indicated by grooves sunk in the otherwise plane frieze (Fig. 202 ²⁵²). A very odd transformation of the Doric frieze is found on a House in Brieg (Fig. 203 ²⁵³). The triglyphs are there treat-

treated as projections like consoles, and the dry crown moulding is broken around them. I scarcely err in assuming Polish influences for this form.

Note 252. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 53.

Note 253. From the same. Abt. 11.

A splendid Ionic cornice, again with tendency toward Serlio, we found in the Palace at Baden, indeed on the small circular building, that bears the name of Dagobert's tower. (Fig. 204 ²⁵⁴). The Ionic and corinthian cornices occur in the most diverse variations, into which it would be useless to enter in detail.

Note 254. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 23.

Less common, than might be assumed from its ornamental quality, is the Composite cornice with modillions. It has either horizontal modillions after the antique style in the crown mouldings (Fig. 205 ²⁵⁵) or vertical ones, which intersect the frieze (Fig. 206 ²⁵⁶). The forms of the modillions are naturally much varied; the vertical forms are frequently treated as triglyphs. Consistently handled cornices with modillions are still not very common, and they occur less on facades than on portals and tombs. They produce on the facades a marked subdivision into stories. When employed, men prefer to place the modillions over the axes of the columns and eventually over the windows, and to break the cornices; they vary there with the favorite breaks without consoles. (Fig. 207 ²⁵⁷).

Note 255. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 59.

Note 256. From the same. Abt. 53.

Note 257. From the same. Abt. 4.

In all periods occur cornices not formed according to the precepts of the theorists. The architrave is frequently replaced in the early period by some strongly projecting mouldings (Fig. 208 ²⁵⁸); later the frieze, whose surface presents a welcome opportunity for the addition of ornaments or figure reliefs, is usually much extended at the cost of the architrave and cornice. (Fig. 209 ²⁵⁹).

Note 258. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 14.

Note 259. From the same. Abt. 43.

In this category also belong the cornices, in which the crowning of the lower order is combined with the parapet of the

upper into one form. They occur on the facades of the early Renaissance in the Netherlands, composed after the orders, and are not rare in Saxony and Silesia. (Fig. 4). On House No. 29 on Neissestrasse in Görlitz the lower order has a complete cornice, above which follows the parapet of the upper story; on the contrary, the upper one has a cornice combined with the succeeding parapet. (Fig. 210 260).

Note 260. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 53.

Lastly we find cornices composed only of some mouldings, ogees, slabs etc. For the cornice bands of simple facades, this is intelligible; but it is also applied on columns. (Fig. 211 261).

Note 261. From a photograph.

Chapter 15. Portals.

105. Portals.

The portals are a chief ornamental portion of the facades. Even as simple structures, they become stately and richly treated and belong to the architectural parts, which determine the effect of facades by contrast with the simplicity of the whole. In the portals can declare itself the love of form possessed by the German masters of the 16 th century; their number is great, and their variety is astonishing.

The Gothic portal does not project from the surface of the wall; but is cut in the wall and presents in its splayed surfaces a rich field for decoration. Gothic reminiscences are found on Renaissance portals until the end of the period. But in addition the Renaissance shrine motive was adopted early, and there is originated from the Gothic to the pure Renaissance a rich series of changes. In this development may be recognized an innate connection in general but not in details; even in the later time occur portals with strong accenting of Gothic elements. The shrine, that usually has a head-piece for a heraldic shield or an inscription, is regarded as a favorite place for a decorative play with motives, and this long continued until the understanding prevailed, that to be correct, this was to be treated according to the rules of the columnar orders. The less correct is generally more enjoyable than the academically correct, which is but seldom actually free and treated with an expressed feeling for proportions.

Quite slightly affected by the Renaissance is the pretty small portal of the Palace chapel in Neuenstein (Fig. 212²⁶¹); the mouldings are still Gothic; only in the capitals and the crowning shell does the Renaissance show itself. The shrine is merely indicated on this portal; it does not project from the surface of the wall.

The work of the early Renaissance is found on a portal of 1552 in Schlettstadt. (Fig. 213²⁶²). The jamb of the doorway is cut obliquely and is treated as a broad cavetto; at the height of the imposts are placed round disks as terminations of the cavettos; the segmental arches are moulded with tracery in the late Gothic style. This doorway stands within a shrine;

the pilasters do not extend to the cornice but end with capitals at about two-thirds the total height, from which bands rise to the cornice. The cornice is also not merely treated as purely crowning, but likewise as the base of the head-piece; this is high and relatively heavy. The knowledge of antique forms is still defective and composition is still immature; but as an ornamental show piece, the portal always produces an expressive effect.

Note 262. From Fritsch.

Far higher already stands the beautiful portal of 1534 of the City Hall in Zerbst. (Fig. 214 ²⁶²). Here is expressed a remnant of late Gothic inserted in the alternating heads of the pedestal and capitals; but the entirety is charming early Renaissance. Even the splay of the jambs is avoided here. The form-treatment recalls something on the rood screen in the Cathedral at Hildesheim.

The splay of the jamb, which remains from the Gothic, is generally employed in Saxony, at least in the form where the vertical jambs are splayed on both sides and furnished with niches. Circular seats often project at the lower ends of the niches (Fig. 22). This form also occurs without any accompanying pilaster. On the beautiful portal of 1688 from Janner (Fig. 215 ²⁶²), the cornice is supported by consoles, and the entire crowning member is but loosely connected with the doorway. On the portal of the Ribbeck House in Berlin (Fig. 216 ²⁶²), the splay is limited to the arch. The portal belongs to the Barocco, and the projections like consoles at both sides already have the forms of the so-called "gristle" style. Compare also Fig. 90 here. Portal forms like those last mentioned are only suitable for small dimensions; for larger doorways are almost always employed the shrine form with columns or pilasters. I give some further examples in the following. The southwest portal of the Palace at Aschaffenburg (Fig. 217 ²⁶²) bears the character of a fortification, as German Renaissance conceived this after Sanmicheli's prototype; to it corresponds the rustication, elsewhere rare in the German Renaissance. Compare in this respect the portals of the Palaces at Ingoldstadt ²⁶³ and at Ols ²⁶⁴, as well as the very monumental evi-

evidence of the Hohe Tor at Danzig. 266

Note 263. *Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern. Vol. 1. Pl. 14.*

Note 264. *Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 53.*

Note 265. *From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahrg. 6.*

Note 266. *Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 38.*

On the portal of the Palace at Merseburg (Fig. 218 ²⁶⁷), the wall surface enclosing the doorway is covered by the so-called overlaid ornament. Tuscan columns on high pedestals support the cornice; all is rich and tasteful, and a strong effect is produced in the sense of the beginning Barocco.

Note 267. *From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 8.*

On a further step in advance belongs the portal of the Church of S. Maria in Wolfenbüttel (Fig. 219 ²⁶⁸); the columns are placed before niches; the cornice is broken; but with all variations for strong effects, the ground lines of the composition are clear and firm. Higher architectural feeling is expressed on the portal of the former Palace chapel in Dresden of 1555. (Fig. 220 ²⁶⁹). Composition and execution are alike good, indeed by Italians. Especially rich is the portal of the Otto-Heinrichs Building at Heidelberg. (Fig. 221 ²⁷⁰). Not even important in an architectural sense, it has a good effect by its strong relief.

Note 268. *From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahrg. 4.*

Note 269. *From the same. Jahrg. 2.*

Note 270. *From Koch & Seitz.*

Smaller doorways were sometimes merely furnished with cap and architrave in the Italian manner (Fig. 222 ²⁷¹), with which may be compared the portal from the Fürstenhof in Wiemar (Fig. 79). These motives are transferred in an original way to the smaller doorways of Palace Bevern in the vicinity of Hameln.

Note 271. *From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 53.*

The form treatment of the north German wooden architecture is exhibited by the portal of the Hütte House in Hörter. (Fig. 223 ²⁷²).

Note 273. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 5.

For gateways serving for purposes of fortification, the
192 form of the entrance with side openings is retained. In its
architectural treatment, it is allied to the larger portals
of houses and palaces. Beautiful examples from the earlier
and middle periods are found in Tübingen. That rustication
was later preferred for such portals was previously stated in
Art. 105.

Chapter 16. Windows.

106. Windows with Gothic Principles of Form.

Opposed to portals, windows always remain simple. Their abundance on a facade already excludes a thorough individualization, that was not only permissible on portals, but an advantage. The forms are frequently varied from the simple opening in the wall to that covered by a cap in the Italian manner, or to the window standing in a shrine with pilasters or columns; but the simpler predominate. Transitions and compromises between the mouldings cut in the wall after the Gothic manner and the enclosure projecting from the wall are found in endless variety until in the 17th century. The Gothic moulding of the jambs and cavetto (Fig. 224 ²⁷³) were retained, especially in southern Germany; even when the mouldings are no longer Gothic, they do not project, but are cut in the body of the wall. Gothic mouldings in degenerate form occur in Nuremberg even in the 17th century. The Nuremberg window in Fig. 225 is moulded with a special lack of beauty; the side jambs are rounded, and from them rises a more or less richly moulded segmental arch. The jambs pass into a rectangular section below by ogee stops. On windows like Fig. 226 ²⁷⁴, the outer mouldings project and the inner ones are recessed: Gothic and Renaissance mouldings here occurring together. Instead of Gothic mouldings with rounds and hollows, a single chamfer of the jamb is often employed; see Fig. 23.

Note 273. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahrg. 4.

Note 274. From Deutsches Renaissance. Abt. 29.

Note 275. From the same. Abt. 4.

Likewise the Netherlandish Renaissance long adhered in the treatment of windows to Gothic form principles. The Netherlandish window is generally larger than the German. To avoid too great height of stories with windows, they were subdivided by stone mullions and transom bars (Fig. 54). Even the windows of two stories were sometimes combined; thus on the City Hall at Emden (Fig. 61) and on that at Nymwegen. The windows of the latter are Gothic, excepting the weak gabled lintel supported by consoles. The triangular or semicircular

lintel with a slight enclosure is a favorite motive of the early Renaissance of the Netherlands. The tympanum either remains plain, or is ornamented by a medallion in relief, (Fig. 229 ²⁷⁶) or by a freely projecting bust.

Note 276. From Ysendyck.

196 Another and Gothic motive, that not seldom occurs in the early time, is a blind arch resting on projecting pilasters or piers, and which encloses the upper part of the window. (Fig. 230 ²⁷⁶). Examples of this form are found in Delft, Nymwegen, Dordrecht and elsewhere. Very peculiar are the geometrical patterns of a terracotta facade in Bruges of 1564. (Fig. 231 ²⁷⁶). That the Netherlandish forms of windows also occur in lower Germany scarcely requires mention. We find them monumentally enhanced in the ground story of the Otto-Heinrichs and the Friedrichs Buildings in Heidelberg; the Gothic has there entirely vanished. (Fig. 232 ²⁷⁷).

Note 277. From Koch & Seitz.

On the windows of the Gothic churches of the 16th century, the tracery is also retained. This late tracery, such as occurs on the University Church in Würzburg, in Dettelbach, Cologne and elsewhere, is weak almost without exception. In a very original way has Paul Franke adapted the tracery of the Church of S. Maria in Wolfenbüttel to his Barocco style (Fig. 233 ²⁷⁸). The subdivision of the windows of the University at Helmstadt (Fig. 234 ²⁷⁹), likewise by Franke is scarcely to be called tracery.

Note 278. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahrg. 6.

Note 279. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 32.

197 On the windows of the Chancellery at Constance (Fig. 235 ²⁸⁰), one might assume a recourse to Romanesque motives; whether this really occurred, or we have to do here with a free invention of the 16th century, is indeed not determinable. Wherever the beautiful motive was taken from, it is entirely adapted to the spirit of the German Renaissance.

Note 280. From a photograph.

107. Windows with projecting Enclosure.

Besides the windows, that adhere to mediaeval motives or

were developed therefrom, these already occur, in which the window is cut through the masonry and is enclosed in the antique manner by a projecting architrave. These classical mouldings are very usual in the Saxon-Silesian school (Fig. 236²⁸¹). A provincial peculiarity of the school is the stopping of the mouldings in the lower fourth of the window. Men were accustomed by late Gothic to not carry the mouldings entirely down. On the contrary in south Germany there early occur window enclosures, where their cross sections are carried unbroken to the lower end of the window. To the simple architrave are added crowning cornices, whether so that some mouldings project directly above them, or that these are separated from them by a frieze. Above the cornice are sometimes arranged light additions, as on a bay window of the Maximilian Museum in Augsburg. Gabled lintels in triangular or segmental form first found more common use in the late period.

Windows like those of the City Hall at Nuremberg (Fig. 237²⁸²) are direct imitations of Italian models; in their careful profiling and their bold relief, Palladio's school cannot be denied. We find similar ones on the buildings of Elias Holl in Augsburg; this is not the German Renaissance in a narrow sense. In the course of the 16th century in Italy, men had already commenced to cut off the apexes of the gabled lintels of portals and windows. Galeazzo Alessi employed the motive; I do not know whether he invented it; the question is of no importance here. The motive is taken complete from Italy; it corresponds to the German preference for the irrational. Such windows occur not seldom in the beginning Barocco of southwest Germany (Fig. 238²⁸³). But the pure outline of the classical Renaissance window is not yet sufficiently obliterated; men added at the sides of the enclosure projecting ornaments (Fig. 238). We shall meet with analogous forms on tombs and altars.

Note 281. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 11.

Note 282. From Mummenhof.

Note 283. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 39.

From Italy is likewise derived the enclosure of the window by ashlar with bosses (Fig. 239), as well as the insertion

of ashlar as keystones in the moulding of the enclosure, (Fig. 105), together with the placing of the window in a pilaster or columnar shrine. The first motive first found acceptance in Germany during the late period, the latter abounding in the early Renaissance; it was not therefore also transformed in the taste of the period. A beautiful example is presented by the Leinwandhaus in Breslau (Fig. 240 ²⁸⁴). Windows of such rich design pass again into the series of ornamental works; they were not arranged in rows but stand separately.

Note 284. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 53.

201 108. Grouped Windows.

That the German Renaissance does not bind itself to a uniform spacing of the windows, where permitted by the scheme of the orders, I have already stated in Art. 98. It prefers to group the windows. This inclination leads to placing two or more windows close together. I refer here to Figs. 226, 227, 235, in which the combination is effected by a common enclosure or by the common intermediate supports. Sometimes variety is produced only by a cornice above the united windows. In a very original manner, on the Lusthaus (Casino) at Stuttgart, each pair of windows was combined with a circular window above into an intimate group.

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Chapter 17. Bay Windows, Gables and Treatment of Roofs.

109. Bay Windows.

One of the most important motives for the decoration and animation of facades was the bay window. Its artistic treatment was already recognized in late Gothic; it found wider employment only in the Renaissance. Its effect almost without exception is more picturesque than architectural; it has no fixed position, but was added at any preferred place on the facade or at the corner. The bay window either extends upward as a projecting portion of the building in stories (Fig. 241 ²⁸⁵), a form common in north Germany and rare in upper Germany, or it only begins in one of the upper stories. In this case it is either supported by columns, piers, or is corbelled out (Fig. 242 ²⁸⁶). The corbelling in the early period is either treated as a concave surface and beset by ribs like a netted vault (Fig. 243 ²⁸⁷), or it is composed of different mouldings (Fig. 244 ²⁸⁸). The entire bay window is also sometimes borne by consoles (Fig. 245 ²⁸⁹).

Note 285. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 12.

Note 286. From the same. Abt. 51.

Note 287. From Lambert & Stahl.

Note 288. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 44.

Note 289. From Fritsch.

Bay windows project from the surfaces of facades either as rectangles or portions of polygons, generally as three sides of an octagon; the corner bay windows are circular, polygonal (Fig. 38), or they have the form of a rectangle set diagonally. Their formal treatment is almost always rich; they have the value of ornamental works and are treated accordingly. Likewise on plain facades the parapet, window pier with columns or pilasters and the cornice are separated, the surfaces being decorated by rich ornament in relief. Figs. 241 to 245 may illustrate what is said; they represent various periods of the German Renaissance, and show that although the forms of details vary, the basis of the composition always remains the same.

110. Stairway Towers.

Here follow the projecting stairway towers. The most beau-

beautiful belong to the Saxon school, those of the Palaces at Dresden (Fig. 21) and at Torgau (Fig. 246 ²⁹⁰). The latter is the grandest; it rises over a rectangular substructure, to which lead flights of steps on both sides. Between high piers the stairway winds upward. In the entire arrangement is a tendency to free greatness, such as seldom attained in the German Renaissance. The stairway towers of the Palace at Dresden are not equal to that at Torgau, but are likewise very well composed.

Note 290. From Lübke.

111. Gables.

The motive of a stairway tower rising above a rectangular substructure reappears in simplified form on the City Hall at Altenburg (Fig. 40); the tower is there made tall. The tower of the City Hall at Schweinfurt, developed from the same motive, is not a stairway tower; on the contrary, that at Rothenburg has one such. Higher importance belongs to the gable, that to the bay window, both for the separate building and for the street view. The gable corresponding to a steeply inclined roof is a northern form; the classical Renaissance knows only the low inclination. In the north, both in France as in Germany, it already belongs to the Renaissance, but it ²⁷⁴ finds in the Renaissance its richest development. The German Renaissance participates with the French in the inclination to increase the architectural ornamentation of the house upwards, indeed sometimes only beginning on the roof, and this tendency can apply itself to the gable in rich measure. If the gable be not turned toward the street, then a substitute is sought in roof bay windows and transverse gables. The appearance of these smaller architectural parts is likewise determined by the forms of their gables. Gables and transverse gables in great part fix the capriciously picturesque effect of German Renaissance buildings. The manifold analogies of both may justify a common treatment.

The Renaissance takes from the middle ages two forms of gables; that whose lines follow the slope of the roof, and that rising in stepped form. The straight inclined line on the former is usually broken by finials.

The straight lined inclined gables naturally are not lacking in the Renaissance; but men prefer to avoid them and to replace straight lines by simple or complex curves. (Fig. 247²⁹¹).

Note 291. From Koch & Seitz.

205 When the straight lines of the gable were abandoned, free course was given to caprice, passing to ever richer and more fanciful forms. Even wooden architecture therein follows the taste of the period. (Figs. 155, 156, 159). Most fertile in curious designs are the Netherlands; but there is no interest in going into this; for all these buildings have something sportive and lack architectural grandeur. Their bombast and labored elegance makes this apparent (Figs. 248,²⁹² 249²⁹³).

206 The influences of the Netherlands were very strong and much in the interior regions of northern Germany (Figs. 63 to 66).

Note 292. From Ewerbeck.

Note 293. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 38.

The forms of the gable are restrained in upper Germany. The finial gable scarcely now occurs in its simple form. The Tucherhaus in Nuremberg (Fig. 26) belongs to the earliest time. Men were not satisfied with animation by finials, but also gave to the gable lines more movement; on the Töpler House in Nuremberg (Fig. 250²⁹⁴), this is done in a very naive way. For other cases, to the vertical subdivision by finials is added a horizontal one by a cornice; only the free angle between finials and cornice is filled by volutes or similar forms. (Figs. 38, 39). The obliquely ascending line has vanished here, and the composition approaches that produced by the stepped gable. The stepped gable generally occurs in the Netherlandish Renaissance (Figs. 56, 57); it is rare in the domain of the German (Fig. 80). The hard outline must also be softened there, in order to correspond to the decorative sense of the time. The gable forms developed from the stepped gable have a sounder architectural basis than those derived from the straight line, and this is given by the steps. Men made the stepped gable smoother by giving to each step a crowning moulding, or when the projecting angles were filled by intermediate members. Gables of the first kind (Fig. 67) are common in lower Saxony and Westphalia; they belong to the early Renaissance. The tops of the steps are semicircular, their rid-

ridges being usually beset by three spheres. The motive is expressive, but is incapable of further development and must always remain simple. The second kind also proceeds from simple beginnings, but develops into the most luxuriant richness. Men had already preceded in Italy and France with the filling of the reentrant angles by volutes; S. Maria Novella in Florence, the Chateau at Blois, Hotel Ecoville at Caen, etc. The luthern windows on the House of Margaret of Austria in Mechlin (Fig. 5) indicate French models. Moreover, it is not to be doubted, that the beginnings of the development in the Netherlands and in Germany are to be referred to influences from Italy and France; but direct imitations scarcely occur in even the early time. The House in Mechlin just mentioned is in this respect a singular phenomenon. Independently of each other, experiments were made here and there; but the Netherlands are far more fertile in eccentric designs than Germany, and their influence continually lessens from the last third of the 16th century onward. If men were at first satisfied to fill the angles of the small steps, the steps later became larger, where treated as stories and separated by cornices. Not rarely were arranged systems of pilasters or of half columns, and the great steps were ornamented by the strangest forms. The angle formed between the ascending walls of the transverse gables and the roof cornice was frequently filled in a similar manner.

Note 294. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk.

I give some examples progressing from simpler to richer forms without regard to their dates. Lieven de Key applied on the main gables of the Schlachthalle (Abattoir) at Harlem console-like projections to the vertical sides of the steps (Fig. 251 ²⁹⁵), by which the outlines become more animated, but always remain hard; the motive here found little imitation. (Fig. 94). The enormous importance of the gable for the general appearance of a building very clearly appears on the Schlachthalle at Harlem.

Note 295. From Ewerbeck.

More fruitful than the addition of terminations or projections to one side of the steps was the filling of the angle w

with forms, that are placed on both sides. In lower Germany, sectors of circles were employed for this in the early period. But besides them also at once appear volutes (Fig. 252 ²⁹⁶). The filling is in both cases a fan-like ornament radiating from the angle. The small volutes, that fill the steps and the gable of the Barthelshof at Leipzig (Fig. 253 ²⁹⁷) indeed do not belong to the time of erection, but must be borrowed from an earlier motive. Further are the volutes combined with overlaid ornament (Fig. 254 ²⁹⁸); the obelisks rise at the sides or above the flexure points of the curves; the ornament, which at first only indicates the outline, at last also fills the surfaces (Fig. 255 ²⁹⁹).

Note 296. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 30.

Note 297. From Fritsch.

Note 298. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 4.

Note 299. From Ewerbeck.

112. Roof Bay Windows

Instead of the transverse gables, the roof is also frequently animated by roof bay windows and by smaller dormer windows. Particularly rich in bay windows are the roofs in Nuremburg. The typical form is represented in Fig. 28 (Also Fig. 31). Lastly, the chimneys were included in the artistic treatment.

113. General.

One must not seek for an internal effect by proportions in the interiors of the German Renaissance. Rooms already beautiful by their proportions always remain exceptional. What is aimed at and attained is comfort and splendor, both of which are not in themselves esthetic qualities. Formative activity is directed more to the details than to the entirety. This weakness of German art is still increased by the close connection between architecture and the minor arts. One result of this relation is, that the composition in which the aim is higher, is almost invariably overloaded, that the weight is not placed on good proportions but on beautiful details. These are indeed often so charming, that they form a substitute for many weaknesses in the entirety. By the visitors to the Council Chamber in Lüneburg will it be observed at least, that the supports of the doorway lintel are true monsters of composition, though developed charmingly with the most loving care.

Still the effect of interiors does not alone depend on proportions and forms, there are added as further points the introduction of light and the coloring, and these are mostly good. The introduction of light is helped by the grouping of the windows; great and united masses of light enter the rooms and produce effective contrasts. The color treatment is connected with the material of the equipment. The chief materials are wood and stucco. Wood has warm and deep tones with a limited color scale. It is employed in its natural colors; some portions of the ornaments are sometimes stained, but the warm ground tone of the wood always participates; partial gilding also occurs. The wood always ensures a harmonious and unified effect. If a richer effect be the aim, then painting is added; the panel pictures in oil or distemper were inserted in the panels of the wainscoatings and ceilings; more rarely are found the application of fresco on portions of the wall, that remain free from wainscoatings.

Stucco occurs in its natural color or with partial painting and gilding. Here fresco is occasionally employed to a greater extent, while the stucco reliefs enclose the panels for g

grotesques or figure paintings. The color treatment is entirely different from that for wood. Rich and variegated effects are not excluded; but even for polychrome treatment of the ornament, the white stucco ground usually requires a cool harmony. Sometimes is found the use of scagliola, inlays in colored stucco marble.

Wood is the national building material in Germany. Stucco indeed occurs from the earliest middle ages; but its use in the Renaissance comes from Italy and with few exceptions is limited to buildings, that belong to the series of the Italian and Italian-like Renaissance.

The rooms that are artistically treated are entrances and vestibules in the houses of citizens, the halls in lower Germany, sometimes stairways and then some rooms; in palaces are added thereto stairs, passages and halls, also the same in city halls and other public buildings.

The gradations from the simplest to the richest treatment are very varied.

In the south German houses of citizens the decoration is limited to entrances or gateways, and if such exist, to their covering by netted vaults. One of the most stately gateways is that of the Feller House in Nuremberg. A more tasteful motive is the hall of lower Germany. It is already an imposing room by its height; if stairs and galleries are added, leading to the rooms of the intermediate story, there results a very picturesque interior. Beautiful halls remain in Bremen, Lübeck and Hildesheim. Also the vestibule in the City Hall at Danzig. (Fig. 257 ³⁰¹) belongs here by its appearance.

Note 300. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 26.

Note 301. From a photograph.

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²¹⁴ In the south German houses of citizens, the vestibules of the upper stories are often spacious and well lighted anterooms and are also treated accordingly. The elements of their decoration are wainscotings, beam or paneled ceilings, and further fireplaces or stoves. To these are added hangings, paintings and ornamental vessels. Bay windows or screens sometimes give the rooms an especially picturesque charm.

Stucco decoration acquires a certain extension in the citi-

citizens' houses first in the 17 th century, while it was a favorite in the palaces of the princes already in the late 16 th century. The great halls of the palaces are more imposing by their extent and their rich and tasteful decoration than by their proportions. They are almost all too low. Some halls in City Halls, like those in Nuremburg, Lüneburg etc., are also imposing by their proportions.

114. Paneling.

Paneling is the most common decoration for walls; it was already a favorite in the later part of the Gothic period. The Gothic paneling is either a series of boards with joints covered by battens and held together by a moulding at top, or they consist of a framework with panels. Sometimes architectural motives appear. In contrast thereto the Renaissance from the beginning employed architecture as the motive for the design of its paneling, and paneling in pure wooden construction is exceptional. One of the most beautiful among these is the paneling of the chapter hall in Münster, executed in 1544 - 1552 by Johann Kupper. The framework with panels determines the impression. Each pair of panels is enclosed by bands and small columns; above the latter is a cornice, then an added attic and also gables. But these architectural motives are not oppressive, and the entire treatment corresponds to the material. The ornament is magnificent. Also the paneling in a room in the third story of the Tucherhaus in Nuremburg (1544- Fig. 259 ³⁰³) is merely conceived as a wooden covering, although the little columns of the upper part already project strongly. But the most common motive for paneling is that of the order of columns or of pilasters, whose intercolumniations are closed by simpler or richer panels. The stylistic development is that the battens are changed into bands, pilasters and columns.

Note 302. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 28.

Note 303. From the same. Abt. 1.

If by the motive in general a stronger relief is produced than by Gothic panels, then the relief effect is sometimes enhanced by adding architectural motives to the panels as well. 216. The paneling sometimes consists of a plinth, instead of which

benches occasionally occur, and the order with a cornice. Exceptionally there follows an attic above the cornice, also indeed replaced by paintings above wooden panelings. The paneling seldom extends to the ceiling of the room; it more commonly leaves free the upper part of the wall. This remains white or is covered by hangings; stamped leather occurs in the late period.

The number of panelings remaining is great; but since the ground motive always remains the same, it will suffice if I present a few examples. In the Bishop's Palace of Velthurns near Brixen are found some splendid panelings. They were executed between 1577 and 1586 by Hans Spineider from Meran. Their arrangement is clear; the proportions are good, and the reliefs of the pilasters and cornice are suited to the material. The panels for one wainscoting are still simply enclosed in rectangular form; in others architectural motives are added, yet always in a moderate way (Fig. 260 ³⁰³). On the benches of the Artushof in Danzig, little columns are set before the pilasters, and the high cornice is richly adorned by reliefs. These benches were made in 1531 by Laurenz Adrian Holzapfel from Cologne, and they are noteworthy as one of the earliest works of the Renaissance in northeast Germany. The use of columns instead of pilasters changes nothing in the basis of the system, that was commonly employed in this simple form from the early time until in the 17th century. So long as the surfaces of the panels remained plain or were decorated by surface ornament, -- inlays or reliefs --, the effect remains quiet and clear. Still the spirit of the cabinetmaking of the 16th century was not satisfied by flat panels, when it desired to create something particularly beautiful. It replaced them by minor architectural forms in relief in the same manner as on furniture. The strictest requirements of style were not prescribed for these works; the projection of the decorative members from the surface always endangered the clearness of the composition. A rich and splendid effect was frequently attained, but one entirely harmonious was quite rare. The best is possessed by Lübeck in the Fredensborg Room. (Fig. 261 ³⁰⁵; 1572 - 1580). The wainscoting

has two orders of good proportions and bold treatment. The ornament is rich, but very finely graduated in relief; in the upper panels and on the wall over the wainscoting are inserted panel paintings; to the charm of the forms is added that of color. An interior of distinguished magnificence.

Note 304. From Deutsche Renaissance. Vol. 9.

Note 305. From the same. Abt. 43.

In the wainscoting of the Kriegsstube in the City Hall at Lübeck (1575 - 1608), the details are too oppressive, and in the overloaded paneling of the Peller House in Nuremberg, of the Fürsteneck in Frankfurt (now in Kunstgewerbe Museum there), or of the Jagdzimmer in the Fortress of Coburg, the charm lies only in the beautiful details, which at once divert the eye from the entirety.

Elias Holl and other followers of Palladio also again simplify panelings; yet their works are dry and tasteless.

115. Doors.

The paneling may be simple or rich; almost always are the doors made especially prominent and enclosed by stately enclosures. The motives of the composition are the same as on the external architecture and require no further decoration. Also separate doors, not in connection with the paneling, were treated in the same manner.

Most satisfactory are the enclosures of the early Renaissance (Fig. 262 ³⁰⁶). The treatment entirely corresponds to the material and the ornament is very graceful. Later the forms are treated entirely as in stone construction, and where men cannot compete with this in massiveness, columns, consoles, niches and other motives are heaped.

Note 306. From Zeits. der Bayr. Kunstgewerbe-Vereins. 1895.

Here is to be remembered the singular master, Albert von Soest, who executed the ornaments of the wainscoting and of the stalls in the Council Hall at Lüneburg. His compositions (Fig. 263 ³⁰⁷) are dry in general and fanciful in the separate motives, but of high perfection in the forms of the details. As technical works in the art of carving, of singular forms, that he substituted in place of columns, they are not to be sufficiently wondered at; as on a work of the goldsmith's art

are the most charming details multiplied, and the forms of the ornament as well as the figures have the full freshness of the early Renaissance; but as a whole, it is not clear and is formless.

Note 307. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. 1892.

113. House Decoration and Painting.

Stucco as a decorative material for walls found employment especially in church architecture. Rich stucco decorations in the style of the German Renaissance are at least rare in secular buildings; on the contrary, they occur in the Italian-like Renaissance.

I refer to Figs. 98, 100 and 103. Most are only portions of walls; bases, friez and vertical bands, then enclosures of doors with stucco reliefs, while the wall surfaces were adorned by paintings or stretched fabrics. Among rooms in which decoration was entirely assigned to painting, the Court Corridor in Lüneburg is the most remarkable. The paintings bear the date of 1529 (Fig. 264 ³⁰⁸). Whether they belong entirely to this early time appears doubtful to me; yet the style is that of the early Renaissance. The motives in figures as well as in ornaments are not puerile; the harmony of colors is unified and earnest, in spite of a thorough restoration, and the effect is very imposing. The master of this painting is unknown; he must be connected with Lucas Cranach. The picturesque decoration of the great hall of the City Hall in Nuremberg recurs to Dürer, at least in the great allegorical composition of the north wall; the execution was not by him. The compositions have no intimate relations; the court of justice and the triumph of the emperor Maximilian are pure allegories; the throne with piers between them, a music platform on which the trumpeter plays, are entirely realistic. There is no suggestion of economy in the subdivision of the interior; and the lack of cohesion in the composition permits no general effect to appear. They have much good in the details. These paintings were entirely restored and spoiled several years since.

Note 308. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. 1892.

The paintings in the Trausnitz near Landshut belong to the series similar to Italian and in great part were executed by

Italians.

117. Vaults and horizontal ceilings.

More than the walls, the ceilings afforded opportunity for rich ornamentation. The forms of the vaults of the German Renaissance in a strict sense are the net vault and the cross vault, the latter mostly without ribs. Such vaults occur in secular architecture almost entirely in subordinate rooms, and they are kept simple. To the Italian tendency are suited cross vaults, tunnel vaults and domes. There are merely ornamental subdivisions, either in connection with the system of walls, then at least with the appearance of a structural organism, or independent of these in a purely ornamental treatment. Subdivisions of the first kind are shown by Figs. 101, 103.

Italian in its composition but German in its forms of detail is the decoration of the dome of the so-called Dagobert's Tower in Baden, Fig. 265 ³⁰⁹. The system of subdivision consists of transverse arches, that extend across on the vault, and of bands with the direction of the bed joints, thus being straight for tunnel vaults and parallel circles for domes. These projecting bands are treated as a framework of the recessed panels, whose surfaces are covered by ornaments and paintings; in larger subdivisions the panels are also developed in two surfaces (Fig. 101). Freer subdivisions are particularly employed, when lunettes intersect the vaults (domes or tunnel vaults; Fig. 98). A great number of such vaults, varied in subdivision, may be seen in the Royal Palace in Munich (Fig. 266 ³¹⁰). Likewise the divisions do not entirely lack a structural basis, so far as springing from the groin lines of the compartments. The subdivisions of the cross vault naturally start from the groin lines. Splendid examples of this are also afforded by the Royal Palace in Munich. (Fig. 267 ³¹¹).

Note 309. From *Deutsche Renaissance*. Abt. 23.

Note 310. From *Kunstdenkmale des Königsreichs Bayern*. Vol. 1. Pls. 173 - 177. Munich. 1892 - 1895.

Note 311. From the same. Plate 178. Also see Pls. 179-181.

The mediæval mode of forming ceilings with projecting, ch

chamfered or moulded beams and plastered intermediate spaces remains in use during the entire Renaissance period. Besides these occur from the early period onward wooden paneled ceilings in varied subdivisions, on which the joints of the different panels are covered by moulded strips. That the coffered ceilings, which found wide use in the 16th and 17th centuries, were derived from these is not to be assumed; they were developed in Italy and introduced from thence. They produce the appearance of a beam ceiling construction caused by ceiling beams laid in a plane, but they are merely a decoration suspended from a series of beams. The simplest form arises from the intersection of two series of parallel boards, whereby the ceiling is divided into a system of rectangular lozenge panels. The motive is enhanced from the plainest treatment to great magnificence. The wooden ceiling in the front wing of the Royal Palace at Landshut has five times eight coffers; on the flat surfaces of the planks are placed cartouches, whose background as well as the surfaces of the coffers is covered by inlays, cartouches and arabesques. The finest is the ceiling of the Palace at Jever in East Friesland. All surfaces are overloaded with relief ornament. The ornament approaches the so-called floral style; it is hard and without grace in details; on the whole, the ceiling however has an imposing effect.

Meanwhile men could not stop with such simple schemes. A favorite is the alternation of squares with elongated hexagons or octagons, elongated hexagons and crosses. Both are given by Serlio. Also the motive occurring more rarely, in which star octagons are combined with crosses belongs to him. Then he gives some freer compositions, and in them the German masters have independently proceeded further. Even in the last mentioned scheme is introduced an accented centre. The squares and octagons are the centres about which are grouped the hexagons, and by the grouping about the octagon, there still result from this combination cross-shaped panels. Now men pass to freer forms and richer combinations. The inventive fancy has here no bounds. I select three examples from the great number of ceilings now remaining; the beautiful ce-

ceiling in the hall of Palace Ortenburg (Fig. 269 ³¹³), one from Palace Velthurns (Fig. 270 ³¹⁴), as well as that of the hall in the Fürsteneck at Frankfort (Fig. 271 ³¹⁵), the latter being a stucco ceiling. In these compositions, the predominating principle is not the coordination, but subordination. In the ceiling of Velthurns, the square is the predominating centre about which are grouped rectangles with adjacent segments and irregular surfaces; the latter are not framed and also have no principle of form, but are remaining parts of the ground, on which is drawn the entire pattern. In Ortenburg is not so definitely expressed the subordination of the framed panes under a centre; yet the dominant panels are more richly graduated than the cross, and this again is accentuated by a central ornament above the irregular surface of the ground, that is covered by a neutral unrestricted ornament. On the pretty ceiling of the Fürsteneck in Frankfort, the contrast is not definitely expressed.

Note 312. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 50.

Note 313. From a photograph.

Note 314. From Deutsche Renaissance. Vol. 9.

Note 315. From the same. Abt. 40.

The principle of subordination must lead from the central grouping within separate parts to the accenting of the entire ceiling. The ceiling of a prince's chamber in the City Hall at Augsburg (Fig. 272 ³¹⁶) seeks to harmonize between both kinds of compositions; four central grouped parts surround the middle circle, that already is not effective on account of its small dimensions. Very definitely is the central idea expressed in a beautiful ceiling in the Ehinger Hof in Ulm. (Fig. 273 ³¹⁷). A masterwork of free composition is the magnificent ceiling of the Golden Hall in the City Hall in Augsburg (see the adjacent plate); Holl's ability for grand arrangement here appears in a splendid manner.

Note 316. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 2.

Note 317. From the same. Abt. 20.

118. Mantles and Stoves.

To the immovable articles of equipment yet belong mantles and stoves. Both forms were already developed in the middle

ages. The fireplace consists of the placed for the fire recessed in the wall, and the projecting hood to receive the smoke. This rests on a cornice, that is supported by free supports or by consoles. The general motive is always the same; many variations occur in the details. The mantle affords especial opportunity for the development of rich decoration. Particularly in the Netherlands and the Hansa cities occur splendid examples. I mention the mantles in the City Halls at Antwerp³¹⁸, at Kampen,³¹⁸ at Lübeck and Danzig;³¹⁸ all are excelled in richness and splendor by the mantle in Franc de Bruges (1529 - 1531), executed by Guyot de Beauregard.³¹⁸ Simpler are the beautiful mantles in Castle Schwöllern near Hameln, in the Palace at Baden and elsewhere. A good example from the early period (1535) is the mantle in the upper story of the Trausnitz near Landshut (Fig. 274³¹⁹).

Note 318. See Ewerbeck, Hefte 5, 6, 23, 24. Also Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 43, 78. Then Ysendyck. Cheminees, 874.

Note 319. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 21.

Like the mantle, the stove had already found its typical form in the middle ages. It consists of a fire space apparently cubical, above which rises a more slender and usually octagonal upper part.

Variations from this type occur, but remain exceptional. The stove of the early Renaissance (Fig. 275³²⁰) is built of Dutch tiles of moderate sizes. (6.31 to 7.1 × 7.1 to 11.0 ins.). The tiles are adorned by figures or ornamental reliefs and are glazed in green or different colors. The artistic aim is directed to the details and the general effect is not sought in the elevation but in the coloring. But already about the middle of the 16th century the elevation becomes architectural; each part terminates with base and cornice, and the angles are formed as pilasters, columns or hermes figures; likewise the motives of the panels become combined; a vase, a coat of arms, a portrait medallion or an entire figure (Fig. 276³²¹). One of the earliest stoves of this kind stands in the Citadel at Nuremberg; it is ascribed to Augustin Hirschvogel; the ornament exhibits motives, that Peter Flötner introduced into Nuremberg. Then the dimensions are increased,

and the elevation even becomes richer. The highest in Barocco splendor was undertaken by Adam Vogt from Landsberg in the stove of the Fürstenzimmer in the City Hall at Augsburg and in Palace Eurasburg. More moderate and very gracefully constructed is a stove in the Fürstenzimmer, that is attributed to the potter Melchior Lott from Weilheim (Fig. 277 ³²²). These stoves produce their chief effect by their rich relief.

Note 320. From Röper, A. & H. Bösch. Sammlung von Oefen in allen Stilarten vom XVI bis Anfang des XIX Jahrhunderts. Munich. 1895.

Note 321. From Deutsche Renaissance. Plate 8.

Note 322. From the same. Plate 6.

In Switzerland, men seek to enhance the effect of the stove by painting. The elevation and relief decoration of the Swiss stoves remain on the plan reached after the middle of the 16th century. The relief ornamentation is limited to the structural parts; the plane panels are decorated by paintings in different colors or are blue on a white ground. Characteristic for Swiss stoves is the so-called art; a raised seat behind the stove. The beautiful stove of Hans Pfau from Winterthur (1644) in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg (Fig. 279 ³²⁴) may illustrate the type.

Note 323. From Deutsche Renaissance. Vol. 9.

Note 324. From Röper, A. & H. Bösch. Sammlung von Ofen etc.

Clay was not the exclusive material for stoves. Cast iron stoves already occur in the early 16th century. An interesting stove of 1539, on which motives of the beginning Renaissance are found together with Gothic tracery, stands in the Dürnitz of the Trausnitz near Landshut. Stoves were also exceptionally constructed of wrought iron. A graceful stove of this kind is in Palace Röthelstein near Admont (Fig. 278 ³²³); it belongs to the close of the period in 1655.

The stoves were often heated from outside, as still common up to the middle of the 19th century. If the opening to the fire-pot was placed in a commonly accessible room, then the stove doors were also artistically treated. We see such in the corridors of Nuremberg City Hall and in very much overloaded form in the Peller House there (Fig. 280 ³²⁵).

Note 325. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 1.

Chapter 19. Equipment of Churches.

119. Character.

The equipment of churches is a domain, for which the German Renaissance has cared by preference. It has created much in this and many good things, but indeed has rather overloaded many churches. The picturesque conceptions of our time find a decadence in these richly furnished churches; but one must not overlook, that the too great richness in articles of furniture affords opportunity for the internal effect. The living room of the German Renaissance is comfortable and usable; 230 its church is likewise so. But what is the advantage there, is here a defect. Very few churches of the 16 th and 17 th centuries are monumental.

120. Stucco Decoration.

Men adhered to the Gothic design in church construction, and the Gothic churches of this late period are very simple in their architectural treatment. They exceptionally receive a decoration in the style of the German Renaissance. In S. Luzen near Hechingen (1158; Fig. 281 326), a corbelled columnar order with entablature is placed for about one-third the height of the wall, above which rises a Gothic net vault. B Between the columns are niches with figures; the surfaces remaining free are covered by incrustated ornaments. The form 231 treatment is bold and effective; but the inorganic character of the entire system is evident, when the eye is directed to the imposts of the vault. An allied tendency is found in the chapel of the Peterhof in Freiberg-i-E (About 1580). Also the rich ornamental decoration by stucco reliefs and painting of the chapel in the Wilhelmsburg near Smalkald is German.

Note 326. From Zingeler & Lowe. Die Bau- und Kunst- denkmäler in den Hohenzollerischen Landen. Stuttgart. 1899.

In churches in Italian, or the Renaissance derived therefrom, and in Barocco, stucco decoration is the rule. The wall piers, or where these are wanting, the walls receive a system of pilasters, which is terminated by a cornice next the vaults; the subdivision of the vaults rises from this. (See Art. 91 and Figs. 118 to 120). The border mouldings of the subdivisions of the vaults are decorated by pearl beads, heart leaves

and other series of ornaments; the panels either remain free or are adorned by plant ornaments, with angels' heads, or even by entire figures. The churches in upper Bavaria, some of which I mentioned in Art. 91, are furnished in this manner. Here has been developed a school of stucco workers on the buildings of the Bavarian princes. It proceeds from S. Michael in Munich, reaches its climax in the Royal Palace through various stages of development, but soon subsides after the completion of the Royal Palace. A charming little work is the Palace chapel of the Bishop at Freising from 1621 ³²⁸; yet the forms have already become more heavy. A further step characterizes the Church of S. Carl Eorromeo in Munich (1621-1628 ³²⁹), and then the Foundation Church in Polling (1621-1628 ³³⁰), which are followed by the Churches in Weilheim (1624 - 1631 ³³¹) and Beurberg (1628 - 1630 ³³²). In the second half of the thirty years' war, no other monument originated; but directly after the war, the same style was again resumed in Moschenfeld. ³³³ Then succeed the Churches of S. Maria Birnbaum near Aichach (1661 - 1665 ³³⁴), Habach (1663 - 1668 ³³⁵), Ilgen and Klein-Hollendorf in the Rosenheim district. An allied but by no means identical mode of decoration is found in some buildings in the Steiermark, thus on the Tomb Chapel at Seckau (1587 - 1592) and on that at Ehrenhausen. (1606 - 1614 ³³⁶).

Note 327. From a photograph.

Note 328. Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern. Vol. 1, pl. 46.

Note 329. See the same. Vol. 1. Pl. 167.

Note 330. See the same. Vol. 1. Pls. 100, 101.

Note 331. See the same. Vol. 1. Pl. 104.

Note 332. See the same. Vol. 1. Pl. 121.

Note 333. See the same. Vol. 1. Pl. 113.

Note 334. See the same. Vol. 1. Pl. 32.

Note 335. See the same. Vol. 1. Pl. 93.

Note 336. Both chapels are illustrated in Deutsche Renaissance. Vol. 9.

121. Galleries and Organ Lofts.

As parts of the building are to be considered galleries, organ lofts and rood screens, even though not always in organic connection with the church building. The railings of the two

first afford wide play for the love of ornamentation. The organ loft in the Minster at Constance (Fig. 282 ³²⁷) is a noteworthy work of the early period (about 1520) and is Gothic; there appear in the decoration all sorts of motives of the early Renaissance, that are charmingly and freshly designed and splendidly executed.

Generally the gallery and organ railings are designed in a series of panels enclosed by mouldings, or separated by columns or pilasters, and terminated by cornices above and beneath. The surfaces are filled by ornaments, reliefs or paintings. The motive, that also occurs in the railings of pulpits, passes through all variations from a simple and clear arrangement to the most Barocco distortions of the forms.

122. Rood Screens.

Rood screens were still frequently constructed in the 16 th century in the Netherlands, but only exceptionally in Germany. Whether the strict separation of the choir in the Netherlands found admission from Spain is not to be investigated here.

233 Some of the Netherland rood screens, like that in the Parish Church at Dixmude and the one in S. Gommaire at Lierns, both from the 16 th century, are treated in a wild late Gothic.

234 The rich choir screen in S. Maria in Capitol at Cologne, now serving as an organ screen, is likewise a Netherlandish work; it was made in Mechlin in 1524, a rich and splendid work of the early Renaissance of Flanders. The choir screen in the Cathedral at Hildesheim ³³⁹ was finished in 1546, and is the work of a north German artist, alike masterly in design and execution; from the quiet lower part upwards occurs a development into the highest magnificence. The choir screen in the Cathedral at Herzogenbusch ³⁴⁰ now in South Kensington Museum in London, is a stately work of the best Netherlandish Renaissance; three arches are supported by coupled Doric columns, above being a high railing; the composition is simple and clear, and the form treatment is pure and strong.

Note 337. *From Ewerbeck.*

Note 338. *Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 53.*

Note 339. *Blätter für Architecture und Kunsthandwerk. Jahr. 2. Pl. 77.*

Note 340. *Ewerbeck. Hefte 15 - 16; pl. 241.*

123. Choir Enclosures.

Further separation of the choir from the aisle around it or the side choirs was effected by choir enclosures or choir stalls. Choir enclosures, such as are common in the Netherlands, are unusual in Germany; but they scarcely differ in their motives from the chapel enclosures, which occur in most of the larger churches. The lower part of the Netherland choir enclosures is closed; the upper portion permits an open view toward the choir or the chapel.

A beautiful grille of the early period, a transition from Gothic to Renaissance, is possessed by the Church of S. Gertrude at Nivelles.³⁴¹ The composition is uncertain, but the details are charming. Later was developed a system, that is similar to the wainscoting. The lower part is treated as a base; on it stand half columns or pilasters with a cornice, and above this sometimes rise additions. The spaces are closed by panels in the base, and in the upper part are filled with balusters of wood or brass. The choir enclosures in Enkhuizen (1542³⁴²) are uncommonly clearly and finely constructed, all details corresponding to the delicate character of the whole, very restrained, and the ornament is elastically designed and excellently carved. Drier and more effective are the choir enclosures of S. Michael in Zwolle (Fig. 283³³⁷), the bold system of half columns being crowned by additions like cartouches. A further advance is indicated by the enclosures of the tomb of Enno II in the Great Church at Emden³⁴⁴; here alternate in general as well as in detail; systems, columns and caryatids; they are depressed; all relief is bad, but the effect is heavy.

Note 341. Yseniyck. Clotures. Pl. 4.

Note 342. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 55.

Note 343. Ewerbeck. Hefte 11-12. Pl. 14.

Note 344. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 60.

235- Such enclosures are rare in south Germany; the beautiful enclosures of the Tomb Chapel in Seckau³⁴³ are isolated. On the contrary, wrought iron grilles are preferred as enclosures of chapels. The charm of these grilles depends chiefly on the beautiful and elastic movement of the lines. (Fig. 284³³⁸).

Note 345. *Ysendyck. Stalles. Pl. 2.*

Note 346. *Deutsche Renaissance. Vol. 9.*

239 In cathedrals, monastery and foundation churches, the choir stalls sometimes serve as enclosures of the choir next the side aisle. The Netherlands likewise have preeminence here and exhibit numerous choir stalls of high perfection.

The Renaissance treats the choir stalls architecturally from the first after the methods of Italy; above the division walls of the seats rise a system of half columns or pilasters; even entire columns occur. Actually earliest are the choir stalls in the Minster at Berne (Fig. 285³⁴²); already in the years 240 1522 - 1524, they were constructed by the masters Jacob Rufer and Heini Seewagen, perhaps after a design by Peter Flötner; the composition is still immature, but the technical execution is very good. Above a higher system rises a smaller upper one, between whose pilasters are placed in niches busts of Christ and of the Apostles; a rich ornamental crowning terminates the whole. Entirely simple, but very expressive are the choir stalls from 1534 at Steingaden in upper Bavaria.

Magnificent choir stalls already originated in the Netherlands during the late Gothic period. The love for them continued until in the 18th century, and each phase of development shows important works. The stalls in the Great Church at Dordrecht (Fig. 286³⁴⁵) were constructed in 1538 - 1542 by Jan Terwen (Jean Terwenne); they combine with all the charm of the early Renaissance a very clear architectural elevation, and they have an unsurpassed perfection in execution. As a type of a further step in development may be designated the stalls in the City Hall at Nymwegen³⁵⁵ of 1555, though serving a secular purpose --; in place of pilasters occur Doric half columns. The youthful charm of the Dordrecht stalls has disappeared there, the form treatment is severe and dry. Freer and richer are the beautiful stalls in the Church of S. Martin at Ypres (1598²⁵⁶), executed by Taillebert from Ypres, in the Church at Loo and in that at Nieuport; the two last are very similar; the ornament begins to become Barocco. The Barocco enhances the magnificence to the limit of the possible; all forms become massive; twisted columns wound with flower

wreaths rest on projecting consoles and support other consoles, that receive the cornice; the columns are replaced by hermes forms and even by figures, which have no connection with the construction. (Fig. 287 ³⁴⁶). The panels of the rear walls also receive bold reliefs. On the stalls of the Church at Woun ³⁵⁸ are niches in the rear walls between massive columns, in which stand statues of about two-thirds life size. It must not be difficult to find in Italy parallels to many of these stalls.

Stalls equally grand as those in the Netherlands scarcely occur in Germany. In some of the best are undeniably found Netherlandish influences. This is first true of the beautiful stalls in S. Michael at Munich (1589 ³⁵⁹), that were certainly not designed by Wendel Dietrich, who constructed them. Likewise the splendid stalls at Wettingen in Switzerland may I refer to Netherland rather than Italian prototypes. Of simpler ²⁷²works, the Brendel's choir stalls in the Cathedral at Wentz are one of the best. In the 17 th century, magnificence also increases in German choir stalls, unfortunately often at the cost of clearness in composition. The choir stalls at Carthaus in West Prussia (Fig. 288 ³⁴⁶) have in the south a parallel in those at Buxheim near Memmingen; on both, the supports of the rear wall are replaced by projecting ornamental forms, that scarcely rise from the unquiet decoration; a restless & glimmering wavers in the entire appearance.

Note 347. Ysendyck. Pl. 17.

Note 348. From a photograph.

Note 349. From Clemm. I. Pl. 6.

Note 350. From a photograph.

Note 351. From Heise. Bau- und Kunst-denkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen. Danzig.

Note 352. From Friesenegger, J. H. Die Hauptaltäre der St. Ulrichskirche etc. Augsburg. 1888.

Note 353. Ysendyck. Tabernacle. Pl. 1.

Note 354. From Fritsch.

Note 355. Ysendyck. Stalles. Pl. 3.

Note 356. The same. Pl. 4.

Note 357. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 59.

Note 358.

Note 358. See the same. Pl. 5.

Note 359. Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern etc. Vol. 1. Pl. 164. Munich. 1892 - 1895.

124. Altars.

The late mediaeval form of the altar is that with folding wings. A shrine on a low pedestal, the predello, contains figures of saints or groups from the history of the saints; (this especially in Flanders and on the lower Rhine); Sometimes figures also stand at both sides of the shrine on projections like consoles. The shrine can be closed by single or double pairs of wings. The wings bear paintings, that almost always relate to the legends of the titular saint. The Renaissance likewise transformed the altar with wings into an architectural structure. This architectural change was never carried out with entire consistency in the German Renaissance; but we indeed find scarcely architectural altars built in churches of the Italian and Italian-like tendency in style.

The development then begins with the introduction of Renaissance motives in the decoration of the altar shrine. We find this on many altars in Flanders and also on the lower Rhine³⁶⁰; we note it on the altar of the miners in Annaberg³⁶¹; on the altar of S. Rochus' Chapel in Nuremberg (Fig. 12) and elsewhere. On the altar of S. Johann in Kalkar (Fig. 289³⁴⁹) the general form of the shrine is still Gothic, all ornament being Renaissance, on the contrary, one of the maturest beauty. Still late and in the year 1572 was erected in the upper Parish Church at Ingoldstadt a great winged altar from designs by Hans Mielich.³⁶³ The elevation of the shrine is rich, yet still clear; the crowning part mingles the forms of a Renaissance passing into Barocco with late Gothic details into a splendidly fanciful general effect; the forms of the wrought iron work are executed in monumental size.

Note 360. See Ysendyck. Retable. III: Sculpture, 23; further Clemm. Vol. 1. Pls. 5, 7.

Note 361. Steche. IV. Appendix 10.

Note 362. Ewerbeck.

Note 363. Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern. Vol. 1. Pl. 9. Munich. 1892 - 1895.

Altar wings could be added, so long as the architectural treatment of the altar was not extended to receive columns; when this followed, they must be omitted. They are already wanting on the main altar at Annaberg (Fig. 15, 1522). But the width beyond the predella peculiar to the altar with wings is retained, and it also was not abandoned later. All principles of composition of the German Renaissance altar are already given in this early work. The typical ground form is common to the South and the North. It was endlessly varied in details. In place of representations in relief within the shrine already appear in the early period of the 16th century altar paintings (Fandau altar by Albrecht Dürer, altar by M. Weselen in the upper Parish Church at Ingolstadt); about the end of the century, they become the rule.

The altar then indeed received the form represented in Fig. 290³⁵⁰), on which the external intercolumniation is not closed. Statues were placed in this open space. The outer columns are frequently omitted. The figures then either stand entirely free, or above them projects a form like a horn, so that they appear to stand under the canopy. This upper addition is variously modified. The high altar of the Church in Zuckau in West Prussia (Fig. 291³⁵¹), a good Danzig work from the beginning of the 17th century, already has a tabernacle; the elevation is rich; but the masses are not detached from each other.

In the great Jesuit churches the elevations of the altars were increased to colossal dimensions. Very beautiful is that of the Jesuit College in Cologne; less successful is the high altar in S. Michael in Munich. The three chief altars of S. Ulrich in Augsburg (Fig. 292³⁵²), which were constructed between the years 1603 and 1606 by Johann Degler and Elias Greuter from Weilheim, are scarcely excelled in free grouping and elegant elevations.

Such a loosely connected elevation as that of the altars of S. Ulrich presumes wood as the material; the composition must be more intimately connected for altars of stone. Richness in arrangement was not then excluded, as proved by the splendid altar of the Palace chapel in Aschaffenburg, or by that

of the Agnes Bernauer Chapel in Straubing; but in general the material required simpler treatment. The side altars in S. Michael in Munich, those in Salzburg Cathedral and others are simple columnar shrines.

The altar elevation of the German Renaissance was developed from the Gothic altar with wings under the influence of the Italian motive of the shrine. It would be attractive to follow out the contemporary relation of both motives in the course of the development. Unfortunately the material for a successful pursuit of this investigation has not yet been collected.

125. Tabernacles.

In the middle ages the sacred host was not kept on the high altar, but was preserved in a separate receptacle, the tabernacle. Gothic tabernacles are either niches in the wall of the choir, enclosed by architectural motives and closed by an iron grille, or they are tower-like structures. Also during the Renaissance period were produced isolated tabernacles. The most important is that in S. Leonard at Egan in Belgium; (Fig. 293 ³⁵³); it was erected in 1552 by Cornelius Floris (de Vriendt) from Antwerp. The Gothic motive of the high spire is happily translated into the Renaissance. The elevation is subdivided clearly and the formal treatment is excellent. The tabernacle in Ueberlingen of 1611 (Fig. 274 ³⁵⁴), three light porticos above each other is well arranged in diminution, and it is a remarkable work of the late German Renaissance. One should notice the side niches with figures in the wall, taken from a time, when it already had its normal place on the high altar.

126. Pulpits.

The motive of the composition of the pulpit is transferred complete from late Gothic; the Renaissance did not change it; this treated it only in details. The German pulpit is always attached to the wall or to a pier of the church, a podium with parapet, either corbelled out or supported on a column, to which a stairway ascends. Over the pulpit is a sounding-board, usually crowned by a fanciful structure.

Already in 1526 under Albrecht von Brandenburg, the Cathedral in Halle received a pulpit in the style of the early Ren-

Renaissance. The design is not clearly expressed in the abundance of small motives, but much is charming in the details. On the railing of the stairway and of the pulpit are placed the relief figures of the four Evangelists and of the four fathers of the church. These, and sometimes even the entire series of the Apostles, are found on many pulpits. Clearer is the subdivision on the pulpit of the Church of S. Maria in Zwickau of the year 1538, a work of the Saxon school. The type of the developed Renaissance is shown by the pulpit of the Church of S. Peter in Rostock of 1538 (Fig. 295 ³⁶⁷). The columnais here replaced by a figure of the Apostle Peter. Figures as supporters of the pulpit are also found elsewhere. The typical form is now frequently varied in details, and it also appears on the pulpits, that just the always repeated use of a motive charms the imagination and always brings to light new and original solutions.

I select a few from the great multitude; S. Jürgen in Wismar (1606 ³⁶⁶), without pier, broad and massive, very Barocco in details; S. Martin in Bremen (after 1600), without pier, graceful and with rich carving, allied to the sculptures of the Guldensammer; S. Andreas in Hildesheim (1642 ³⁶⁷), generally very effective, without projection; the Foundation Church in Aschaffenburg (1602 ³⁶⁸), German Barocco, very richly and splendidly executed in stone; S. Michael in Lüneburg (1602 ³⁶⁷), the figures by an imitator of Jacopo Sansovino. To the Netherlandish series belongs the pulpit in the Cathedral of Treves by Ruprich Hoffmann in 1570, the elevation clear and firm, the detail in the so-called Floris' style. All are surpassed in the grand elevation of its sounding-board by the pulpit on the Cathedral at Herzogenbusch (about 1570; Fig. 296 ³⁶²), perhaps a work of Jan Termens.

Note 364. From Heise. Bau- und Kunst-denkmäler der Provinz West-Preussen. Vol. 2. Danzig.

Note 365. From Ysendyck.

Note 366. Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 59.

Note 367. Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahr. 2. Pl. 47.

Note 368. From the same. Pl. 8.

Note 369. From the same. Jahr. 5. Pl. 83.

127. Organs.

If for pulpits the motive is always the same, always to be worked out anew, then the elevation of the organ presents the possibility of the most diverse combinations. But a limitation occurs therein, that in the pipes must be employed materials of given sizes, forms and color; therefore the same motive recurs again on the different parts of the elevation. The earliest organs are that in the Fugger Chapel at Augsburg, (1518; Fig. 13) and the one in the Cathedral at Constance, (Fig. 281), whose arrangement is indeed no longer the original one. A beautiful organ from the 16th century is possessed by the Church of S. George in Nördlingen.

In the beginning of the 17th century, organs attained great dimensions. The organ in the Church of S. Maria at Thorn (1609; Fig. 297³⁶⁴) is distinguished by its clear and yet rich arrangement, but is not one of the largest. Very picturesquely grouped is the organ in S. Stephen at Tangermünde (1624). The most important must be that of the Cathedral at Herzogenbusch.³⁷³

Note 370. See Ewerbeck.

Note 371. The design for this organ is preserved in the Museum at Basle.

Note 372. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahr. 3. Pl. 94. This is also the tomb plate.

Note 373. See Ewerbeck.

The frequent combination in Protestant churches of the altar, pulpit and organ in one group has not found entirely satisfactory solutions.

128. Baptismal Fonts.

Fonts, baptisteries and holy water stoups seldom found full development in the German Renaissance, of which is capable the beautiful motive of a basin standing on a base. The material there from ancient times is bronze or stone. Some beautiful works in the first material are possessed by the Netherlands. The font in Notre Dame at Diest (Fig. 298³⁶⁵) rests on a marble support, an original composition of the early period. More important is the font in the great Church at Breda (Fig. 299³⁷⁰). The tall cover, that is suspended from a wr

wrought iron arm, unfortunately has been deprived of its figure ornament. The execution in stone requires a bolder treatment of the base. Good examples are at Marktbreit in Franconia, in the lower Parish Church at Ingolstadt (1608), in the great Church at Emden, in the Cathedral at Güstrow and elsewhere; yet in perfected treatment they do not equal other articles of equipment in the church. Of holy water stoups, none in Germany actually from the time of the Renaissance is known to me.

129. Tombs and Memorials.

With the equipment of the churches are to be reckoned finally the tombs and memorials. Even if they serve no liturgical purpose, they frequently distinctively influence the general appearance of the interior of the church. Moreover among these monuments are many prominent art works. The tomb affords the highest problem for decorative sculpture.

The middle ages recognize as the chief types of the memorial the sepulchral plate (memorial brass), the elevated tomb, and the memorial. On the differences and the relations of the sepulchral slab and the memorial, Alfred Schröder³⁷⁵ has published a fine investigation, on which are based the following statements. The original memorial from the early middle ages onward was the sepulchral plate, which was inserted over the grave in the floor of the church or the cloisters, and it bore the arms or the image of the deceased. The representation was either merely incised in outline in the plate, or it was executed in relief. The location of the plate on the floor permitted no high relief; yet it passed to such already about the end of the 11th century. But men could no longer simply inlay such plates in the pavement; they must be raised above it. In such manner, men came to the so-called elevated tomb, where the slab rests on a rectangular substructure, or the slab was laid on isolated supports.

Note 374. From Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk. Jahr. 8. Pl. 34.

Note 375. Die Monumente des Augsburger Domkreuzganges. Jahrbuch des Historischen Verein Dillingen. XI. p. 83 et seq.

But the origin of the memorial was different. It was orig-

originally merely a memorial of a pious foundation, and the representation originally had no relation to death and life, but was merely a memorial object. The designation of memorial (cenotaph) is thus but inappropriately applied to these early memorial slabs. Yet in the course of time there result relations with both, which follow from the burial of the founder in the vicinity of the memorial slab. Sometimes sepulchral slabs and memorials occur beside each other; sometimes the sepulchral slab is not let into the floor, but is placed upright on the wall like the memorial; occasionally the memorial takes its place.

At the beginning of the Renaissance, the tomb and memorial no longer have different types of form, but they differ only by the objects represented; on one is the image of the deceased, on the other being a memorial figure, Maria with the Christ Child, the Man of Sorrows, the Crucifixion; there is frequently the founder in prayer before the Son of God, whether alone or with his family, indeed under the protection of his patron and other saints.

We have here to consider the tombs on merely their formal side. The sepulchral plate generally still occurs, at least in the early period. The composition differs but little from the late Gothic. The border is occupied by the inscription. In its place already early occurs ornaments. On the surface the deceased is represented standing; the cushions under the ²⁴⁹head are found but exceptionally. He stands beneath an arch indeed or under a shrine. ³⁷⁸ We find this in a very undeveloped form on the sepulchral slab of Peter von Altenhaus, who died in 1513, in S. Jodok at Landshut. Besides sepulchral slabs occur bronze plates. Some of the best come from Vischer's foundry in Nuremberg; two very beautiful examples are found in the Palace Church at Aschaffenburg; a sepulchral slab and a memorial of Albrecht von Brandenburg (Fig. 300 ³⁷²). I further recall the works of Cordt Mende in Lübeck and the beautiful sepulchral slab of Gottfried Werner von Zimmern in Messkirch ³⁷⁹ by Pankraz Labenwolf from Nuremberg. In Saxony incised bronze plates are common. Their designs do not differ from those of the relief slabs. Beautiful examples are

found in Freiberg in the Hartz Mountains and in Meissen.

Note 376. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 59.

Note 377. From Heise. Bau- und Kunst-denkmäler des Provinz Westpreussen. Vol. 2. Danzig.

Note 378. See Die Kunstdenkmale des Königsreichs Bayern etc. Vol. 1. Pl. 70. Munich. 1892 - 1895.

Note 379. See Kraus, F. X. Die Kunstdenkmäler des Grossherzogstums Baden. Vol. 5. Pl. 4. Freiberg-i-B.

For all these slabs is previously given the motive, and their merit only lies in the good arrangement in detail and in the care for their development in form. Very important is the correct size of the figure; this is not always found. The figure on the beautiful plate by Labenwolf in Messkirch is too small and the surface is too broad; the space seems vaca

On many early sepulchral slabs the deceased stands in a niche, or at least beneath an arch. It is only a step from this arrangement to a shrine. That inexhaustible motive found acceptance quite early in tomb sculpture. Peter Vischer's tomb of Friedrich the Wise in the Palace Church at Wittenberg (1527; Fig. 301 ³⁷⁴) has a monumental effect, based less on the proportions than on the good graduation of the relief.

The motive was then enriched and extended in various ways. On the memorial of Count Wilhelm von Zimmern in Messkirch ³⁸ by Wolfgang Neidhard from Ulm, the predella has side projections, on which perforated ornament rises beside the pilaster. ²⁵⁰ Then occur figures beside the shrine. (Fig. 302 ³⁷⁶); also niches are arranged beside the middle part; the upper termination becomes richer; the memorial is in two stories and finally becomes a show piece in four divisions, that sometimes occupies the entire height of the church. In the development of memorials appear many suggestions of the altar; indeed they cannot be entirely separated.

Note 380. From a photograph.

Note 381. See Kraus. Vol. 1. Pl. 5.

A series of the best were executed by Loy Hering from Eichstatt. Simply in three divisions is the memorial of the knight Johann von Eltz and his wife (1548 ³⁸²) in the Carmelite Church at Boppard; the middle panel contains a relief of the

Baptism of Christ; in the side panels kneel the praying figures of the knight and his lady; the ornament is magnificently treated. Entirely Italian is the stately memorial of Bishop Petrus Kostka in Kulmsee (Fig. 303 ³⁷⁷); the sarcophagus is decorated in the middle with the recumbent figure of the deceased, which does not occur on German tombs within my knowledge, but is almost the rule in Italy. Among German tombs is a series of the best in the Palace Church at Pforzheim. Very beautiful is the Tomb of Duchess Anna Ursula Wilhelmine von Braunschweig (1601; Fig. 304 ³⁸⁰) in the Church at Crailsheim; it is already ready belongs to the beginning Barocco, but is splendidly executed, and also the figure of the deceased is very expressively treated.

Note 382. See Kraus. Abt. 50. (This is probably a reference to Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 50).

In the great churches of northern Germany are found numerous memorials of very rich elevations, that do not rest on the floor, but are suspended on the walls or piers. The support from which the memorial rises, is developed as a suspended triangle with a wide top. First see Fig. 302. Among the very large examples, that of Senator Hermann Müller (1626) in St. Martin at Bremen (Fig. 305 ²³³) is one of the most solid; the elevation in several stories is rich and animated by movement; the proportions are very good; different colors of marble and partial polychromy enhance the effect. Yet rich and overloaded in Barocco, but with refined treatment of form is the memorial of Provost Otto von Dargeloh (died 1625) in the western transept of the Cathedral at Münster. Those best in rich and free grouping are those executed by the Magdeburg master Bastian Ertle in the early part of the 17th century in the Cathedrals at Magdeburg and Halberstadt (Fig. 306). The memorial of Bishop Venemar von Aschebroch und Malenberg in the Cathedral at Münster with the representation of the Scourging of Christ is very skilfully executed in the wild Barocco.

Note 383. From Deutsche Renaissance. Abt. 34.

Note 384. From a photograph.

The elevated tomb is not entirely wanting, but is rare.

Further transformations of the type cannot be entered on here.

The elevated tomb is not entirely wanting, but is rare. In the foundation church at Tübingen, the two high tombs of duchess Dorothea Ursula and of duke Louis are good works of the late 16th century, yet without higher importance. Likewise the double tomb of the electors Joachim V and John Cicero in the cathedral at Berlin by Peter Vischner are not counted among the best works of the foundry. Very important is the cenotaph of Louis the Bavarian in the Frauenkirche at Munich,³⁸⁵ cast in 1622 by Dionysius Frey after designs by Peter Candid. On the tomb of emperor Maximilian in the Court church at Innsbruck is the great idea of representing the emperor in an assembly of his ancestors, and is scarcely injured by the faulty execution; but one believes that he should regard the entirety and not the separate figures. The same is true of the series of dukes of Württemberg in the palace church at Stuttgart. On the contrary the general monument of the Saxon electors in the choir of the cathedral at Freiberg, designed by Nosseni, is equally important in design and execution; it is built in two orders; in the lower are the kneeling figures of princes and princesses, in the upper being prophets; beside the altar below are allegorical figures of Christianity and Justice, above being Hope and Faith; quite at the top is a stucco relief of the last judgment. The figures as well as the ornaments are finely executed.

Note 38 . Kunstdenkmale des Königreichs Bayern etc. Vol. I. Pl. 144. Munich. 1892-1895.

Chapter 20. Ornament.

130. Survey.

A thorough illustration of the ornaments of the German Renaissance lies outside the plan of my work. Here will be given only a brief survey. A history of the German Renaissance ornament is not yet written; yet at least Lichtwark has given a basis for it in his book on engraved ornament.^{38/} He also gives a nomenclature for the different species of ornament, that I have adopted with some variations.

Note 386. From Ysendyck.

Note 387. From Lichtwark, A. *Der Ornamentstich der deutschen Frührenaissance* etc. Berlin. 1888.

A systematic treatment of the objects will thereby be made more difficult, since the categories frequently pass into each other, and the separation cannot avoid caprices.

The starting points from which the Renaissance ornament came to Germany are there named for the German Renaissance; upper Italy, France and Burgundy; for the buildings of the German Renaissance lie entirely in the domain of ornament.

131. Scroll Work.

The first ornamental form of the Renaissance, that entered from Italy, is the scroll work or arabesque. It occurs in Italy as purely plant ornament, but is also permeated by animal or tectonic elements. The plants, that give the motives, are numerous. In the first line stands the acanthus, in the Renaissance being always the soft-leaved type, then the vine, fig, white bryony, ivy and others. The forms are always conventionalized. The development of the scrolls and leaves is either from a vertical axis of symmetry, or it moves in a series of spirals. The plant stem is termed the middle axis, and not seldom is interrupted at suitable places by forms like vases, indeed also closed above or below. In the Tuscan as in the better Venetian ornament predominates the pure plant form; in the Lombard not only the stem but also the scrolls are interrupted by art forms or end in wide volutes. Scrolls occur everywhere, from which come human or animal half figures. Cupids, birds, lizards and other animals generally climb around in the scrolls. In the composition more regard is indeed paid to filling the surface, but yet more to beautiful and elastic lines, not only

in the spirals of the scrolls, but also in the movement of the leaves, and ugly bends as well as hard breaks in the lines are carefully avoided. The composition is calculated for execution in low relief.

Germany and Netherlands adopted scroll work with all these peculiarities; but only the Flemish Renaissance approaches Italian or French models in freedom of the course of the lines, in graduation of the relief and perfect execution. (Fig. 307),³⁸⁶ It likewise knows how to pleasingly treat the acanthus, although in pattern form. A characteristic is the bold projection of the separate leaves from the delicate relief, whereby piquant effects of shade are produced.

In Germany the style of the ornament changes just at the first adoption, and local differences make themselves felt early. To thoroughly characterize them in a limited space is impossible.

Renaissance ornament first finds acceptance in Augsburg and extends from thence into southwest Germany. Soon Basel besides Augsburg becomes a second centre. Contrasted with Italian ornament all forms are broader and heavier: the scrolls no longer curve in large and delicate spirals, but become bold and capable of resistance, and they seldom have more than one turn. [Likewise to the purity of line is not devoted such great care as in Italy. Further, the ornament is seldom purely plant forms; beginnings and endings as intersections, are capriciously shaped as vases, dolphins, cornucopias or volutes. A thorough study of nature is lacking, such as are always to be found in Italian scroll ornament. The acanthus is treated entirely in pattern forms when executed in relief, and the delicate and elastic eyes become heavy and fleshy leaves without movement. (Fig. 308).³⁸⁸ Besides the acanthus also continually occur other leaves in the ornament; most common is a trilobed leaf, termed a fig leaf.

Note 388. From a photograph.

The South German school is allied to the Saxon. To its connection with Lombardy I have already referred in Arts. 31, 32. Its ornament is wrought with visible love, but is involved in the course of the lines, and is often feeble in the details. Some rises to a freer treatment, thus the ornament on the stairway door of the Dresden palace.

From South Germany Nuremberg is another centre. Here Peter Vischer first employed pure Renaissance ornament. It is always very carefully modeled; the drawing is assured; but the motives are little. The small leaves of the acanthus have no deep incisions with Vischer, their ends do not curve, but sometimes end in little volutes. Also the ascending ornament on pilasters is composed of little motives. (Figs. 309, 310).³⁸⁹ The father's style was also retained by the sons. Peter Flötner on the contrary shapes the scroll work with tolerable freedom, as the frieze in the Hirschvogel hall shows; one recognizes the study of Italian models.

Note 389. From *Blätter of Arch. und Kunsthandwerk*. Year 3. Plate 9.

The Augsburg, like the Nuremberg relief is kept in moderate relief and has a rather flat effect. In Saxony the relief is stronger.

In Netherlands, besides the very graceful Flemish ornamentation, there prevails a somewhat dryer tendency. Favored are medallions with heads in full relief as middle pieces of panels, whose remaining surface is filled with scroll work. (Fig. 311)³⁹⁰ If the foliage in this ornament develops more broadly than in the more delicate Flemish, still the execution always remains careful, and certain peculiarities of the formal and technical treatment are common to both. The same style extends on the lower Rhine. Splendidly drawn ornament is also found in Westphalia; besides the frequently mentioned wainscoting in the chapter hall of the cathedral at Münster and that of the Fredens hall and the choir stalls of S. Ludiger (Fig. 312) are to be mentioned.³⁹¹ The ornament is freely arranged in the space. Besides the very graceful foliage occur coarser forms in the dolphins and the broad volutes. To the Rhenish-Westphalian circle of forms also belongs the beautiful door of a case in the Dresden Museum of Art Industry. (Fig. 313).³⁹² The Rhenish-Westphalian ornament has small forms; the distribution on the surface is uniform and abundant; the relief is bold; it is drawn with greater certainty and splendidly carved. In lower Saxony the forms are broader, and the course of the lines less elastic.

Note 390. From *Ysendyck. Sculptures*. Plate 12.

Note 391. From Deutsche Renaissance. Part 38.

Note 392. From Blätter für Arch. und. Kunsthandwerk. Year 5. Plate 88.

132. Grotesques.

The grotesque is a complex sort. The limit of expression to ornaments, in which tectonic motives, human figures and animals, whether in natural forms or decoratively transformed, as well as naturally represented plants, appear beside the scroll work as of equal value. A fixed limit for this cannot be drawn. The style of grotesques is connected with the mode of their execution; by nature they are painted ornaments. As the translation of scroll work from relief to the flat in intarsias requires certain modifications in style, so also the evolution in color brings with it one differing from the relief style; the proportion of the ornament to the ground is freer, the elevation may be looser. The grotesque can pass beyond the limit of pure ornament, when it expresses the definite idea, that certainly is not real, but is taken from a cheerful fairy world.

The beginnings of grotesque painting lie in antiquity. The grotesques of the 16th century relate to the impulses, which an artistically orientated time received from the recently discovered paintings in the Baths of Titus. Raphael gave the highest examples in the Loggias just at the beginning; the development proceeds therefrom in a descending line. Giovanni da Udine and Pierin del Vaga adhered to the style of Raphael; Giulio Romano employed in his Mantuan works the motive more freely; he gives more scroll work than architecture. Then follows the circle of the contemporaries of Vignola and of Vasari, of which Taddeo and Federigo Zuccary are particularly to be named as painters of grotesques. The chief works are the vineyard of Pope Julius and the frescos in Caprarola in 1560, and still quite late (about 1580) Poccetti painted the ceilings in the first corridor of the Uffizi in the same style. By the school of Vasari the circle of Italian grotesque painters is connected with those engaged in Germany. Ponzano, of whom we know little more than the name, must have worked here; Frederic Sustris was a pupil of Vasari, and Candid worked under Vasari in the Vatican (royal hall) and in the dome of the cathedral at Florence, according to von Mander. By this common school is expla-

explained the great resemblance of the grotesques in Bavaria to the Italian.

Note 393. From a photograph.

Note 394. From *Deutsche Renaissance* Part 21.

Note 395. From the same. Part 18.

Note 396. Bassermann, J. *Die dekorative Malerei der Renaissance am Bayerischen Hofe*.

The earliest grotesques in Germany are those in the palace at Landsnut (about 1535-1550). (Art. 82, p. 111). The building was erected by a Mantuan; its decorative treatment likewise refers to Mantua. In the grotesques it is not difficult to see the imitation of the paintings of Giulio Romano, but the execution is dry and restricted.

A higher elevation was assumed by grotesque painting in Bavaria about 1550 in the painting of the Fugger rooms in Augsburg and the great buildings of William V and Maximilian I in Landsnut and Munich. Here appear the pupils just mentioned of the Roman grotesque painter. Friedrich first led and later was Peter Candid; under these were engaged a great number of assistants, among these Ponzano, who had worked independently in Augsburg, and may have been the most important. The works are very uniform in style.

As parallels were mentioned the paintings of the villa of Pope Julius and of palace Caprarola. The distribution in general results from the subdivision of the walls and vaults; on the separate surfaces are placed polygonal or round paintings and the interspaces are filled with grotesques; the grouping has something accidental and is no longer as intelligible as in the Loggias; but the details are extremely charming. Unfortunately sufficient drawings are not at my command; I give therefore a portion of a ceiling from the Uffizi by Poccetti (Fig. 314)³⁹³, more for the harmony of the motives, than to show that of the composition. Poccetti composed the entire ceiling without any architectural subdivision, but not to the advantage of the general appearance.

In the German grotesques, as in Caprarola, the matter is to fill separate panels of architecturally divided ceilings and vaults. As for what concerns the beauty of lines in the ornament, the grotesques in the Fugger rooms at Augsburg are

the best among the German works; nearest them stand some in the Trausnitz. (Fig. 315)³⁹⁴ The ornament in the antiquarium and the grotto hall in Munich is somewhat pattern-like and drawn with less freedom. In the grotesques of the emperor's stairway in the palace at Munich the derivation from the Roman school is still easily recognized; but the ornament is overloaded and the course of the lines less graceful.

Grotesques in similar style are found in the Spanish hall of palace Ambras near Innsbruck. In those of palace Reigenburg in Steiermark German forms appear beside the Italian. But in the German Renaissance grotesques are but occasionally introduced.

Pure flat ornament are the arabesques. They came from upper Italy to Germany; Peter Flötner gives excellent examples. The importance of the arabesque in architectural decoration is not great; its use is almost exclusively limited to intarsias on doors and wainscots. The arabesque (Fig. 316)³⁹⁶ is a very strongly conventionalized plant ornament made perfectly linear and flat. It is effective by the beauty of the course of the lines and by the correct arrangement of leaves and flowers, and it is the more valuable, the more the course of the lines remains evident in rich combinations. In the last point it differs from the band and interlaced work scarcely occurring in architectural decoration, but whose principle is first recognized in the laborious following of the separate interlacings. Since the arabesque is merely a strongly conventionalized scroll work, it is conceivable that many transitional forms occur between the two (Figs. 317, 318).³⁹⁷ In the later time of the style band work obtains greater extension.

Note 397. From Deutsche Renaissance. Vol. 9.

134. Overlaid Ornament.

Besides scroll work and arabesques the German Renaissance makes extensive use of ornamental motives, that have no model in organic nature.

In the simplest form these are thin members cut out in geometrical patterns, that appear as if overlaid on the surface of the ground. The origin of this form of ornament must be sought in the cabinet or joiner's art. Sawed out and overlaid ornaments of this kind occur from the 16th to the 18th centuries. But the ornament found extended employment in stone construct-

construction, and since it sometimes has the appearance of an overlay fastened on with nails, it is named overlaid ornament fastened on. I retain the not entirely suitable name for lack of a better one, It sometimes occurs as pure flat ornament in intarsia.

The ornament is composed of surfaces limited by straight and curved lines connected by short pieces (Fig. 319).³⁹⁸ Since the surface of the ornament always retains a considerable width, rich combinations are excluded. If richer effects are desired, then overlaid ornament appears well in combination with arabesques. In Fig. 320 both forms approximate; the overlay is lightly and the arabesque is boldly treated. In Fig. 321³⁹⁹ they are contrasted; the bold overlay is enclosed by delicate and strongly animated arabesques.

Note 398. From *Deutsche Renaissance*. Part 3.

Note 399. From the same. Part 53.

135. Rolled Work.

Overlaid ornament is perfectly flat, although raised from the ground. But men did not stop in the development in a plane; but allowed either the ends to rise from the ground, or developed the ornament from two flat parts; thus it passes into the ornamental form of rolled work⁴⁰⁶ and the cartouche (Figs. 322, 324, 328).⁴⁰⁰ Both were not developed from overlaid ornament, but in their beginnings are older than that.

Note 400. From *Deutsche Renaissance*. Parts 2, 6, 9, Vol. 9.

Note 401. From the same. Part 23.

Note 402. From *Ysendyck*.

Note 403. From Koch and Seitz.

Note 404. From *Deutsche Renaissance*. Vol. 9.

Note 405. From the same. Part 1.

Note 406. Deri, M. *Das Rollwerk* etc. Berlin. 1906.

Lichtwark defines roll work as follows:- It is the movement of the surface in a general form, as the spiral is that of the line." It is the conception of elasticity, that we place here as there in the special flexure of a free termination. So the rolled work is first in place, where free enclosings of a surface naturally result (Fig. 325)⁴⁰¹ But men were not satisfied with that, but increased the number of free terminations in a capricious way, to be able to roll them. Since this was easily effected at the edges of surfaces by incisions, rolled work

appears most commonly on enclosures. The cap of a doorway on the Otto Henry building of the Heidelberg palace (Fig. 327)⁴⁰³ is a characteristic example. The Italian Renaissance also knew rolled work and employed it in a similar way, even if with a different treatment of forms. (Fig. 330)⁴⁰⁴

136. Cartouches.

Its chief use was found by rolled work in cartouches. The cartouche is an ornamental product, that consists of two or more surfaces overlaid on each other. The surfaces are cut out like overlaid work; except that the ends of one are passed through the openings of the other. Fig. 326⁴⁰² is a very simple cartouche; the surfaces interlace but once. In Fig. 329⁴⁰⁵ the penetration is repeated and the impression is quite rich. The cartouch is also an enclosing motive in reality; it is not always conceived as such, and thus at the middle projects in relief a figure (Fig. 326), a head and the like. Wendel Dietterlein gives a series of such **cartouches**, that afford splendid evidence of his rich gift of invention (Fig. 331)⁴⁰⁸

Note 407. Lichtwark. p. 18.

Note 408. Wendel Dietterlein.

If to the cartouche executed at a small scale, as in goldsmith's work (where further the material justifies its use), there cannot be denied charming effects sometimes, then its transition to great size always remains conceivable; for it does not permit a more refined treatment of form, and only too easily leads to strange extravagancies.

But just to this in a high degree corresponded the taste of the 16. th century. It was not only employed for animating surfaces, but even formed supports like cartouches (Fig. 332),⁴⁰⁹ which is already Barocco.

Note 409. From Deutsche Renaissance part. 59.

In the later 16 th century extended from the Netherlands an art, rolled work and cartouches mixed with plant and even animal forms, which has recently been termed the Floris style. How far Cornelius Floris was really its inventor will not be investigated here; the hard forms of the rolled work also enter elsewhere into such combinations (Fig. 329). But in the Floris style one may speak of a fixed school type. It uses simple cartouches, which are animated by nerves, bands, festoons and other

motives of details (Figs. 333, 335).⁴¹⁰ Also the simpler overlaid ornament is enriched in a similar way, especially in the Rhine provinces (Fig. 336)⁴¹¹; Indeed combinations arise, that approximate grotesques in appearance. (Fig. 334)⁴¹²

Note 410. From *Isendyck*.

Note 411. From *deutsche Renaissance*. Part 45.

Note 412. From the same. Part 42.

Soon after the beginning of the 17th century commenced the decay of the rolled work; from its dissolution proceeds the horrible gristle style.⁴¹⁵ It may suffice, if in this tendency I refer to Fig. 8/ and to Art. 18.

137. Trophies.

A panel ornament, that chiefly belongs to the early Renaissance, is the trophy. It is composed of arms, hunting equipment, musical instruments and other articles. *Flötner* has given magnificent trophies in the Hirschvogel hall in Nuremberg. (Figs. 337, 338).⁴¹³ Trophies have not been largely employed in the German Renaissance.

Note 413. From *deutsche Renaissance*. Part 1.

138. Ornaments in Wrought Iron.

Wrought iron, that is employed for enclosure grilles of all kinds, has its own style of ornament. The Renaissance almost exclusively employed round rods. The small mass of the material compels linear composition, whether a system of spirals or of intersecting straight lines (Figs. 339, 340).⁴¹⁴ Where the lines touch, the rods are connected by rings; where they cross, they generally pass through each other. Such penetrations are also necessary with spirals, to afford protection against bending; then scrolls branch from the spirals. In order to not allow the ornament to appear too thin, certain points of the iron are forged broad, either in forms in the style of arabesques, (Fig. 340), or as leaves and flowers (Fig. 339). On the upper Rhine and in Switzerland occur grilles, that contain perspective representations of interiors or light halls. Good examples are found in the cathedral at Constance.

Note 414. From *Deutsche Renaissance*. Vol. 9.

Besides the strongly conventionalized iron works also occur such, on which the plant ornament is represented in a natural manner (Fig. 341);⁴¹⁶ they lead to the ostentatious pieces of

the 18 th century.

Note 415. Also for the gristle style reference is made to D Deri's work mentioned in Note 405, although I cannot follow the subtleties of his statements in all points.

Note 416. From Hirt, G. Der Formenschatz der Renaissance etc. Munich. 1894.

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